ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Perception of THE VEDAS

Edited by
Vidya Nivas Misra

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INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE ARTS
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VIDYA NIVAS MISRA

Preamble

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy was a rare phenomenon. He was brought up in the West, but while he was covering the Indian peninsula for his first research in the area of Geology he was transformed into a researcher into the roots of the Indian tradition. Later he toured widely throughout the peninsula for a deeper understanding of Indian arts, artefacts and crafts. His in-depth studies led him to research into the inner meaning of all art and that inner meaning lay in the reality of realities which he found in the Vedic expression, *satyasya satyam.* He was an erudite scholar and was never satisfied with secondary sources. So he delved deep into the Vedic texts, medieval Christian texts, Islamic texts, Chinese texts, Pali texts and even later texts in modern Indian languages. From his deep contemplation and study he could find the wavelength on which the different mystic experiences meet. His perception of the unity in the different manifestations was indeed unique. He did not just oppose the East and West as spiritual and material as he has indicated in his letter to Stanley Nott.

> The problem of the 'Spiritual East' versus the 'Material West' is very easily mistaken. I have repeatedly emphasized that it is only accidentally a geographic or racial problem. The real clash is of traditional with antitraditional concepts and cultures; . . . I think it undeniable that the modern world (which happens to be still a Western world, however fast the East is being Westernized) is one of impoverished reality. . . .

He developed a reconstructed concept of traditional metaphysics which according to him is

> a doctrine about possibilities: possibilities of being and non-being, of finite and infinite which are embodied mostly in what one calls ontology and cosmology. The traditional metaphysics (philosophy perennis or *Sanātanadharma*) is not an *omnium gatherum* of what men have believed, nor is it a systematic philosophy: it is a consistent and always self-consistent doctrine which can be recognised everywhere and is quite independent of any concept of 'progress' in material comfort or the accumulation of empirical knowledge: neither opposed to nor to be confused with either of these. It is the meaning of a word which could otherwise consist only of experiences.

This perception of a traditional metaphysics came from his vast study of philosophies and of texts regarding mystic experiences such as the Vedas and Upaniṣads. Ananda Coomaraswamy considered himself a Hindu; moreover he has recognized this tradition as an orthodox exponent of Hindu doctrine. He took resort to Hinduism because he thought that of all the extant traditional religions Hinduism is the oldest and the nearest to the primordial tradition. As he was after the roots he was very emphatic on going into the genesis of each and every word and this naturally led him to the hermeneutic tradition of *Nirukta.* Not a single article of his goes without discussing the underlying meaning of a key word used in tradition—Greek, Indian, Islamic or Chinese. He is a universalist no doubt but his later day inclination to Vedic exegesis is borne out in his letter to Mr. Hull (Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Selected Letters,* New Delhi: IGNCA and OUP, 1988, pp. 259-65).

As early as 1932 Coomaraswamy started writing on the Vedas. He was naturally faced with inadequacy of the English language to translate the multi-layered Vedic work. His 'New Approach to the Vedas', 'The Ṛgveda as Land Náma Bók', his 'Notes on Kaṭhopaniṣad', his 'Essays on Vedic Exemplarism' are the main illustrations of his attempt to recreate a fuller meaning of the Vedas as one whole text. He deliberately sent his only son Rāma to a *gurukula* so that he is well trained in the Vedic tradition. In one of the letters to Rāma he has spoken of his family tradition.

> Our family is Vellala; this is not a well known caste name in North India, but any Tamil you may run across will know it. We do wear the *yajñopavīta*; I have received *upanayana* from a Brāhman in the Punjab, and shall resume wearing the thread when we come to India. I suggested that you should accept the offer to give you *upanayana* in Bengal, but if you did not do so, there will be other opportunities, and meantime you can always live like a Hindu, and according to Brāhman standards and ways. . . .
>
> Our people are *Vellalas,* originally from Tanjore, but long settled in N. Ceylon (Jaffna) and then also in Colombo. They are *Śaivas*; they are given *upanayana* and wear the thread. We cremate the dead and take the ashes to Benares. We keep up a hereditary connection with *Paṇḍās* at Allahabad. Our people are usually vegetarians, and employ Brāhman cooks. I once performed my father's *śrāddha,* but otherwise this has been done by other members of the family in Ceylon.

To pursue the studies of Vedic tradition, he intended to settle down in India as is indicated in his Farewell Address:

> This is my seventieth birthday, and my opportunity to say: Farewell, for this is our plan, mine and my wife's, to retire and return to India next year; thinking of this as an *astaṁ gamana,* 'going home'. There we expect to rejoin our son Rāma who, after travelling with Marco Pallis in Sikkim and speaking Tibetan there is now at the Gurukula Kangri learning Sanskrit and Hindi with the very man with whom my wife was studying there twelve years ago. We mean to remain in India, now a free country, for the rest of our lives.
>
> I have not remained untouched by the religious philosophies I have studied and to which I was led by way of the history of art. *Intellige ut credas* ! In my case, at least, understanding has involved belief; and for me the time has come to exchange the active for a more contemplative way of life in which it would be my hope to experience more immediately, more fully at least a part of the truth of which my understanding has been so far predominantly logical. And so, though I may be here for another year, I ask you also to say: Goodbye—equally in the etymological sense of the word and in that of the Sanskrit *Svagā,* a salutation that expressed the wish 'May you come into your own', that is, may I know and become what I am, no longer this man So-and-So, but the Self that is also the Being of all beings, my Self and your Self.

This is in a nutshell AKC, the man, as he himself thinks of himself. Such a person alone could take risk of being dubbed as anachronistic medievalist and therefore as an irrelevant footnote-laden scholar. But today we see that he was neither a medievalist nor an irrelevant thinker of his times. He was a transcendentalist and therefore he could go beyond a narrow timeframe and a narrower space frame. But also at the same time he was a traditionalist in its truest sense, the sense which is embedded in the word *Sanātana Dharma* and therefore he would go to the roots in order to comprehend the total reality and not for the sake of going back. We took upon ourselves to give an idea of AKC's perception of reality as it has grown in the oldest preserved 'word'. The best way to present this growth is to arrange his essays related to some aspect or the other of Vedic text as one integrated perception. Therefore this volume.

We intend to bring out a second volume containing his own translations of Vedic phrases and sentences given as quoted in his different works along with their original references. A few such other essays have also been included in this volume which derive most of their support from the Vedic texts though AKC had a broad vision of knowledge as one human phenomenon and gave due regard to other traditions and their perception of pure knowledge (which according to him was a stage of rarefied Becoming). But gradually he was drawn to the tradition where he belonged. This explains his ultimate wish to study Vedas after his so-called retirement as indicated earlier. According to him the *Ṛgveda,* the earliest Vedic text (and the earliest text for that matter in the entire world) should not be interpreted as referring to 'a historical immigration of an Aryan-speaking people but should be treated as devoid of any historical content whatever. AKC held that 'history is always enacted in the pattern of the ultimate reality enunciated in the metaphysical tradition'. He tried to explore the confusion created by the colonial notion of Aryan as race, by giving the exact contextual meaning of the word *Ārya* as is evident from its etymology ('*Ārya*' is derived from the root *ṛ* meaning to rise up, to reach, to obtain), so '*ārya*' is pioneer, and so its secondary meaning is noble and right because he follows *ṛta* (the cosmic order). The *Ṛgveda* according to him is not concerned. This search for the Being of all Beings had led him to a reinterpretation of the Vedas. As a traditionalist, he held that the Revealed Work is whole universe. It must be interpreted in its totality and interrelatedness, as the whole Vedic text is one indivisible text. Each and every ego of one single form in the entire body of the text adds to the fullness of its meaning. Coomaraswamy propounded rather reread (he did not claim to be a propounder himself) through his intuitive mind and through his deep contemplation of the world a fuller and more significant range of meaning, an exegesis of the Vedas in line with the traditional exegesis of the *Nirukta* and of the preceding traditional commentators. He was an explorer of the Truth of every truth, Reality of every reality and he rightly found the clue in the key word. All the keys in the open time and again new doors to reality in some form or the other. His Vedic studies are subsequently addressed to three things: (1) exploring full meaning of some particular word denoting action or deity or idea, (2) illustrating the relevance of this approach by his own explanation of Vedic texts, (3) problems of translation into an alien and more matter-of-fact language. So he takes this view that the *Ṛgveda* is the archetype of human understanding, of the Beginning of all Things, as such an understanding survives even today in fairy tales and nursery rhymes and in folk art. His long essay the *Ṛgveda as Land Náma-Bók* through focusing on words like *Yama, Carṣaṇi, Kṛṣṭi, Pañcajanāḥ*, Sarasvatī, *Vāpamaṅgala, viśa, yajña* showed the main concerns of the *ṚV* namely, (1) integration and coordination and lucidity as essential to beauty, (2) crossing over 'ocean of infinite possibility on a ship of life', (3) a full understanding of the act of creation for which an apt simile is used of the release of the waters. The waters are also spoken of as Cows, (4) the finding of the 'bridge of aeviternity' (*amṛtasya setuḥ*) and the necessity of the enactment of the first act of creation (*yajña*).

In a similar manner in his 'Some Notes on Kaṭhopaniṣad', he attempted to go into the mystery of life through the understanding of Death, throwing a challenge to Death. Of course, this involves a search of the main purpose of life, or rather the main function of life. His notes on Mantra to Mantra (verse to verse) are elaborations of the central idea contained in the Upaniṣads in general and *Kaṭhopaniṣad* specifically.

AKC has chosen certain passages which appear to have been radically misunderstood even by Śaṅkara and *a fortiori* by modern translators. For example, Death (*mṛtyu* or *Yama*) is one of the highest names of God. He is the breath of life, at whose departure living beings die. The solar orb itself, the disc of the Sun, is the gateway of Death's house to which the wayfarer seeks admission in *Kaṭhopaniṣad.* AKC interprets three nights of stay at Death's door as three visits to Death and these three correspond also to the three questions, three boons and three stripes of the text.

The meaning of foods taken by Naciketas on three days is as follows: on the first day Naciketas eats death's progeny, in other words he eats breaths or Sun's rays. This is then the same thing as 'coming to being in accordance with the breath'. On the second day he eats sacrificial animals. This means sacrificial initiation which involves a temporary or symbolic death and a re-birth. Finally on the third day he eats duties of death (works to be done). It is by this food that the dead man is sustained and conveyed until he reaches the Sun. AKC relates the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* passage with the passage in the *Ṛgveda* (X.135) where a boy's body has been consumed on the funeral pyre and who now speaks of death and learns from him the meaning of death. Thus he has established in versatility and essential timelessness of the story of Naciketas.

Commenting on the word *sṛṅkā* in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (1.16), he relates it to two words *sṛka* meaning arrow and *sraja* meaning garland. They both are connected by the root √*sṛj* which means to release. The chain which Naciketas refuses is made of desires in this mortal world. This *sṛṅkā* is offered to Naciketas and he refuses but then he accepts the other chain or garland which is omniformed (*anekarūpā*). In AKC's words this acceptance is an acceptance of integral multiplicity inherent in the divine. Naciketas rejects the mundane but accepts the divine. Further, AKC has defined the word *abhaya* (the palce of no fear), to mean passing beyond all otherness and finding the Advaita, as 'assuredly which is only from another that fear arises'. He has explained the word' *atyasrākṣīḥ* on the basis of related Vedic texts as 'released' rather than 'rejected'. Because √*sṛj* primarily means to emanate, to let go, to free so that Naciketas thenceforth is free to participate in all death's activities as well as in his idleness.

In a similar fashion, AKC has by his rigorous methodology reinterpreted other key words in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad.* One of them is *ṛta* which he interprets as the order of the Universe manifested under the Sun, and seen by whoever it may be that sees through and sees with the solar 'eye', the 'eye of Mitrāvaruṇau'. He also equates *ṛta* with *Brahman* whose self-intention is, therefore, the act of creation. He differentiates *ṛtam* from *satyam* as an application is distinguished from the principle in which he subsists more eminently.

The second important word is *setu* (bridge). This bridge of the spirit is literally a tie that links together heaven and earth, the Sun to the heart; and is a symbol of the thread-spirit (*sūtrātman*). It is akin to a rope bridge over a reaching Himalayan torrent, 'straight as a razor's edge hard to be passed over'.

The third key word is *ratha,* the chariot. He has correlated the metaphor of the chariot in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* with that in the *Milindapañho* and established that it is the man without discrimination, the man whose regions has not been harnessed, whose steeds (senses) are unruly, crude, does not reach the goal. In a similar fashion he has put to test mistranslation of modern day scholar like Rawson and accepted more frequently the traditional interpretations which seek unity of similar expressions occurring in different texts. His *Notes on the Kaṭhopaniṣad* shows his well reasoned defence of the traditional hermeneutics.

We have included another important work, *The Vedas: Essays in Translation and Exegesis* of AKC in which he has propounded that 'For an understanding of the Vedas, however profound, is insufficient. Indians themselves do not rely upon their knowledge of Sanskrit here but insist upon the absolute necessity of study at the feet of a guru . . .' which I have called here a 'new approach to the Vedas' is nothing more than an essay in the exposition of Vedic ideas by means of a translation and a commentary in which the resources of other forms of the universal tradition are taken for granted. Whatever may be asserted or denied with respect to the 'value' of the Vedas, this at least is certain, that their fundamental doctrines are by no means singular. Thus AKC has an integrative approach towards tradition. He explains such a lacuna in one tradition through an exposition of another tradition so that two traditions are not only linked together but they together make out a fuller meaning of truth. AKC has translated three passages: one from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* the other from the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* and the third from the *Ṛgveda* (Nāsadīya Sūkta, X.129; Puruṣa Sūkta, X.90 and Suparṇa Sūkta/Aditi Sūkta, X.72). These translations are followed by copious notes covering related passages from other texts and translations to bring out a fuller meaning of the process of creation or more exactly the process of emanation of manifest from the unmanifest. He has, in fact, shown a right path of understanding when interpreting a difficult metaphorical and esoteric texts. This methodology is neither a rebuttal of historical or of philological methodology nor it is an adherence to one particular interpretation in one particular tradition. AKC's wisdom is far too above considerations of the limited approaches of modern day textual hermeneutics. He is in line with mystics of the middle ages or seers of the ancient period who had the courage to transcend their own preceding preceptors.

AKC never claims originality and he would not utter one sentence unsupported by some statement in a traditional text. His sharp and incisive understanding of the text through in-depth analysis of usages of single term in different contexts is his own. He is in a true sense adorer of the word and has the capacity to dwell deep into its layers of meaning. Even his smaller notes reveal his deep introspection into the potential of the word.

Coming to other articles, AKC's findings can be summarized as follows:

1. Learning is really 'a remembering' and our 'knowledge' is by participation in the Omniscience of an immanent spiritual principle. This is supported by both Indian and Platonic texts. A recollection of memory is from the self, as the self knows everything. The self is a pre-recognition mass. The recollection is a participation of His awareness. What we think, we learn implies that in intuition directly, and in learing indirectly, 'milking' (drawing upon) we are really drawing upon an innate prescience (*prajñā*) so that we can reduce memory in a kind of latent knowledge.

2. The Supreme Identity is both Utterance and Silence at one and the same time. Thus in a ritual, the rites can be performed either silently or can be uttered. The spoken words correspond to the external and the unspoken to internal forms of the Deity.

3. Both male and female unite in the Supreme Being and this union or marriage which results in creation. This Tantric doctrine is analogous to the Vedic doctrine, the Supreme Being is held to be both spirant and despirated, Intellect and Voice. . . . When these two principles are separated all creations come to an end and therefore the gods cry to unite them once again.

4. *Kha*, the Centre of the Solar wheel is considered to be receptacle and foundation of all order. *Kha* also means zero and also *pūrṇa* (plenum). This implies that all numbers are virtually or potentially present in that which is without number. The beginning of all series being thus the same as their end. In the *Ṛgveda* the use of names of things to denote numbers is not to be found, instead the use of numbers to denote things is found. For example, the number twelve denotes the year and seven stands for 'reverse of life' or 'state of beings'.

5. The concept of Deity presents itself to us under a double aspect: on the one hand as gracious, on the other as awful. He is both a light and darkness, a revelation and a mystery. He is both Light and Darkness, Life and Death, Good and Evil. Metaphysical religion envisages a supreme identity in which the outwardly opposing forces are one impartible principle. *Soma* transforms as *Vṛtra* because it rolls and is footless, so he is *ahi* (serpent). This Soma when bright is Sun and when footed is Varuṇa. Uṣas denotes as well the light as dawn. In short, *agni* and *soma* are conjoined or one prinicple, separated as manifest and unmanifest.

6. Though the Almighty is one and only, He divides Himself into various gods and the latter are but participants in the divine essence. The term *bhakta* in the *Ṛgveda* may imply either the share obtained by the Sacrificer from the Deity or the share that is given or apportioned to the Deities by the Sacrificer.

7. The Veda speaks both of transmigration and a one and only transmigrant. The Lord acts according to His wishes in order to keep the motion in world process. He divides Himself into many parts in the form of the soul of men (all creatures) in order to keep the cycle of creation in rotation.

8. The way of dedication and the way of gnosis are superficially distinct in essence. So the *ātman* doctrine has *bhakta* aspects subsumed into it.

9. The person in the heart is identical with the golden person in the Sun. He bares Himself twofold: as the breath of life (*prāṇa* here) and as Yonder (*āditya*) . . . is verily the outer Essence (*bahirātman*), the breath of life, the inner Essence (*antarātman*). Mahāpuruṣa is the uncharacterized person beyond both the shown and the unshown.

10. *Nirukta* = Hermeneia is a deduction on the basis of wider comprehension. *Nirukta* explanations are not etymological triflings or purely artificial or very fanciful. *Nirukta* is a deep probe in the inner nature of the word, inherent activity in the word. Names are all derived from actions. All maker, Supreme Seer at one glance is the only one Denominator of the angels (*devānāṃ nāmadhāḥ*). *Nirukta* propounds theory of expression in which ideation, denomination individual existence are inseparable aspects, conceptually distinguishable when objectively considered, but coincident in the subject.

11. Every procedure from one state of being to another, though formally to death again, is envisaged from the Vedic point of view as a passing from one station to another of a voyage on the sea of life. Whenever a change of state is involved the surface of the sea of life is conceived as slope leading upwards or downwards (*nivata* or *pravata*). Such slopes are seven (also called seven *lokas*). The voyage is performed on a ship which is a Ship of Works (*yajña*).

12. The Vedānta is not a philosophy in the current sense of the word but only as the word is used in the phrase *Philosophia Perennis.* Modern philosophy are closed systems. They take for granted that opposites are mutually exclusive. In modern philosophy things are either so or not so; in internal philosophy this depends upon our point of view. Six systems of Indian philosophy are not mutually contradictory and exclusive theories. They are branches of one tree. There must be branches because nothing can be known except in the mode of the knower. However, strongly we may realize that all roads lead towards Sun, it is equally evident that each man must choose the road which starts from the point at which he finds himself at the moment of setting out. The modern day Christian can learn from the Vedānta how to understand one's own way better. Vedānta is more metaphysical than philosophy inasmuch as it has a purely practical purpose. It is no more a pursuit of truth for truth's sake than are the related Arts a pursuit of art for art's sake. Vedānta is a quest but it is not a quest of the other but of his own. Vedānta can be known only to the extent it has been lived. The Indian, therefore, cannot trust a teacher whose doctrine is not directly reflected in his very being. The Vedānta is not a form of mysticism. What is the way of Vedāntist is above all activity. It is not passivity.

13. Exemplarism is the traditional doctrine of the relation, cognitive and causal, between the one and the many: the nature of which relation is implied in Vedic Sanskrit by the expressions *viśvam ekam,* 'the many that are one, the one that is manifold', *viśvaṃ satyam,* 'the manifold truth', and *viśvam . . . garbham,* 'the germ of all', and more fully enunciated in *ŚB,* X.5.2.16, 'As to this they say, "Is He then one or

many?" One should answer, "One and many". For in-as-much as He is That, He is one; and in-as-much as He is multiply distributed (*bahudhā vyaviṣṭiḥ*) in his children, He is many.'

The doctrine in these respects cannot be better demonstrated than by means of a diagram consisting of two concentric circles, with their common centre and two or more radii, or by the corresponding Vedic symbol of a wheel (*cakra*) with its felly, hub, and spokes. Such a diagram or symbol represents the universe in cross-section, the circles any two levels of reference or 'worlds' (*loka*), or more specifically, the individual and intellectual, or human and angelic (*adhyātma* and *adhidaivata*) levels of reference. The whole world, or universe (*viśvam*), thus represented corresponds to the ensemble of all possibilities of manifestation, whether informal, formal, or sensible; a world (*loka* = locus) is a given ensemble of possibilities, a given modality. The infinite ocean of all possibility, whether of manifestation or non-manifestation, is represented by the blank surface of the paper which at the same time interpenetrates and transcends the indefinite extension of the finite universe represented by the diagram; this unlimited surface is unaffected by the extension or abstraction of the diagram, which has no position. Each radius, spoke, or ray represents the whole being of an individual consciousness, its intersection with any circumference the operation of this consciousness at that level of reference; each such point of intersection forming the centre of a minor 'world', which must be thought of as a smaller circle struck about its own centre, on the inner surface of the sphere of which the diagram, is a cross-section, in a plane, that is, at right angles to the radius or ray that connects the unique centre with the point in question.

Thus life, light and sound are equivalent. They are not synonymous but are simultaneous and so eternal. The same root √*svar* means to shine and also to sound or resound. The same root √*arc* means to shine and also to intone. The doctrine of exemplarism exhibits the relation of this apparent multiplicity to the unity on which it hangs. All *yajñas* are 'a mimesis of what was done by the first sacrificers who found the sacrifice as their way from privation to plenty, darkness to light and death to immortality'. *Yajña* is not merely performance of rites but also comprehension of totality of All Being. Sacrificer himself is the victim, the initiation is the oblation, and thus sacrifice is in essence a sacrifice of the ingoing breath into the outgoing breath and conversely of the outgoing breath into the ingoing breath. The sacrificer casts himself into the form of seed into the household fire to ensure his rebirth here on earth and into the sacrificial altar with a view to his rebirth in heaven. The prototype of all sacrifices is the *darśa*, the new moon sacrifice where moon enters into the Sun, when Soma is devoured by Indra. All this expresses the relationship of the breath to the elemental Self. Thus sacrifice is a merger of polarities, a comprehension of totality and ultimately all sacrifice is contemplated as a self-sacrifice. It is an emptying out of one self for becoming a receptacle or plenum. All sacrifice is insubsistence, a subjective inferior burnt offering, *ādhyātmikam āntaram agnihotraḥ*. Performance is a support of contemplation. Sacrifice is a symbolic fact and reflects a traditional assumption that every practice employs and involves a corresponding theory. The building of the fire altar includes all kinds of works and assimilates the sacrificer to the archetypal sacrificer Indra, who is all worker, *Viśvakarmā*.

In the sacrificial interpretation of life, acts of all kinds are reduced to their paradigms and archetypes, and so referred to Him from whom all action stems, when the notion that 'I am the doer' has been overcome, and acts are no longer 'ours', when we are no longer any one, then we are no longer 'Under the Law'

14. All sacrifices are performed intellectually (*manasā yajati*). Intellect is virtually

Prajāpati. This intellect emanates the word. The father is intellect, the mother word (*vāk*); the child spiritual life (*prāṇa*). This intellect should be a mature ripen intellect, so much so that it is a transcended state of dementation, *amanaska*. This intellect is further split into a Supra-intellect, *buddhi* and practical intellect, *manas*, so that it could be a binder as well as a liberator. Dementation is not a literal inhalation of intellect, but it is a stage when 'thought and being are gone substantial' (*yaccittastanmayo bhavati*). In order to fully understand of how the intellect place is rolled in comprehension of the All Being, it is necessary to go beyond all-too-human and exclusively humanistic point of view and try to understand a distinction between dementation and insanity and between unknowing and ignorance. It is an indispensable condition of true scholarship to believe in order to understand and to understand in order to believe. These two activities should not be consecutive. They should be coeval.

To summarize the Vedic perceptions of AKC present a full interlinking of not only Vedic texts and their exegetical texts in the Indian tradition itself, but also of the related metaphysical texts in other traditions. This exactly is the need of the hour. AKC pleaded for an integrated comprehension of the true reality (which was more transparently perceived in the Vedic tradition than in other) and also for finding some cogent clues of evangelistic comprehension in the Vedas. AKC does not plead for blind acceptance. On the contrary, he lays stress on one's own seeking the path for oneself. The wayfarer of the real times hosts neither a beacon light nor acts as a guide. He and his successors have taught the way to make the path. Just this method of making a path is given to us and unless one applies that methodology one cannot create a methodology for one's own sake.

In a way, the essays collected here from different volumes are similar in character and although written on random topics, bear upon unity of thought and reflect single-minded contemplation of Him. This volume also reflects as to what pains AKC has taken in giving precise correspondences to words used by the ancient seers. It would be very educative if an index of his coinages of apt words for important Vedic words are collated and brought out as a AKC Vedic Lexicon. It is in itself a huge task and earlier we had thought of making it as an appendix of the present volume. Howsoever, and afterthought, we may take it up as a separate volume, and go into details of his methodology of rendering omniform and multi-layered Vedic words into some approximate English terminology. Dr. Coomaraswamy's addition and corrections to the first edition of 'The Vedas—Essays in Translation and Exegesis' have been faithfully incorporated in the present edition.

For the present, we are satisfied with this volume and we sincerely hope that this will open up a new vista of interpreting the Vedic lore so that we can reintegrate our own fuller being with the fuller manifestation of the Cosmic order in which resides the Truth of Truths.

VIDYA NIVAS MISRA

Varanasi
Magha Ś. 10, 2052 V.S.
Jan.29, 2000

THE VEDAS—ESSAYS IN TRANSLATION AND EXEGESIS

Preface

The sacred literature of India is available to most of us only in translations made by scholars trained in linguistics rather than in metaphysics; and it has been expounded and explained—or as I should rather say, explained away—mainly by scholars ready provided with the assumptions of the naturalist and anthropologist, scholars whose intellectual capacities have been so much inhibited by their own powers of observation that they can no longer distinguish the reality from the appearance, the Supernal Sun of metaphysics from the physical sun of their own experience. Apart from these, Indian literature has either been studied and explained by Christian propagandists whose main concern has been to demonstrate the falsity and absurdity of the doctrines involved, or by theosophists by whom the doctrines have been caricatured with the best intentions and perhaps even worse results.

The educated man of today is, moreover, completely out of touch with those European modes of thought and those intellectual aspects of the Christian doctrine which are nearest those of the Vedic traditions. A knowledge of modern Christianity will be of little use because the fundamental sentimentality of our times has diminished what was once an intellectual doctrine to a mere morality that can hardly be distinguished from a pragmatic humanism. A European can hardly be said to be adequately prepared for the study of the Vedānta unless he has acquired some knowledge and understanding of at least Plato, Philo, Hermes, Plotinus, the Gospels (especially John), Dionysius, and finally Eckhart who with the possible exception of Dante can be regarded from an Indian point of view as the greatest of all Europeans.

The Vedānta is not a 'philosophy' in the current sense of the word, but only as the word is used in the phrase *philosophia perennis*, and only if we have in mind the Hermetic 'philosophy' or that 'Wisdom' by whom Boethius was consoled. Modern philosophies are closed systems, employing the method of dialectics and taking for granted that opposites are mutually exclusive. In modern philosophy things are either so or not so; in eternal philosophy this depends upon our point of view. Metaphysics is not a system but a consistent doctrine; it is not merely concerned with conditioned and quantitative experience but with universal possibility. It therefore considers possibilities that may be neither possibilities of manifestation nor in any sense formal, as well as ensembles of possibility that can be realized in a given world. The ultimate reality of metaphysics is a Supreme Identity in which the opposition of all contraries, even of being and not-being, is resolved; its 'worlds' and 'gods' are levels of reference and symbolic entities which are neither places nor individuals but states of being realizable within you.

[From 'The Vedānta and Western Tradition', *The American Scholar*, VIII (1939), pp. 226-7.]

A New Approach to the Vedas

Introduction

Existing translations of Vedic texts, however etymologically 'accurate', are too often unintelligible or unconvincing, sometimes admittedly unintelligible to the translator himself. Neither the 'Sacred Books of the East', nor for example such translations of the Upaniṣads as those of R.E. Hume, or those of Mitra, Roer, and Cowell, recently reprinted, even approach the standards set by such works as Thomas Taylor's version of the *Enneads* of Plotinus, or Friedländer's of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed.* Translators of the Vedas do not seem to have possessed any previous knowledge of metaphysics, but rather to have gained their first and only notions of ontology from Sanskrit sources. As remarked by Jung, *Psychological Types,* p. 263, with reference to the study of the Upaniṣads under existing conditions, 'any true perception of the quite extraordinary depth of those ideas and their amazing psychological accuracy is still but a remote possibility'.

It is very evident that for an understanding of the Vedas, a knowledge of Sanskrit, *however profound,* is insufficient. Indians themselves do not rely upon their knowledge of Sanskrit here, but insist upon the absolute necessity of study at the feet of a *guru.* That is not possible in the same sense for European students. Yet Europe also possesses a tradition founded in first principles. That mentality which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought into being an intellectual Christianity owing as much to Maimonides, Aristotle,[1] and the Arabs as to the Bible itself, would not have found the Vedas 'difficult'. For example, those who understood that 'Paternity and filiation . . . are *dependent* properties', or that God 'cannot be a Person without a Nature, nor can his Nature be without a Person', Eckhart, I.268 and 394,[2] or had read later Dante's 'O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son', *Paradiso,* xxxiii, would not have seen in the mutual generation of Puruṣa and Virāj, or Dakṣa and Aditi an arbitrary or primitive mode of thought: those familiar with Christian conceptions of Godhead as 'void', 'naked', and 'as though it were not', would not have been disconcerted by descriptions of That as 'Death' (*mṛtyu*), and as being 'in no wise' (*neti, neti*). To those who even to-day have some idea of what is meant by a 'reconciliation of opposites', or have partly understood the relation between man's conscious consciousness and the *unconscious* sources of his powers, the significance of the Waters as an 'inexhaustible well' of the possibilities of existence might be apparent. When Blake speaks of a 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell', or Swinburne writes, 'I bid you but be', there is included more of the Vedas than can be found in many learned disquistitions on their 'philosophy'. What right have Sanskritists to confine their labours to the solution of linguistic problems: is it fear that precludes their wrestling with the ideology of the texts they undertake? Our scholarship is too little humane.[3]

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[1] One of our most ancient philosophers who found the truth long, long before God's birth, ere ever there was Christian faith at all as it is now, Eckhart, I.103. Cf. Note 60.

[2] Except where otherwise stated, references to Eckhart are to C. de B. Evans' admirable version in two volumes, London, 1924.

What I have called here a 'new approach to the Vedas' is nothing more than an essay in the exposition of Vedic ideas by means of a translation and a commentary in which the resources of other forms of the universal tradition are taken for granted. Max Müller, in 1891, held that the Veda would continue to occupy scholars 'for centuries to come'. Meanwhile there are others beside professional scholars, for whom the Vedas are significant. In any case, no great extension of our present measure of understanding can be expected from philological research alone, however valuable such methods of research may have been in the past: and what is true for Sumero-Babylonian religion is no less true for the Vedas, viz., that 'further progress in the interpretation of the difficult cycle of . . . liturgies cannot be made until the cult is more profoundly interpreted from the point of view of the history of religion'.[4]

As regards the translation: every English word employed has been used advisedly with respect to its technical significance. For example, 'nature' is here always the correlative of 'essence', and denoted that whereby the world is *as* it is; never as in modern colloquial usage to denote the world, *ens naturata.* Similarly, existence is distinguished from being, creation from emanation, local movement from the principle of motion, the incalculable from the infinite, and so forth. All that is absolutely necessary if the sense of the Vedic texts is to be conveyed. In addition, the few English words added to complete the sense of the translation are italicized: and when several English words are employed to render one Sanskrit term, the English words are generally connected by hyphens, e.g. Āditya, 'Supernal-Sun'; Akṣara, 'Imperishable-Word'.

As regards the commentary: here I have simply used the resources of Vedic and Christian scriptures side by side. An extended use of Sumerian, Taoist, Sūfī, and Gnostic sources would have been at once possible and illuminating, but would have stretched the discussion beyond reasonable limits.[5] As for the

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[3] On the one hand, the professional scholar, who has direct access to the sources, functions in isolation: on the other, the amateur propagandist of Indian thought disseminates mistaken notions. Between the two, no provision is made for the educated man of good will.

[4] Langdon, S., *Tammuz and Ishtar,* Oxford, 1914, p. v.

[5] It is not without good reason that Jahāngīr speaks of 'the science of the Vedānta which is the science of Sufism', *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* translated by Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 356. Parallels to almost all the ideas discussed below could be adduced from Islamic theology: see especially Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic mysticism,* 1921, and

Vedic and Christian sources, each illuminates the other. And that is in itself an important contribution to understanding, for as Whitman expresses it, 'These are really the thoughts of all men in all ages and lands, they are not original with me. If they are not yours as much as mine, they are nothing, or next to nothing.' Whatever may be asserted or denied with respect to the 'value' of the Vedas, this at least is certain, that their fundamental doctrines are by no means singular.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY
December 1932

Macdonald, D.B., *The development of the idea of spirit in Islam,* Acta Orientalia, IX, 1931. It may be noted that the ontology of a non-Christian tradition has been competently discussed by these authors in a way that has never been attempted by any professional European student of the Vedas.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, I, 2
(= Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X, 6, 5)

In the beginning (*agre*) no thing whatsoever was here. This-all (*idam*) was veiled by Death (*mṛtyu*), by Privation (*aśanāyā*): for Privation is Death. That (*tad*) took-on (*akuruta*) Intellect (*manas*), 'Let me be Selfed' (*ātmanvī syām*). He (*saḥ*), *Self*, manifested Light (*arcan acarat*). Of Him, as he shone, were the Waters (*āpaḥ*) born (*jāyanta*). 'Verily, whilst I shone, there was Delight' (*kam*), said-He (*iti*). This is the Sheen (*arkatva*) of Shining (*arka*). Verily, there is delight for him who knoweth thus the sheen of shining. 1.

Our text deals with the origin of Light from Darkness, Life from Death, Actuality from Possibility, Self from the Un-selfed, *saguṇa* from *nirguṇa* Brahman, 'I am' from Unconsciousness, God from Godhead. 'The first formal assumption in Godhead is being . . . God', Eckhart, I.267. 'The Nothing bringeth itself into a Will', Böhme, *XL Questions concerning the Soule*, I.178: 'an eternal will arises in the nothing, to introduce the nothing into something, that the will might find, feel, and behold itself', *Signatura Rerum*, I.8. 'The Tao became One', *Tao Tê Ching*, II.42.[6]

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[6] A distinction of existence from pure being is easily made: 'being in itself is modeless, 'existence' is being in a mode. Essence and nature, *per se*, are evidently non-existent: it need scarcely be added that this 'non-existence', viz., the absence of properties, has nothing in common with the non-existence of the absurd or self-contradictory, for example, a square circle; it is not illogical, but alogical, or ineffable, all that can be said of it being purely analogical. Nevertheless, the practical use of the terms Non-being, Being, and Existence, presents real difficulties.

We understand Non-being and Being to be correlative aspects, the inseparable Nature and Essence, of Brahman, the Supreme Identity, not yet existent, antecedent to procession, *solus ante principium, apravartin, Kauṣītaki Up.*, IV.8: and understand Existence to include all multiplicity, whether nominal and informal, or real and formal. Non-being is the permissive principle, first cause, of Being: Being the permissive principle, first cause, of Existence. Thus:

Asat	Non-being (*avyakta*)	*anātmya*	*nirguṇa, amūrta, akāla*:	Brahman *satya*
	Being (*vyakt-āvyakta*)	*param-ātman*		
Sat	Existence (*vyakta*)	*pratyag-ātman* (Viśve Devāḥ, *viśvā bhuvanāni*)	*saguṇa, mūrta, kāla, sthita, martya*	

Compare *Taittirīya Up.*, II.7 *svayam akurut' ātmānam* 'of itself assumed Self', and *svayambhū*, 'self-become', Upaniṣads *passim*: *Maitrī Up.*, V.2 and II. 5, 'In the beginning this world was a Dark-Inert (*tamas*) . . . that proceeds to differentiation (*viṣamatva*) . . . even as the awakening of a sleeper.' That is Eckhart's 'passive welling up': 'the beginning of the Father is primary, not proceeding', 'the Father is the manifestation of the Godhead', I. 268, 267 and 135. Just as also, microcosmically, 'Without a doubt, consciousness is derived from the unconscious' (Wilhelm and Jung).

Now as to 'One': an intelligible distinction can be made between the inconnumerable Unity of God 'without a second', the Sameness of Godhead, and the Identity, Deity, of God and Godhead, *mūrta* and *amūrta* Brahman: 'between the pillars of the conscious and unconscious . . . all beings and all worlds', Kabīr, Bolpur ed. II.59; 'One and One uniting, there is the Supreme Being', Eckhart, I.368. That these are here 'rational, not real' distinctions (Eckhart, I.268) appears in the fact that 'One' can be spoken equally of Unity, Sameness, and Identity: God, Godhead, Deity, is not a distinction of Persons. On the other hand, 'One' cannot be said of the Trinity as such. These distinctions, necessarily and clearly made in exegesis, when literally interpreted, become definitions of sectarian points of view, theistic, nihilistic, and metaphysical: in *bhakti-vāda* the Unity, in *śūnya-vāda* the Sameness, in *jñāna-vāda* the Identity are respectively *pāramārthika*, ultimately significant. In Śākta cults there survives an ontology antedating patriarchal modes of thought, and the relation of the conjoint principles is reversed (*viparīta*) in gender: here Śiva, inert, effecting nothing by himself, represents the Godhead, while Śakti, Mother of All Things, is the active power, engendering, preserving, and resolving, *līlā* is not 'his' but 'hers'. In 'mysticism' there is an emotional realization of all or any of these points of view. In reality, 'the path men take from everyside is mine', *Bhagavad Gītā*, IV.11, 'In whatever way you find God best and are most aware of him that way pursue', Eckhart, I.482.

It should be observed further that while we speak in theology[8] of First, Second, and Third Persons, the Persons being connected (*bandhu*, *Ṛgveda*, X.129.4, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.1.2) by opposite relation,[9] the numerical

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It follows that *asat* can be rendered correctly either as Non-being or as Non-existence: *sat* either as Being or as Existence, as may best suit the context. The problem arises only in connection with 'Being': if we render *asat* and *sat* as Non-being and Being, then, *sat* must cover both being in itself and Being in a mode. The terms are further discussed below, pp. 85-6.

[7] Not that these are commensurable terms: Theistic and Nihilistic points of view are partial, and therefore in apparent opposition, as for example in the case of Śaivism and Buddhism; while Metaphysics, *jñāna-vāda*, underlies, justifies, and embraces all other points of view.

[8] From the Vedic point of view, 'angelology' would be more accurate.

[9] On this 'kinship' depends the 'incestuous' character of so many myths of creation. It should be observed that the term 'myth' property implies the symbolic (verbal, iconographic or dramatic) representation of the operation of power or energy:

ordering of the Persons is purely conventional (*saṁketita*), not a chronological or real order of coming into being: for the Persons are connascent, *itaretarajanmāna*, the Trinity (*tridhā*) is an arrangement (*saṁhitā*), not a process. For example, the Son creates the Father as much as the Father the Son,[10] for there can be no paternity without a filiation, and *vice versa*, and that is what is meant by 'opposite relation'. Similarly, there cannot be a Person (Puruṣa) without Nature (Prakṛti), and *vice versa*. That is why in metaphysical 'mythology' we meet with 'inversions', as for example, when in the *Ṛgveda*, X.72.4, Dakṣa (a personal name of the Progenitor, see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II.4.4.2) is born of Aditi as her son, and she also of him as his daughter; or X.90.5. where Virāj is born of Puruṣa, and *vice versa*. Metaphysics are consistent, but not systematic: system is found only in religious extensions,[11] where a given ordering of the Persons becomes a dogma, and it is precisely by such 'matters of faith', and not by a difference of metaphysical basis, that one religion is distinguished from another. That is truly a 'distinction without a difference.'

It should be observed that the connascence (*sahajanma*) of Father-essence and Mother-nature, the 'two forms' of Brahman, though metaphorically spoken of as 'birth' (*janma*), is not a sexual-begetting, not a generation from conjoint principles, *maithunya prajanana*: in that sense both are equally un-begotten, un-born, as in *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, I.8. *dvāvajau*, or as implied in the

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protons and electrons in this sense are 'mythical' beings. A myth, such as the Grail myth, or the Birth of Brahmā, is neither a 'fairy tale' nor a 'mystery' *in the modern sense* of the words, but simply a presentation. He who regards the myth or icon as a statement of fact, and he who regards it as fantasy, are equally misled: myth is to history as universal to particular, *raison d'être*, to *l'être* icon to species as exemplar to instance. Symbolism and imagery (*pratīka, pratibimba*, etc.), the purest form of art, is the proper language of metaphysics: 'the symbol always presupposes that the chosen expression is the best possible description, or formula, of a relatively unknown fact . . . which is none the less known or postulated as existing.' (Jung). Traditional symbolism is also more nearly a universal language than any other; the greater part of its idiom is the common property and inheritance of nearly all peoples, and can be traced back at least to the fifth or sixth millennium BC (cf. Winckler, *Die babylonische Geisteskultur*, 1907, Jeremias *Handbuch des altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, 1929 and Langdon, *Semitic mythology*, 1931), and to the beginnings of agriculture or there beyond.

[10] Cf. 'He hath brought me forth His son in the image of His eternal fatherhood, that I should also be a father and bring forth Him', Eckhart, Claud Field's *Sermons*, p. 26; cf. Jīlī. cited by Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 112, 'I am the child whose father is his son, and the wine whose vine is its jar. . . . I met the mothers who bore me, and I asked them in marriage, and they let me marry them.' 'The Snake's Bull-Father—the Bull's Father-snake' is cited by Harrison. *Prolegomena* . . . p. 495, from frg. ap. Clem(ent) of Al(exandria), *Protr.*, I.2.12. Or again, of Agni, 'being the Son of the Angels, thou hast become their Father', *Ṛveda*, I.69. 1: Agni is the 'father of his father', ibid., VI.16.35, and 'whoever understands this (*yastā vijānat*) is his father's father', i.e. surpasses his father.

[11] Also, of course, in science, 'philosophy', psychology, and other 'practical' disciplines.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up., I.4.3 where the origination of the conjoint principles called a 'falling apart', diremption, or karyokinesis, *dvedhā-pāta*. 'One became Two', viz., Yin and Yang, *Tao Tê Ching*, II.42.

On the other hand, their common Son, Agni Brahmā-Prajāpati, etc., being consubstantial with the Spirit (*prāṇa*) is at once unborn in the same sense, *and* born by a generation from the conjoint principles.[13] Only the latter birth can be thought of as an 'event' taking place at the dawn of a creative cycle, in the beginning, *agre*.

With respect to *kam*, 'Delight', 'Affirmation': Will (*kāma*) or Fiat (*syād*) are the moving power (*dakṣa, reriva*) in all procession (*krama, prasaraṇa*), *kāma* is the will-to-life, 'so great indeed is *kāma*', *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.17. Will, *kāma*, is an essential name of God; it is by his Will that his intrinsic-form (*svarūpa*) signs and seals intrinsic-nature (*svabhāva*), Nature for her part desiring form. So the single Will in Deity may be regarded from two points of view, with respect to essence as the Will-spirit, and with respect to nature as the Craving[14]: as Gandharva and Apsaras (= Urvaśī, *Ṛgveda*, VII.33.11, and Apyā, X.13.4, Kāmadeva and Rati, Eros and Psyche; cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I.8.20 and 33, where Nārāyaṇa is 'love' (*kāma, lobha, rāga*) and Śrī-Lakṣmī is 'desire' (*icchā, tṛṣṇā, rati*).

These two aspects of the Will are plainly seen in the Vedic 'legend' of the

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[12] Hence the constant use of essential names common to both, a certain indistinction of Father and Son, the distinction of Person being lost in their unity of Godhead, of the common nature.

[13] Thus, antecedent to procession:

Person (Father)—Spirit (Will)—Nature (Mother)
and posterior to procession:
Person (Father)—Nature (Mother)
\ Spirit (Son, Life) /

[14] See Böhme, *Mysterium Pansophicum*, I-III. Only when the Will is dually personified as Kāmadeva and Rati can it be said that the Will-spirit and the Craving are actually distinguished: elsewhere, either *kāma* represents the Will as an undivided principle, or we must understand from the context *what* will is implied. In our text, especially vv. 1 and 4, where it is Death, Privation, Godhead, that wills (*syām, akāmayat*)—a thing that can only be conceived analogically in the Not-Self—we must understand it is not the Will-spirit (*kāma, libido*, 'lubet'), but the Craving (*tṛṣṇā*, coveting, fatality, that which 'draws a man on' when he is 'fey'); that is the desire of Nature (*prakṛti*) for intrinsic form (*svarūpa*), the ardour of the Waters 'in their season', *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII.8.1, an unconscious, functional, dark will-to-life. In X.129. 4 (p. 79) on the other hand, where *kāma* is identified with the 'primal seed (*retas*) of Intellect (*manas*)'—not, i.e. the germinal *source* of Intellect, but the germinal *aspect* of Intellect, *logos spermatikos*, the *rasa* of *Ṛgveda*, I.164. 8—the light Will-spirit is clearly implied. The two wills are immediately correlated and perfectly balanced in unitary being: representing His knowledge of himself (in both senses of the verb to 'know'). In other words, the movement of the Will-spirit towards its object is the 'answer' to the unspoken 'wish' of the unconscious, as in *Ṛgveda*, I.164. 8, 'He by Intellect forewent her.' These considerations seem to solve the difficulties felt by Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 436.

Birth of Vasiṣṭha,[15] and the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* passage cited below, p. 36. In the first case Mitra-Varuṇau is quite literally seduced by the fascinations, of the Apsaras Urvaśī; in the second, the Waters are literally 'in heat'. God

[15] *Ṛgveda*, VII.33.11, *Bṛhad Devatā*, V.148 and 149, and *Sarvānukramaṇī*, I.166: the child begotten of Mitrā-Varuṇau and the Waters is Vasiṣṭha, who like Brahmā makes his appearance upon a lotus, i.e. is established in the Waters, in the possibility of existence, and who is in fact the same as Brahmā-Prajāpati, as rightly identified in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II.4.4.2, cf. *Nirukta.* V.14. Hence Vasiṣṭha's patronymic Maitrā-varuṇi. Again in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.2.1 and 2, Vasiṣṭha and other 'sages' are identified in various ways with the progenitive Person and the positive existence of all things. In *Atharvaveda*, X.8.20, the expression 'churned forth' (*nirmanthate*), appropriate to Agni, is used of Vasu (=Vasiṣṭha). The name Vasiṣṭha (superlative of *vasu*) seems to be rightly understood by the Commentators to mean 'foremost of those who dwell, exist, or live', either from root *vas* 'to assume a form', or root *vas* 'to live', or 'abide in a given condition'. *Vasu* is also derivable from root *vas* to shine, giving the secondary meaning 'wealth'. Whatever the root, the meanings are not incompatible, inasmuch as to be unindigent of life or existence is the primary 'good'. Cf. Vasudhā, Vasudharā, Earth as 'Mistress of Wealth', 'Habundia', or 'Upbearer of Life' (Vasudhā also = Lakṣmī); and Vasudhara, Kṛṣṇa as 'Lord of Life' in relation to Rādhā, where both meanings are implied.

Like Vasiṣṭha, Agni (Vaiśvānara) is born of, literally 'churned from' a lotus, i.e. the Earth, *Ṛgveda*, VI.16.13. That is, as the element of Fire and as Sacrificial fire in the Three Worlds: for Agni as the Supreme Deity is the 'Father', being like Mitrā-Varuṇau seduced by the Waters, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I.1.3.8, and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. II.1.1. 4 and 5. Needless to point out that Mitrā-Varuṇau, Sun, Fire, Spirit, etc., are all denotations of one and the same first principle of manifestation, and that the Waters, often called the wives of Varuṇa, or mothers in relation to the Son (Kumāra, Agni Vaiśvānara), are the possibilities of manifestation.

Parallel to the passages cited above is the myth of Purūravas and Urvaśī, *Ṛgveda*, X.95 (also IV.2.12 and 18), and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI.5.1; their son Āyu, 'Life', is identified in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, V.2, with Agni, Fire. Purūravas evidently corresponds to Prajāpati, the 'first sacrificer', cf. how in the *ŚBr.* passage he brings fire to earth by performing the (first) sacrifice, that is after he has lain again with Urvaśī on 'the last night of the year' subsequent to their first intercourse, that means a year of supernal time, the duration of one cycle of manifestation, the 'Year' of our Upaniṣad. By the sacrifice, he who had been 'changed in form' and 'walked amongst mortals', and was thus divided from Urvaśī (manifestation, or existence necessarily implying a diremption of essence and nature) he becomes a Gandharva, and is reunited with Urvaśī, that is he becomes again the pure Will-spirit in union with its object. Thus he has proceeded in time, and now returns to the unmanifest at the end of time. Thus also Purūravas corresponds to Āditya (Vivasvat): Āyu may be compared to Manu Vaivasvata. The 'mortality' of Purūravas does not mean that Purūravas was 'a man', but belongs to his existence as Universal Man, *saguṇa, martya* Brahman. That all this was clearly understood is shown in connection with the Soma sacrifice, when in the ritual of making fire, the upper and the lower twirling-sticks are addressed as Purūravas and Urvaśī, the pan of *ghī* (the food of the sacrificial fire, whereby it *exists*) as Āyu, 'for Urvaśī was the Apsaras, Purūravas her Lord, from their intercourse was Āyu born, and now in like manner he (the sacrificer) brings forth the sacrifice from their union', *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III.4.1.22.

thus affirms himself because it is his nature so to come forth: existence is his knowledge of himself, that is his eating of the fruit of the tree, for to eat is to exist. In other words, the possibility of existence necessarily involves the fact

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The relations between Vivasvant (the mortal Sun) and Saraṇyū (in person or represented by a *savarṇā*) are the same as those of Purūravas and Urvaśī: Āyu corresponding to Yama-Yamī, Manu and the Aśvins.

It may be added that *-ravas* in Purūravas, and Ravi, 'Sun', are from the same √*ru*, to 'roar'; the notion being that of the roaring of the Cosmic Fire (*Ṛgveda*, V.2.10), which is the purring of the World-Wheel, the Music of the Spheres. Cf. *Maitrī Up.*, II.6 (c).

Note that the designation of the upper fire-stick, *pramantha*, corresponds to 'Prometheus', The correspondence between the myths of Purūravas and Urvaśī and Eros and Psyche is evident. Prometheus is post-Homeric, the myth of Eros and Psyche only in Apuleius: *pra-*√*math* occurs first in Smṛti, corresponding to *nir-*√*math* in Vedic usage. The importance of Fire and Water in early Greek philosophy may well reflect Oriental, that is immediately, Persian influences, cf. Harrison, *Themis*, 1927, p. 461. It may be noted that the correspondence of Prometheus with *pramantha* is far more than merely etymological. Prometheus, like Agni, is the child of Earth, and the Okeanids who sympathize with him (in the Prometheus of Aeschylus) are his blood-kin, for the birth of Fire on Earth is but one remove from his source in the Waters. Like Urvaśī, these Okeanids appear to him in the form of birds; and 'Okeanos is much more than Ocean'.

As for the diremption of essence and nature (represented in our myths by Purūravas and Urvaśī, Eros and Psyche), cf. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I.1.3.2. 'The sky and earth were close together. On being divided, they said, etc.', with the famous fragment of Euripides (Nauck, frg. 484): Cf. *ṚV*,1.164.8-9, X,124.8 and JUB, III.14.)

Heaven and Earth were once one form, but stirred
And strove and dwelt asunder far away:
And then rewedding, bore unto the day
And light of life all things that are . . .
. . . each in his kind and law,

and the later echo in *Apollonius Rhodius*, I.494, 'how that they parted after deadly strife asunder, etc.'

For a comparative treatment of the whole theme see Siecke, E., *Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels*, Strassburg, 1892.

Amongst the proposed derivations of *apsaras*, that which gives the sense 'moving on the Waters' is to be preferred, but *apsu-rasa*, 'savour of the Waters' is also possible, and a third derivation from *a-psā*, implying 'forbidden food', also suggested by Yāska, is not without interest. Vedic Apsaras and Gandharva are a single pair; the former, by name Urvaśī ('wide-pervasive') is a persona of Aditi, later represented as Śrī-Lakṣmī, the latter equivalent to Kandarpa, Kāmadeva. In any case, the Apsaras represents the fascination of the possibilities of existence, to which the Will, Gandharva, responds: their mutual relation is the *causa causans* of the movement of the world. It is again as Will that the Gandharva holds the bridle of the cosmic steed, i.e. Varuṇa, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV.6.7, and *Ṛgveda*, I.163.3.

Observe that *nirukta* is not 'etymology', but 'interpretation', 'ermhuevia.' Yāska never had in view the special science of (philology, and it is merely 'unscientific' to speak of his 'derivations' as 'false etymologies'. Neither is *nirukta* merely 'exegesis' of existence: that is precisely His omnipotence who is without (unrealized) potentialities and is never idle though he never works. Nor does he act unwittingly, he drinks the poison (*viṣa*) and objectivity (*viṣamatā*) of existence as well as its delights; whereby his throat is scorched and blackened.

It will be seen that no real distinction can be drawn in principle between the Fall of God and that of Man: both are the necessary consequences of a divine nature common to both. The sin and shame, the virtue and glory of existence are his as much as ours.[16] The difference between us is that he knowingly remains within at the same time that he comes forth Self-ishly, we are conscious *only* in our 'self'. He is a tide at once fontal and inflowing: we are its waves, oblivious that wave is water too. Our only error is to see distinction here: the Comprehensor, *ya evaṁ vidvān,* knowing himself no more as wave, but as the sea him-Self, returns with the tide to its source, which neither he nor the Supreme Self have ever really, but only logically, left.

The Will proceeds as Love, 'by way of the Will as Love', St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 36, A. 2; that 'mutual outpouring of love . . . is the common spiration of the Father and the Son', Eckhart, I.269. 'We desire a thing while as yet we do not possess it. When we have it, we love it, desire then falling away', Eckhart, I.82[17]: but as there is nothing that he does not possess in himself, who does not proceed from potentiality to act, but is all act, his will is his love, 'Eternity is in love with the productions of time', Blake, cf. *Ṛgveda,* VII.87.2. That is his affirmation and delight, *kam, ānanda,* 'God enjoys himself in all things . . . finding his reflection most delightful', Eckhart, I.243 and 425, cf. *pramudam prayāti,* Śaṅkarācārya, *Svātmanirūpaṇa,* 95.

Veda neither asserts a beginning in time, nor a creation *ex nihilo.*[18] 'In the beginning' does not mean 'at a given time', nor eventfully, but in an ever-present now, of which empirical experience is impossible, human knowledge being only of the past, and human expectation only of the future: *agre* is first in order, primordial, *in principio,* rather than first in time. 'In the beginning, this world was merely Water', *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, V.5.1: that is to say all the possibilities of existence, not yet existence, but not an impossibility of

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(concrete interpretation), but rather 'anagogic. Examples of *nairukta,* 'hermeneutic', interpretation would be (1) to correlate Grk. pro batikov" with Lat. *probare,* in the sense to 'prove', 'make good', (2) to compare A and OṀ with Alpha and Omega, (3) to explain *amor* as *a-mor= amṛta.* At the same time nothing hinders that *nirukta* may in certain cases accord with 'true etymology'.

[16] Or as expressed by Jīlī, while religion (dualism) distinguishes ice (the universe) from water (God), understanding (monism) realizes their identity (Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 99).

[17] Cf. Jili's 'nine phases of will, beginning with inclination (*mayl*) and ending with the highest and purest love (*'ishq*) in which there is no (distinction of) lover or beloved', Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 102.

[18] Cf. *Bhagavad Gītā,* II.12 and XIII.19: Śaṅkarācārya, Comment on the *Vedānta Sūtra,* II.1.35, *anāditvātsaṁsārasya;* and Dante, 'nor before nor after was the procession of God's outflowing over these waters', but 'where every where and every when is focussed', *Paradiso,* XXIX.13.20 and 21.

existence, a true nothing, to be compared to the horns of a hare or the son of a barren woman. To say that the world was not, that there was no thing, or as in Genesis that all was 'without form and void', is not to say that nothing was. What was, is called *pradhāna, mūla-prakṛti,* the Waters, Dark-Inert (*tamas*), and by many other names: what was not is the world, life, existence, multiplicity, variety, *ens naturata,* the Three Worlds.

As to the conception of Godhead in our text: Mṛtyu, Death, is lifelessness, and lifelessness, in the technical phraseology of St. Thomas, is 'lack of an intrinsic form', *Sum. Theol.*, II, Q. 6, A. 2 'A prodigy, and is not being . . . (but) prior to motion and prior to intelligence', Plotinus, *Enneads,* VI.9.6. So the Godhead, Death-absolute,[19] is also called privation: for 'That' is 'the unexpounded (*anirukta*), invisible (*adṛśya*), not-selfed (*anātmya*), placeless (*anilayana*) ground (*pratiṣṭhā*)', *Taittirīya Up.*, II.7. 'Nothing true can be spoken of God', 'God is neither this nor that', 'Know'st thou of him anything? He is no such thing', Eckhart, I.87.211 and 246: 'which hath no ground or byss to stand on, and where there is no place to dwell in . . . it may fitly be compared to nothing', Böhme, *Supersensual Life.* Such a negative manner of speaking is inevitable: for here negation, *neti, neti,*[20] 'not so, not thus', is a denial of limiting conditions, a double negative; not as with us, who 'make innate denial' that we are other than ourselves, an affirmation of limiting conditions. So godhead is 'void', 'light and darkness, it is rid of both', 'poised in itself in sable stillness', it is 'idle', 'effects neither this nor that', is 'as poor, as naked, and as empty as though it were not; it has not, wills not, wants not', 'motionless dark', Eckhart, I.267-70, 368, 369, 381.[21]

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[19] Mṛtyu as Death-absolute, the last death of the soul, *mors janua vitae,* is to be distinguished from death-temporal, *mṛtyu,* or *punar mṛtyu;* which distinction is, for example, sharply drawn in the seventh stanza of our Brāhmaṇa.

It is developed later, p. 56, that the relation of Godhead to God, *nirguṇa* Brahman (Mṛtyu in our text), is as it were maternal, a relation of Aditi to Āditya. Observe then that corresponding to the conception in our text of *nirguṇa, anātmya* Brahman as Death-absolute is that of Aditi as Nirṛti, as in *Ṛgveda,* VII.58.1, where the Maruts rise up, grow up, into the regions of angelhood (*daivasya dhāmnaḥ*) from the abyss of Nirṛti (*nirṛteravaṃśāt*)—the metaphor contrasts *dhāman* in the sense of 'abode', 'dwelling', having an implied structure, with that which is not an abode, not a dwelling, but without structure, literally 'devoid of any beam', *avaṁśa,* and 'unsupported by any pillar', *askambha.*

Daivasya dhāman here corresponds to *akṣara . . . dhāma parama,* imperishable, transcendent abode', *Bhagavad Gītā,* VIII.21.

[20] 'The Self is neither this nor that (*neti, neti*): unseizable, indestructible, unrelated, etc.' *Bṛhadāraṇayaka Up.*, IV.4.22.

Cf. also Dante, *Convivio,* III. 15, '. . . certain things which our intellect cannot behold . . . we cannot understand what they are except by denying things of them'.

The same argument is developed in Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed,* I.59.

[21] All this exactly corresponds to the Muhammadan conception of the Godhead as al'Amā, 'dark mist', 'blindness', 'unconsciousness', immanent negativity', 'potentiality', 'non-existence', etc., all logically contrasted with Aḥaddiya, the transcendental Unity of Allāh (Nicholson, *Studies . . .* pp. 83-97).

Aśanāyā, want, is privation of 'food', the means of existence. So in the language of the Upaniṣads, 'to eat food', *annam ad*, is to 'live', 'exist', 'function', 'energise', 'be mode-ified' (*-maya*) or 'natured'. In distinction from Godhead, Death, God lives, for all things are his 'food'. So 'food is the supreme form (*rūpa*) of the Self, food the mode (*-maya*) of the Spirit (*prāṇa*, here 'breath of life') . . . from food are the begotten (*prajāḥ*) born (*prajāyante*) . . . by food they live (*jīvanti*), and thereto they return at last', *Maitrī Up.*, VI.11: and 'it is even He manifested Light': 'motionless dark . . . this darkness is the incomprehensible nature of God . . . first to arise in it is Light . . . (and) this supremely pure splendour of the impartable essence illumines all things at once . . . the patent of his power, resplendent in luminous detail', Eckhart, I.369.373.366.399. Or as our text expresses it, of him, as he shone, were the Waters 'born', that is precisely 'brought to light'; 'He illumines (*bhāsayati*) these worlds . . . incarnadines (*rañjayati*) existences here', *Maitrī Up.*, VI.7.

'For him who knoweth thus', *ya evaṁ vidvān*, Comprehensor: with this constant refrain the Upaniṣads invariably introduce a statement of the immediate and the transcendental values of the knowledge previously imparted. Just as Eckhart, for example, after describing the procession of the Spirit as Life, 'it is flowing from the Spirit and is altogether ghostly, and in this power God comes out in the full flower of his joy and glory, as he is in himself', adds 'were he always recollected in this power a man would never age', I.291; or in the words of Böhme, 'The magician has power in this Mystery', *Sex Puncta Mystica*, VI.2. Professor Edgerton has admirably demonstrated how the Vedas are never in search of knowledge for its own sake, but inasmuch as Understanding is thought of as synonymous with plenitude, power, and freedom.[22]

The Waters, verily, were a counter-shining (*arka*). What was the foam (*śara*) of the Waters, that solidified, that became Earth (*pṛthivī*). Thereon He, *Self*, strove (*aśrāmyat*). The Fiery-Energy (*tejas*) and the Tincture (*rasa*) of his striving (*śrānta*) and intension (*tapta*) broke forth (*niravartat*) as Fire (*agni*). 2.

The 'first day of creation' is thus described as the reflection (*ābhāsa*) of a light-image (*bhā-rūpa*) in the mirror of the as yet undifferentiated possibilities of existence: that is the Sheen of Shining, *arkasya arkatva*, Dante's 'suo splendore . . . risplendendo', *Paradiso*, XXIX.14 and 15.[23] Cf. *Ṛgveda*, X.82.5 and 6, where the Several Angels are seen together (*samapaśyanta*) in One

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[22] Franklin Edgerton, *The Upaniṣads: what do they teach, and why? J.A.O.S.*, 49, pp. 97-121.

[23] In full, 'Not to have gain of any good unto himself, which may not be but that his splendour, counter-shining, might declare, "I am".' Cf. Plotinus, *Enneads*, V.3.8, 'a splendour directed to itself, which at one and the same time illuminates, and is itself illuminated'.

Projection (*arpitam*)[24] from the navel of the Unborn (i.e. Varuṇa) as he lies germinal (*garbha*), recumbent (*uttānapad*) on the surface of the Waters: and *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* VII.8.1: 'Unto the Waters came their season. The Spirit stirred their back, therefrom became a fair-thing, Mitra-Varuṇau counter-saw (*paryapaśyata*) themselves therein.' 'He shines upon this world in the form of man', *imaṁ lokamabhyārcat puruṣarūpeṇa, Aitareya Āraṇyaka,* II.2.1. So in Genesis, 'the Spirit of God moved on the face of the Waters', and 'He created man in his own image': 'by this reflection of his divine nature the intellect of the Father fashions or utters itself... his light, his flowing intellect to wit, was shining on this world-stuff wherein the world subsisted in the Father in uncreated formless simplicity', Eckhart, I.397 and 404: 'And this is the Image and Likeness of God, and our Image and our Likeness; for in it God reflects Himself and all things', Ruysbroeck, *Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage,* III,[25] Dante, 'La gloria di colui che tutto move per l'universo penetra e risplende', and 'quelia circulazion, che si concetta pareva in te come lume riflesso ... mi parve pinta della nostra effige', *Paradiso,* I.1-2, and XXXIII.127-31.

'For that God *is* God he gets from creatures', and 'I have loved you in the reflection of my darkness', the 'reflection of the mirror in the sun is in the sun', Eckhart, I.274, 377 and 143: 'as when a man beholdeth his face in a mirror', Böhme, *Clavis,* 42 and 43. Or from Indian sources, 'Without Thee I have no intrinsic-form, without me Thou hast no existence', *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* lii; 'without Śiva no Devī, without Devī no Śiva', *Kāmakalāvilāsa,* Commentary, citing *āgama* with reference to the text, 2, 'She is the pure mirror wherein Śiva sees his own intrinsic-form.'[26] This conception of the relativity of God, Böhme's 'Gegenwurf', which we might call a *prākaśa-vimarśa-vāda,* 'doctrine of light and reflection', and implies that the Fire that shines forth as Light is a *dark* heat until and simultaneously illuminated by the counter-shining, leads to developments of fundamental significance. That God is man-made, 'takes the forms imagined by his worshippers' (*Kailāya-malai,* Ceylon National Review, Jan. 1907, p. 285), that his forms 'are determined by the relation that subsists between the worshipped and the worshipper' (*Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4, 159), gives man the right to worship him in any guise whereby he is most aware of him and denies man's right to speak of any 'other' gods as 'false'.

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[24] *Arpitam,* 'infixed', 'projected', geometrically, pictorially, and spatially in the Tree of Life. Cf. Dante's 'trina luce, che in unica stella scintillando'. *Paradiso,* XXXI.28; Eckhart, I.282', 'Everything is pictured in his providence.' The Son is *viśvarūpa.*

[25] Corresponding to all this is the Islamic doctrine of 'metaphor of Allāh's creating by looking (*naẓar*)', for 'towards everything that Allāh created he has a special aspect (*wajh* = 'face'), in virtue of which he regards it and preserves it in its appointed place in the order of existence', see Macdonald, D.B., *Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam.* Acta Orientalia, IX. 1931, p. 347, and Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic mysticism,* 1921, pp. 110, 114.

[26] Cf also Śaṅkarācārya, *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra,* I, *darpaṇa-dṛśyamāna,* 'as if reflected in a mirror'. Or again, form Jīlī, *Insānu'l kāmil,* Ch. LX. 'As a mirror in which a person sees the form of himself and cannot see it without a mirror, such is the relation of God to the Perfect Man, who cannot possibly see his own form but in the mirror of the name Allāh; and he is also a mirror to God, for God laid upon himself the necessity that His names and attributes should not be seen save in the Perfect Man', Nicholson, *Studies...* p. 106. Or yet again, Eckhart, 'It is as if one stood before a high mountain,

The Waters and the Earth are to be understood not only with reference to our terrestrial seas and continents, but as respectively the possibilities of existence in any of the Three Worlds, and the support of living beings existent in any one of them according to the terms of its possibilities: in other words, the 'Waters' are literally *peut être, bhaviṣya*, the Earth any corresponding plane or sphere (*loka, dhātu, kṣetra, bhūmi*) or support (*pratiṣṭhā*) of experience:[27] and any such Earth floats like a lotus, or like foam, or like a ship, on the surface of the Waters in which it is established. The movement of the Spirit by which the Waters are stirred is not in itself a local movement, but local in effect, so that the surface of the Waters is thrown into waves, and thereby the reflection of the Light is multiplied, contracted and identified into variety. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.I.7, 'As far as the Waters extend as far as Varuṇa extends, so far extends His world', asserts the fundamental doctrine of the identity of 'possible' and 'real'.

The striving and intension are not easy to explain: both imply conation, the latter (*tapas*) is precisely Hebrew *Ẓimẓum*. *Tapas* is not a penance, because not expiatory, but rather an anguish and a passion: a dark heat of the consciousness, a kindling not yet a flame, or to take an analogy from Physics, a raising of potential to the sparking point.[28] Notions of a smouldering

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and cried, 'Art thou there?' The echo comes back. 'Art thou there?' If one cries, 'Come out', the echo answers', "Come out"' (Claud Field's *Eckhart's Sermons*, p. 26): as in the *Chāndogya Up.*, I.3.2, *samāna u evāyaṁ cāsau . . . svara itīmam—ācakṣate svara iti pratyāsvara ityamum*, with double entendre, (1) 'This is called "Sound", That "Sound", viz., an "Echoing"', and (2) 'This is regarded as "Light", That "Light", viz., "reflection".' It may be observed that the same dual significance is present also in our Upaniṣad, I.2.1, translated above, where *arcan acarat* can mean either 'lauded with lauds', or 'manifested light'. The principle involved underlies and explains the offering of lights and music in devotional offices: that is as it were a re-flection of His light and sound upon Himself, whereby His likeness (*mūrtti, pratimā*, or other *pratīka*) is revealed to the officiant, which likewise otherwise remains unseen and uneloquent, alone in its dark shrine.

The metaphor of reflection implies, of course, a correspondence of microcosm and macrocosm, cf. 'Yonder world is the counterpart (*anurūpam*) of this world, and of yonder world this world is the counterpart', *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII.2.

[27] Cf. Böhme, 'even thy own earth also (that is, thy body)', *Supersensual Life*: Sāyaṇa, on *Ṛgveda*, VI.16.13, *bhūmiśca sarvajagata ādhāra-bhūteti*, 'Earth is the support of every world'; and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, II.5.1, 'This Earth is honey for all creatures', i.e. the support of their existence, each after its kind.

In *Ṛgveda*, I.108.9, and X.59.4, respectively, the Three Worlds, and Heaven and Earth, are spoken of as 'Earths'.

[28] The root *tap* can also be employed transitively, as in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II. 4, where *ātmā . . . puruṣam . . . abhyatapat*, where *abhyatapat* has been rendered by Max Müller and others as 'brooded upon', no doubt with reference to the idea of a brooding hen.

continence and intellectual fermentation, as well as of a vegetative incubation, are implied. *Tejas* and *rasa* are forms of energy, respectively fiery and fluid: *tejas* the fire of love and wrath, *rasa* the elixir, tincture, or water of life. *Tejas* as element corresponds in part to 'phlogiston'.

'Broke forth as fire': for 'the Eternal Father is manifested in the fire . . . this *flagrat* is effected in the enkindling of the fire in the essence of the anguish', Böhme, *Signatura Rerum*, XIV.38 and 31, 'with the enkindling of the fire in the salnitral flagrat two kingdoms separate, viz., eternity and time', ibid., VII.8, cf. 'the fire itself, viz., the first principle in the life, with which the light and dark world do separate', ibid., IV.8. Also 'A third master has said that God is a fire. He too speaks truly, though in a likeness. For Fire is the noblest in nature and mightiest in operation amongst the elements it never rests until it reaches heaven. It is much wider and higher than Air, Water, or Earth, it comprehends all other elements in itself', Eckhart, from Büttner's *Schriften and Predigten*, 1923, II, p. 144.

Agni, 'Fire', appears in the Vedic liturgies as the preferred designation of the First-manifested Principle, on the one hand because of the fiery nature of the Supernal-Sun, and on the other because of the primary importance of fire in the sacrificial ritual. In our text (2 and 3) the divine Fire is alluded to from two different points of view, first as an undivided principle, as also specifically in *Ṛgveda*, I.69.1, where Agni is the 'Father of the Angels' and V.3.1, where Agni is Varuṇa 'at birth', and Mitra 'when enkindled', 'in Him' are the Several Angels, and He is Indra to the mortal worshipper: and second, as one member of the Trinity of Agni, Āditya, Vāyu. The latter Agni, the Son of God, is commonly called Vaiśvānara, 'Universal', with reference to his manifestation in the terrestrial, intermediate, and celestial regions; and is pre-eminently 'First-born' and 'Youngest' because perpetually brought to birth in the sacrificial fire at the dawn of every temporal cycle and the dawn of everyday.

In any case, it is an elemental Fiery Energy (*tejas*) that underlies and typifies all other manifestation: so in procession, 'the Fiery-energy (*tejas*), intrinsic-form of the firmament, in the vacance of the inner man, determined as the Trinity of Fire, Supernal-Sun, and Spirit, three factors of the Imperishable-Word, OṀ, sprouts forth, springs up, and suspires (or blossoms)' as a Burning Bush, the all-pervading Tree of Life, *Maitrī Up.*, see pp. 60-1. With this compare Isaiah, XI.1.2, *Egredietur virga de radice Jesse et flos de radice ejus ascendet et requiescet super cum spiritus domini*, and Eckhart's Commentary, 'Root of Jesse is a term for the fiery nature of God. . . . Jesse means a fire and a burning; it signifies the ground of divine love and also, the ground of the soul. Out of this ground the rod grows, i.e. in the purest and highest; it shoots up out of this virgin soil at the breaking forth of the Son. Upon the rod opens

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Something like the transformation of energy into heat by an interposition of resistance is involved. With *tapas* may be compared not only Hebrew *zimzum*, but also German *sude* as used by Böhme, and explained by Law as 'a boiling or seething . . . the stirring of the seven properties in nature'.

a flower, the flower of the Holy Ghost', I.153.154.302.[29] Likewise Böhme, 'The entire man is in his being the three worlds. The soul's centre, viz., the root of the soul's fire contains the dark-world; and the soul's fire contains the first Principle as the true fire-world. And the noble image, or the tree of divine growth, which is generated from the soul's fire and buds forth through fierce wrathful death in freedom or in the world of light, contains the light-world or the second Principle. And the body, which in the beginning was created out of the mixed substance which at creation arose from the light-world, the dark-world, and the fire-world contains the outer world or the third mixed Principle', *Sex Puncta Mystica*, V.28: here the first, second, and third Principles correspond to the Trinity of Fire, Supernal-Sun, and Spirit, and the properties, *tamas, sattva*, and *rajas*.

Rasa is the sappy vegetative life in trees and plants, a tincture in rain, the elixir of life, the *soma*-dew that drips from the world-tree, seed in all that reproduce their kind, savour in all things eaten or drunk, and the principle of beauty in art. *Rasa* is the fertilizing (*raitasa*) energy, the 'flowing' intellect, as for example in *Ṛgveda*, I.164.8, where Mother-Earth, partaking of Father-Heaven, is 'pervaded by the tincture' (*rasā nividdhā*), and the Calf (= Agni) is begotten. 'I understand here the virtual salt in the vegetable life', Böhme, *Signatura Rerum*, IX.22. Cf. the Stoic *Logos spermatikos*.

He effected in himself a Trinity (*tridhā*): one-third Fire (*agni*), one-third Supernal-Sun (*āditya*), one-third Wind (*vāyu*).

He is verily, the Spirit (*prāṇa*), determined (*vihita*) in a Trinity: *of the Three Worlds, in the likeness of a horse.* His head the eastern (*prācī*) airt, his fore-legs that and that airt on either side. Likewise his tail the western (*pratīcī*) airt, his hinder-legs that and that airt on either side. His flanks the south and north. His back the heavens (*dyu*), his belly firmament (*antarikṣa*), his underneath this *ground.* He is established (*pratiṣṭhā*) in the Waters. He who knoweth this is established wherever he may be. 3.

'A Trinity', that is as the principle of Fire in any Earth, of Light in any Heaven, of Motion in any Firmament. This basic angelic Trinity of three Principles or Persons is constantly lauded, continually referred to in the Vedas and Upaniṣads.[30] 'One of them (i.e. Agni) scythes when the year-of-time is

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[29] In Christian art the Tree of Jesse corresponds to the Vedic descriptions of the Tree of Life (*Ṛgveda*, I.24.7, *Atharvaveda*, X.7.38, *Kaṭha Up.*, and *Maitrī Up.*, as cited here), and to the later representations of the Birth of Brahmā. See my *Tree of Jesse*, Art Bulletin, XI.2, 1929, and *Yakṣas*, II,1931, also Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturmalerei*, 1932, p. 167.

[30] Not infrequently, e.g., in *Bṛhad Devatā*, I.69, 'Indra and Vāyu' are counted as one Person in this Trinity. On Indra, see pp. 96f.

It must, of course, be understood that Vedic 'theology' takes account of two different kinds of Trinity, (1) ontological, analogous to the Christian concept, and done; one of them (i.e. Āditya) with his powers surveys the worlds; of one of them (i.e. Vāyu) his sweep is seen, but not his likeness', *Ṛgveda*, I.164.44. *Maitrī Up.*, IV.5-6, may be cited: 'Fire (*agni*), Wind (*vāyu*) and Supernal-Sun (*āditya*)—Food (*anna*), Spirit (*prāṇa*), Time (*kāla*)—Rudra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu . . . these are the primary embodiments (*tanu*) of the transcendental (*para*) incorporeal (*aśarīra*) . . . Brahman.' Cf. 'Now then fire is the first cause of life; and light is the second cause; and the spirit is the third cause, and yet there is but one essence . . . which manifesteth itself', Böhme, *XL Questions concerning the Soule*, I.276.

Now with respect to the three Persons of this Trinity: Āditya is the Supernal-Sun,[31] the 'Golden Person' in the Sun, immediate source of image-bearing light (*sarūpa jyoti*), consubstantial with the real and imageless (*amūrta, nirābhāsa*) Brahman, who is very Light (*jyoti*), for 'that Light is the same as the Supernal-Sun', *Maitrī Up.*, VI.3; the personal name is Viṣṇu, *sattva*-natured, for he keeps things in being. Vāyu, Wind, is the Self hypostasized as the Breath of Life, consubstantial with Brahman, Spiritus, *prāṇa*, whose breath is in himself, unsuspired (*avāta*, *Ṛgveda*, X.129.2), despirated (Buddhist *nirvāta*);[32] here the personal name is Brahmā (Prajāpati,[33] etc.) who is *rajas*-natured, being the progenitive Person, who gives to every existence its extension in space. Agni is here specifically the fiery nature, sometimes called the Wrath of God, the devourer and transformer of all existences: whose personal name is Rudra, Śiva, *tamas*-natured, for all change

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(2) that of the Trimūrti of Persons distinguished functionally. Both are 'arrangements' of One Power, but made from different points of view. The Universe is three-fold from many distinct points of view.

[31] It will be realized, of course, that Āditya, the Supernal-Sun, Child of Aditi, Petrarch's *il somme sol*, Dante's *somma luce*, is not merely our sidereal sun, but shines as the first principle of Light and Time throughout the 'hundred years' of the lifetime of Brahmā-Prajāpati, the one 'year' of our Upaniṣad. The Supernal-Sun is the 'Father of Lights' in the Three Worlds. 'As the Deity, viz., the divine light, is the centre of all life, so also in the manifestation of God, viz., in the figure (i.e. *pratīka*), the sun is the centre of all life', Böhme, *Signatura Rerum*, IV.18, cf. *Maitrī Up.*, VI.30. As Swedenborg expresses it, 'it is evident that in the spiritual world there is a different sun from that of the natural world'.

[32] Our rendering of *nirvāṇa*, *nirvāta*, as 'despiration', etc., is based on etymological grounds, cf., *avāta*, 'without spiration' and on the fundamental connotation. But it should not be overlooked that in later and especially Buddhist usage it is an extinction rather of the flame than of the breath of life that is immediately denoted. The distinction rather logical than real; *kāma* and *prāṇa* being inseparable 'movements', simultaneous alike in origination and cessation. 'Deflagration' might have been a better rendering of (Buddhist) *nirvāṇa*, but the use in Physics of deflagration as practically equivalent to conflagration makes this diffcult. The to be preferred renderings of Buddhist *nirvāṇa* and *parinirvāṇa* seem to be 'Extinction' and 'Total Extinction', with reference, that is, to the flame of life.

[33] 'Prajāpati' occurs in the *Ṛgveda*, viz., IV.53.2, as an epithet of Savitṛ as Universal Mover, and X.121.10 again as an epithet of the Supernal-Sun.

is a dying, a going forth of individual form into the dark night of non-existence. At the same time this Trinity is One Being, to whom as such either of these personal names can be directly applied; the functions are described, rather than divided in the Persons. 'Albeit separately lauded, these three Lords of the World are of one Self-hood and a common Nature' (*Bṛhad Devatā*, I.70-4): that unity of the Several angels is Agni (*Ṛgveda*, V.3.1); or any one member of the Trinity may stand for all, as when in *Ṛgveda*, I.115.1, the Supernal-Sun (Sūrya) is called the Self of the Universe, or Vāyu similarly in X.168.4.[34]

Prāṇa, Spiritus, Pneuma, Life (Taoist *ch'i*, Islamic *rūḥ*) is an essential name of the Self, as Father or as Son: not as in Christian theology, a distinct Person, though in every other respect equivalent to the 'Holy Ghost'. In procession, by way of the Will as the principle of Motion, *prāṇa* is often spoken of as *vāta* or *vāyu*, Wind or Air: and as the breaths of life in all existences, the Spirit becomes manifold, particularly fivefold (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.3.3, *Taittirīya Up.*, I.7, *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, I.5, etc.).

Prāṇa, Vāyu, Vāta, is that Gale of the Spirit which begins to blow at the dawn of every cycle of manifestation: thereby the glassy surface of the Waters is thrown into waves, each one of which reflects the Supernal-Sun, creating a multifarious Sheen or counter-shining, which is the world-picture. That dawn wind is not specifically mentioned in our text, but implied in the mention of the Spirit, and when it is said that the Earth becomes from the foam of the Waters.[35] Hence arises one of the fundamental problems of theology, 'Why does the dawn wind of creation blow, and why *as* it blows?' We say *akāmayat*, 'by the Will of God', but that is more of a description than an answer. For his Will is not an arbitrary will, an accident of being, as though He needed anything, but inevitable and essential: as Eckhart expresses it, 'think not that it is with God as with a human carpenter, who works or works not as he chooses, who can do or leave undone at his good pleasure. It is not thus with God. . . . He must do, willy-nilly', I.23 and 263, cf. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, XV (prose), 'the Tathāgata does what-must-be-done', *kartavyaṁ karoti.* God's idiosyncrasy are both eternal work and eternal rest. He cannot do otherwise than he does: for his omnipotence does not extend to a capacity for being any other or any less than he is, he cannot make that which has been not to have been, for all that has been is in and of himself, and all the future is.[36]

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[34] *Ṛgveda*, X. 168. 4, *ātmā devānām, bhuvanasya garbha.*

Cf. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, II.77, 'Who is the one and only Angel? Spirit (*prāṇa*)', and *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, III.1.1, 'There is but one entire, Angel (viz., Vāyu), the others are but semi-Angels.'

[35] For Vāyu as the dawn-wind of creation see especially *Ṛgveda*, I.134, where it is clear that the wind is thought of as precedent to dawn, being indeed called upon to awaken the dawn. It may be added that 'Dawn' (Uṣas, etc.) in the Vedic hymns generally refers to dawn of a cycle of manifestation, not merely any dawn (human dawns are but in the analogy of cosmic dawns, just as human years are but analogies of supernal 'years').

[36] As expressed by Śaṅkarācārya, 'His nature is inscrutable', *na ca svabhāvaḥ paryanuyoktum śakyate*, Comment on *Brahma Sūtra*, I.2.33.

It is not too hard to understand that 'God's will to the creature was only one, viz., a general manifestation of the spirit', Böhme, *Signatura Rerum*, XVI.25, Swinburne's 'Thou biddst me but be.' But the gift of life, 'in its explication and manifestation it goes forth from eternity to eternity into two essences, viz., into evil and to good', Böhme, ibid., 20; no manifestation (*vyañjana*) is conceivable except in terms of pairs of opposites, *dvandvau*. But how is the distribution of good and evil in the world determined? That is a knotty problem, for we cannot imagine the eternal energy as having predilection or as playing favourites amongst the figures of its puppet show: nor on the other hand that anything existent has come to be just what it is by mere chance, 'existence' and 'causality' being connascent concepts of the intellect.

Perhaps to our surprise we shall find that the problem has been treated similarly by Hindu and Christian theologians. Indian tradition, in all its forms, maintains that the individual alone is responsible for all the good or evil that befalls him; he gets, as we say colloquially, just what is coming to him, he 'asks for it'. As expressed in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.3.2, *yathāprajñaṁ hi sambhavāḥ*, 'they are born according to the measure of their understanding', cf. *Kauṣītaki Up.*, I.2, *yathāvidyam*. 'Time, intrinsic nature, necessity, accident, the elements, and ancestry (*yoni, puruṣa*) may be posited (as causes of natural species); but inasmuch as the nature of Self is not a combination of these, the Self is not the Ruler (*īśa*) of the cause of pleasure and pain . . . that Self which takes on every form is not also the shaper of forms', *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, 1.2 and 9. So the *Chāndogya Up.*, VIII. 1.4, points out that begotten existences (*prajāḥ*) get their deserts *anuśāsana* (lit. 'according to what is decreed', *śāsana* having here the force of 'natural law', the 'law of heaven', *dharma, ṛta*): inasmuch as the individual existences live-dependent-on (*upajīvanti*) their such and such desired ends (*yaṁ yamantam-abhikāmaḥ*). Similarly in our Upaniṣad, IV.4.5-7 and 22, summarized, 'according to a man's works, which are actuated by his will, good or evil, as the case may be, and though he may attain his ends, he must return again from the other world to this world: he only who is without desire, whose desire is fulfilled, whose desire is him-Self, reaches Brahman, there neither right nor wrong that he may have done affect him': he escapes there from merit and demerit, *puṇyapāpa, dharmādharmau*.

Similarly Śaṅkarācārya, *Vedānta Sūtra*, II.1.32-5, Commentary, maintains that injustice cannot be charged to Brahman, for as much as he does not act independently, but with regard to (*sāpekṣa*) merit and demerit (*dharmādharmau*): he being the common cause of the becoming of all things, but not of the distinctions between them, which distinctions are determined by the 'varying works inherent in the respective personalities'.[37]

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[37] Blake's 'Man is born like a garden, ready planted and sown': Jung, 'The psychological individual . . . has an *a priori* unconscious existence', *Psychological types*, p. 560.

Böhme's conception of the one harmony and its necessarily diverse manifestations has its equivalent in the theology of Jīlī, where every divine 'attribute has its effect (*āthār*) in which its *jamāl* or *jalāl* or *kamāl* is manifested' so that 'Paradise is the mirror of a absolute *jamāl*, Hell of absolute *jalāl*', Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 100.

Quite or nearly in accord with this, St. Thomas, distinguishing Fate from Providence, says that it is 'manifest that fate is in the created causes themselves', *Sum.Theol.*, I, Q. 116, A. 2. Böhme is even more definite: 'as is the harmony, viz., the life's form in each thing, so is also the sound or tone of the eternal voice therin; in the holy, holy, in the perverse perverse', and that is determined by the *turba* 'which Adam took in by his imagination' and which comes into the world with every individual form of the spirit, 'hanging to it', 'therefore no creature can blame its creator, as if he made it evil', *Signatura Rerum*, XVI. 6 and 7, and *XL Questions concerning the Soule*, VIII.14. Compare also Dante *Paradiso*, XVII.37-42, 'Contingency, that does not extend beyond the page of your material, is all depicted in the eternal aspect; though it takes not its necessity therefrom, no more than does a ship as it floats down the stream (depend upon) that image wherein she is mirrored.'

All that follows naturally from the conclusion that neither good nor evil can have, as such, any place in pure being: that point of view, is so constantly maintained in the Upaniṣads, *Bhagavad Gītā*, and in Buddhism, that the citation of a couple of passages will amply suffice. He, Brahman, is 'other than right and wrong' (*dharmādharmau*), and 'when a mortal has rent away what is rightful (*dharmya*) and receives Him as undimensioned (*anu*), then he rejoices', *Kaṭha Up.*, II.13 and 14: 'The Lord of the world emanates neither agency nor actions, nor the conjunction of action and reward, but it is each thing's nature that operates.[38] The Lord accepts neither the ill nor the well-done of any man', *Bhagavad Gītā*, V.14-15. In Christianity, besides that 'He makes his sun to shine alike upon the just and the unjust', we find uncompromising words in Eckhart: 'I must let go virtue if I would see God face to face', 'God is neither good nor true', 'the vision of God transcends virtues', 'joys and sorrows are not sown in the ground of eternal truth', there, there is 'no trace of vice or virtue'; 'there is nothing free but the first cause', I.144.272.273.467.374.146. Were it otherwise, He could not be spoken of as 'just'. So the dawn wind of creation must be thought of as of a double origin: one of the Spirit, moving without motion or any why, the other actuated by and because of past events.

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[38] The primordial causality of intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*) is categorically denied in *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, I.2, and VI.1. The contradiction involved is more apparent than real, and depends on the distinction of 'cause' from 'means'. It is indeed 'by the Almight of the Angel (i.e. the 'Father') that this Brahma-wheel revolves': but the position of each existent (*sthita* = *avyāpaka*) thing, its specific modality, is determined by qualities inherent in the thing itself.

This intrinsic nature, whereby each thing is what it is, constitutes the private measure of free will of each thing, though its autonomy is limited by the coexistence of other things.

The question, whether God as he is in himself knows good and evil as we know them can be answered with assurance in the negative by the consideration that He cannot be thought of as subjected to limitations of individuality; the knowledge of good and evil belongs to *avidyā*, 'ignorance', 'relativity'. In the same way with respect to causal operation, a temporal separation of cause and effect being inconceivable from the standpoint of absolute understanding (*vidyā*). Cf. *Ṛgveda*, I.164. 32, 'He who hath made him (Agni Vaiśvānara) knows him not.'

It may be noted that *Genesis*, III.22, now translated 'The Lord God said, Behold the man is become as one of us to know good and evil', should have been rendered 'Behold the man who hath been like one of us, is come to know good through evil', cf. Ogden and Richards, *The Meaning of meaning*, 3rd edn., 1930, p. 224, Note 1, and cf. also our Note 115 *infra*.

It is not proposed to discuss here in any detail the doctrine of reincarnation, *punar apādana, punar āvṛtti,* We shall take it for granted that in its original and pure form[39] this doctrine simply implied a return from angelic to corporeal existence, in-accordance-with-a-natural-law (*śāsita, ṛtvya, dharmya*)[40] affecting all those who have not by gnosis (*jñāna, vidyā*) already achieved a total emancipation (*ati-mukti*), nor embarked on the angelic voyage (*devayāna*) of progressive emancipation (*krama mukti*), and so have neither escaped, nor are in the way to escape from the bondage of desirous works (*kāmya karma*) which are the determinants of merit and demerit (*dharmādharmau, puṇya-pāpa*). We take it for granted also, what is perhaps less certain, that the return (*punar āvartana, avasarpaṇa,* etc.) was originally conceived as taking place not immediately, but in another aeon, and under a new dispensation: either in another *manvantara,* or *yuga,* or *kalpa,* or even in another *para* with the resurrection of the cosmic horse, the birth of another Brahmā-Prajāpati.[41]

It is with this last return and resurrection that we are primarily concerned. Granting the aforesaid premises, it is abundantly apparent that Brahmā-Prajāpati, Puruṣa, Son, First Sacrificer, Cosmic Horse and Tree of Life, insofar as they exist in and of the Three Worlds, could in no way have been thought of as exempt from the universal law of latent causality, *pūrva* or *adṛṣṭa karma*. For the works of Prajāpati, his twin sacrifices (*yajña*), are pre-eminently *kāmya*, desirous: 'Prajāpati desiring offspring (*prajākāmya*) sacrificed', *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II.4.4.4. Further in fact behaves like a Patriarch (*pitṛ*), and as such no other way or voyage can be imagined for him but that of the Patriarchs, the *pitṛyāna*. For deity takes on mortality with all its consequences: hence in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, II. 3. 1, the Brahman in a likeness (*mūrta*) is rightly called mortal, *martya*; his 'hundred years' are all of time, but not the timeless.[42] That conception of his mortality is echoed too by Eckhart, 'God comes and Goes . . . God passes away', 'before creatures were, God was not God', 'all the Persons being clapt into their nature vanish into the dim silence of their interior being', I.143.218.469; 'they become one', *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.3.8, 'where all existence becometh of one nest', *Mahānārāyaṇa Up.*, II.3.

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[39] In case the doctrine of reincarnation was originally of popular origin, this would mean 'first intellectual formulation': whenever that may have been. Liberation and rebirth are already distinguished and contrasted in *Ṛgveda,* V.46.1, in the phrase *vimucaṁ na āvṛttam punaḥ* 'neither liberation nor coming back again'.

[40] This Law, of which the ordinances (*dharmāni*) are established by the first sacrifice, *Ṛgveda,* X.90.16, might be stated as follows: Within the realm of causality, causality operates uniformly, through time and time again. Moreover, as the creation (sacrifice) is without beginning or end, so also is the Law without beginning or end.

[41] Eckhart, I.379, 'Aught is suspended from the divine essence; its progression is matter, wherein the soul puts on new forms and puts off her old ones. The change from one into the other is her death: the one she doffs she dies to, and the one she dons she lives in', presents a remarkable likeness to *Bhagavad Gītā,* II.22, 'As a man casting off worn-out garments, taketh other new ones, so the embodied being, casting off worn out bodies, enters into other new ones.' I do not infer that Eckhart is speaking of reincarnation, in the accepted sense of the word, but rather that he is referring to a progress in wisdom of the individual Self, as in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.4.4, 'just so this self, striking down this body and driving out its ignorance, makes for itself another newer and fairer form, such as that of the Patriarchs, Choristers, Angels, Prajāpati, Brahmā, or other living beings'. Both this passage, and that cited from the *Gītā* could be, and perhaps should be understood to mean not a reincarnation of the individual, but the continuous reincarnation of the Spirit, in forms causally determined by past acts, and so inherited by other, not the same, individuals. Just as we invoke such names as gene or germ-plasm to account for character and species.

Insofar,[43] then, as Deity is in the world, he is bound by Works, his Will or Providence, being however righteous (*dharmya*) comparable to the 'ordinary will' based on predilection, is not free: thought of as Ṛtaspati or Dharmarāja, still he is not above the law, not un-just.[44] Free-will, in our sense of the words, represents a contradiction in terms: as the Upaniṣad, cited above, expresses it, and as the Buddhist also felt so strongly, existences are dependent on (*upajīvanti*), the slaves of, their desires, and that holds equally for good and bad desires, for man and for incarnate God. Man's free will consists only in a freedom not to will, a freedom to return to the centre of his being, to identify his own will with His Will who 'works willingly but not by will, naturally but not by nature', Eckhart, I.225. The ordinary will extends only to particular goods; but 'the potentiality of the will extends to the universal good . . . just as the object of the intellect extends to universal being', St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 105, A. 4: hence, as Rūmi expresses it, 'Whoso hath not surrendered will, no will hath he.' Free-will is not in the order of nature: he is autonomous (*svarāj*) who knows the Self (*ātman*), but 'those whose knowledge is otherwise than this are heteronomous (*anyarājāḥ*), theirs are perishing worlds, in none of all the worlds are they movers-at-will (*kāmacārāḥ*', *Chāndogya Up.*, VII.25.2).

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[42] So there is a *daiva-parimara* = Götterdämmerung, *Kauṣītaki Up.*, I.12.

[43] That 'insofar' is doctrinally an important point. For pantheism and 'natural religion' are excluded equally by the Vedas and in Christianity. Primarily, in that infinity is incommensurable with the totality of things finite. Also explicitly, 'Only one-fourth of him is born here', *Ṛgveda*, X.90.4: 'Heaven and Earth have not measured, nor do they measure, his omnipotence' ibid., III.82.37; 'Thou dost insist beyond all things, the several worlds', ibid., I.81.5 and I. 102.8; 'of the bright power that pervades the sky it is but a part', *Maitrī Up.*, VI.35; 'not I in them, but they in Me', *na tvahaṁ teṣu te mayi*, *Bhagavad Gītā*, VII.12. 'I am existent only in a fraction', *aham . . . ekāṁśena sthitaḥ*, ibid., X.42. 'God enjoys himself in all things . . . yet he loses nothing of his brightness', Eckhart, I.143; 'of that also is the creation, but not in the omnipotence and power, but like an apple which grows upon the tree, which is not the tree itself, but grows from the power of the tree', Böhme, *Signatura Rerum*, XVI.1; 'See now the height and breadth of the eternal Worth, which hath made for itself so many mirrors wherein it is refracted, and yet remains within itself One, as before', Dante, *Paradiso*, XXIX.142-5.

In general, the notion of 'pantheism', read into any doctrine, arises from a confusion of the unity which is one in itself, with the merely collective totality of all things.

[44] 'All evils and afflictions as well as all kinds of happiness of man . . . are distributed according to justice', Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, III.17. To be merciful is to be unjust: 'have the seasons, gravitation, the appointed days, mercy? no more have I', Whitman, *Chanting the Square Deific*.

If we have seemed to compromise the liberty (*adititva*), lordship (*aiśvarya*) or great-Self-hood (*mahātmya*) of the Person as he is in the world, all the more majestic, more desirable, becomes that Will that is indeed free, his will 'whose Will is him-Self', as he is 'alone with him-Self', *ēk jō āpai āp*, Kabīr: 'self-intent', and 'loving only himself', Eckhart.[45] For with the Eye that goes with that Will, he as overseer of *karma*, and we denuded of our virtues, indistinct from and unanimous with Him, are *in posse* to survey the world-picture and to take an infinite delight therein[46]: that picture being his and our eternal play and dalliance, his *līlā*, inhering in him-Self, our-Self—'There has always been this play going on in the Father-nature . . . played eternally before all creatures. . . sport and players are the same', Eckhart, I.148—'not that this joy first began with the creation, no, for it was from eternity in the great mystery, yet only as a spiritual melody and sport in itself. The creation is the same sport out of himself, viz., a platform or instrument of the Eternal Spirit', Böhme, *Signatura Rerum*, XVI.2-3.[47]

Two Trinities (*tridhā*) are mentioned: it is to be understood that both are manifested (*vyakta*) and intelligible (*jñeya*) but the first (Fire, Supernal-Sun, and Spirit) is informal (*arūpa*), the second (the Three Worlds, Earth, Heaven, Firmament) aspectual (*rūpa*) and perceptible (*dṛśya*). Here the Trinity is called an 'arrangement', *dhā*. In the *Taittirīya Up.*, I.3.1-4, where five aspects of the fundamental Trinity are explained, the term *saṁhitā*, 'grouping' is employed. Eckhart speaks similarly of the Trinity as an 'arrangement' and as 'articulate speech', the Persons being 'illuminations of the understanding'.[48]

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[45] That Self-intention is his knowledge of him-Self, as it were a *maithuna*, carnal knowledge, of Wisdom, *vāc*: the 'cause' of the becoming of the world, for what is 'concept' therein is a thing begotten and proceeding, after the way of things 'conceived'.

[46] Śaṅkarācārya, *Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 95. The concept of a world-picture is implicit in *Ṛgveda*, I.164.44, *viśvam abhicaṣṭe.*

[47] Cf. also Jīlī, as cited by Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 113: 'Allāh created Adam in his own image . . . and Adam was one of the theatres in which I displayed myself', and ibid., 108', 'I am that whole, and the whole is my theatre'. On Indian *līlā* see Śaṅkarācārya on *Vedānta Sūtra*, II. 1. 33.

[48] The 'articulation' (a + u + m) of the Imperishable-Word, OṀ, should be observed. See Note 115: cf. also Bhagavan Das, *The science of peace*, 1904.

In our text the body of the aspectual Trinity is conceived in the likeness of a horse. 'Meseems that thou art Varuṇa, O steed . . . speeding with wings on paths fair and dustless', *Ṛgveda*, I.163.4 and 5, and *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV.6.7. For Varuṇa was the ancient name of the Supreme Being, Āditya, Supernal-Sun, Child-of-the-Liberty. The cosmic horse is more fully described in the first *adhyāya* of our Upaniṣad, corresponding to *Atharvaveda*, X.7.32-4. The Sun is his eye, the Wind the breath of his nostrils, Universal Fire his open mouth, the Year his body, stars his bones, clouds his flesh, and he bears angels, choirs, titans and men alike across the nether (*apara*)[49] sea of the possibilities of existence, for the 'sea is his kin (*bandhu*), his womb (*yoni*)'. In a similar likeness Eckhart speaks of God's delights: 'The joy and satisfaction of it are ineffable. It is like a horse turned loose in a lush meadow giving vent to his horse-nature by galloping full-tilt about the field: he enjoys it, and it is his nature. And just in the same way God's joy and satisfaction in his likes finds vent in his pouring out his entire nature and his being into this likeness, for he is this likeness himself', I.240: compare *Ṛgveda*, VII.87.2, referring to

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[49] *Apara* is often understood to mean 'western', but is here assuredly used in its primary sense, that is just as when we speak of *para* and *apara* Brahman. For the upper and the nether Waters in Indian tradition see. e.g., *Ṛgveda*, III.22.3, and *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV.2.4, where the Waters of the Sun are spoken of as *parastāt*, and those below are *avastāt* (= *aparastāt* or *apara*): and *Ṛgveda*, X.136.5, where the two seas are *pūrva* and *apara*, commonly understood to mean eastern and western. Not forgetting that these are cosmic seas, of which the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea are merely symbols, it is quite intelligible that upper and nether should have been taken alternatively to mean eastern and western: for just as the sidereal sun rises in an actual East and sets in an actual West, so must the Supernal-Sun rise in analogically 'eastern' and set in analogically 'western' waters.

Both seas were originally Varuṇa's (cf. p. 59). Why then is Varuṇa later particularly connected with the West, the night, the Moon, and not always with the East and West, the Sun *and* Moon, the day and night? Because the dual Mitrā-Varuṇau had been originally the personal name of manifested deity conceived under two aspects, viz., as Varuṇa 'at birth' (*jāyase*) and as Mitra 'when enkindled' (*samiddhaḥ*), *Ṛgveda*, V.3.1, and III.5.4: 'at birth', that would be as the Fiery-Energy (*tejas, mahi*) of intention (*tapas*), cf. *Ṛgveda*, X.129.2, *tapasaḥ mahinā ajāyata*: 'when enkindled', that would be in procession as Light (*prakāśa*) manifested by the dark-heat (*uṣṇa*), *Maitrī Up.*, VII. 11, *samīraṇe prakāśa-prakṣe pauṣṇyasthānīya.* In the dual Mitrā-Varuṇau, Mitra, 'the Friend', designates the terrestrial Agni, so often spoken of in the same way as the 'Friend' of man, this terrestrial Agni being the Son or manifested form of Varuṇa himself; as in the one-hymn devoted solely to Mitra, he is the Mouthpiece (*bruvāṇaḥ*), the all-seeing Eye in the world (*animiṣā abhicaṣṭe*, cf. the Buddha as *cakkhuṁ loke, Dīgha Nikāya*, II.158), the common denominator of all men in that he 'unites' (*yātayati*) them and who upholds (*dadhāra, askambhayat*) heaven and earth. That Mitra is commonly thought of as a celestial aspect, viz., solar, as also in the Avesta, though described as terrestrial in *Ṛgveda*, III.59, presents no difficulty; for Agni's dual birth (*dvijanma*) is in heaven and on earth (*dyāvā-pṛthivīya*), both on high and here below, the two fires are 'one Angel' as in our text (see p. 63); just as in Christian phraseology, 'I and my Father are One', Son being also Sun (see p. 68 and cf. Note 10).

Varuṇa, 'The Gale that is thy-Self thunders through the firmament like an untamed stag that takes his pleasure in the fields.'

This is a likeness (*mūrti*) and a figure (*pratīka*) connatural with that of the Tree of Life or that of the World-wheel: a figure or image of the Divine Being in extension, space pervading, not forgetting that the locus of this space (*ākāśa*) is in the lotus of the heart. With the becoming of the cosmic horse-body, that of the Three Worlds is established (*pratiṣṭhā*) in the Waters. The remainder of the *adhyāya* explains the further becoming of the world in terms of generation and utterance, and with respect to mortality, sacrifice, and regeneration. The horse sacrifice is an imitation[50] of the divine passion and of regeneration: and he who understands, the comprehensor of this drama, *ya evaṁ vidvān*, has verily performed the sacrifice, and thereby shares in a more abundant life, both here and now in the flesh, and there-beyond in eternity.

He, Death, Privation, willed (*akāmayat*) 'Let there be born (*jāyet*) of Me a second Self' (*dvitīya... ātman*). By means of the Intellect (*manas*) there came-about a carnal-knowledge (*mithuna*) of the *unspoken*[51] Word (*vāc*). What was the seed (*retas*), that became the Year (*saṁvatsara*). Ere that there was no Year. He let bear him for as long as is the Year, after that poured him forth (*asṛjata*).

When he was born (*jāta*), Death (*mṛtyu*) yawned upon him. He gave out a cry (*bhāṇ*): that became the *spoken*[52] Word (*vāc*). 4.

That is, Godhead already Selfed as Intellect, would go out further into existence. For by and in himself, the Father is an Intellect devoid of intellection, an Energy that does not energise: his paternity is only actualized by the filiation of a Son. The Year, Prajāpati, the Horse, is the begotten Son of God. That is God's understanding of himself, I am *that* I am, the paternal Intellect's conception of the maternal Word; 'comprehension belongs to his paternal power', Eckhart, I.364. 'The begotten (*prajā*) is the combination (*sandhi*) of these conjoint principles, begetting (*prajanana* = *maithuna*) the means (*sandhāna*), *Taittirīya Up.*, I.3.3.

That the Year,[53] Brahmā-Prajāpati, the Yakṣa in the Tree of Life, the Cosmic Horse, mortal by nature and immortal in their essence are one and the same as God's only begotten Son incarnate, who died as Jesus but is from

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[50] In this sense the whole ritual may be regarded as 'Mysterium und Mimus', and the question whether or not any particular Vedic hymn should be regarded as 'dramatic' loses its significance.

[51] 'This eternal Brahman is at once the Imperishable-Word (*akṣara*) and the Word-that-can-be-spoken (*vācya*)', *BṛhadDevatā*, I.62. Utterance (*vyāhṛti*) is further discussed below, Note 64. *Bhān* = Fiat Lux.

[52] I.e. what could be called in Greek the 'Eniautos-Daimon'.

[53] For Buddhism, and the doctrine of the identity of all teaching, see particularly the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*. In all but name the Tathāgata is identified with Brahmā-Prajāpati.

Eternity Christ and Logos in the bosom of the Father is *a priori* apparent from many points of view, for example in the procession by generation, and in the acts of voluntary sacrifice, 'himself unto himself'. 'Who sees Me, sees the Father' may be compared to *Maitrī Up.*, VI.4, and VII.11, where the One Enlightener (*eka sambodhayitṛ*), the Single Tree (*eka aśvattha*), is called an 'everlasting basis for the vision of Brahman'. From the standpoint of comparative religion, from His point of view who 'left not himself without a witness', *Acts* XIV.17, and however distasteful this may be to individual persuasion, the Messiah is One Person.

That the equivalence of the Vedic and Christian Sons of God, of Horse and Lamb for example, is not even more apparent depends primarily on the diversity of scale in the imagery. The Indian embodiment of the only begotten Son is cosmic: human (*paurusya*) only ideally as Eternal Man, the single mirror of all existences, not human (*mānisa*) as a man amongst men. Whereas the Christian Son of God is presented historically precisely in the guise of a man amongst men, born of a woman amongst women, in the fashion of terrestrial *avatāras*, having given names, such as Rāma or Gautama. The same applies to every case in which a religion seems to have been established by a single Founder; for example in Buddhism, where we are given to understand that the man Gautama, Siddhārtha, became Comprehensor (Buddha) at a given time and place. These historical and local points of view are later on transcended: and when it has come to be understood that Christ's birth is eternal, that the enlightenment of the Tathāgata 'dates from the beginning of time', then it becomes not merely evident, but can be accepted without anguish, that all alternative-formulations (*paryāya*) are utterances of one and the same Word or Wisdom.

These considerations are of paramount importance for a correct comparative theology. For on the one hand the Year, Brahmā-Prajāpati, is no more and no less a 'demiurge' than is Christ-Logos 'who causes the whole emanation' and 'effects all things', Eckhart, I.130 and 382[54]: and on the other, the conception of this Christ, this Brahmā as the only begotten is affirmed—'he could never have had but one Son for he is none other than his understanding. Had he a thousand sons they must needs be all the same Son', Eckhart, I.131, that holds for the Prajāpatis and Buddhas of countless aeons, for Prajāpati, Tammuz, Herakles, Horus, Christ, or 'Idea of Muḥammad' in any one aeon. Far too much stress has been laid upon the humanity of Jesus: it were better to remember his perfection.[55] What he took on was not 'man', but human nature: the nature not of *vir* but of *homo*, no more masculine than feminine. 'Thou art woman, thou art man . . . the seasons and the seas', *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, IV.3-4 (cf. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.3.5): 'This champion or lion is no man or woman, but he is both', Böhme, *Signatura Rerum*, XI.43. Far too much stress has been laid upon his birth in Galilee: in reality 'there is no time where this birth befalls', 'this birth remains in the Father eternally . . . who utters in one single Word the whole of what he knows, the whole of what he can afford, in one single instant, and that instant is eternal.' Eckhart, I.81 and 132: 'It knew, indeed, Itself, viz., that, "I am Brahman"; thereby it became the All', *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.10. Conceive Him then not as a man but as Universal Man, Person, Fire, or Light: or for easier comparison, as the Lamb of God, for it may be easier to see that sacrificial lamb and sacrificial horse or bull are equivalent illuminations of the understanding. Agnus Dei, Agni Deva.

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[54] Likewise no more and no less 'demiurge' than is the 'Perfect Man' (*al-insānu'l kāmil*) of Islamic theology, viz., Allāh's Word or Fiat (*amr*) and Spirit (*rūḥ*) manifested in the transcendental being of the Prophet (Muḥammad) as the principle and archetype of all existences.

[55] 'Good, pious souls, are hindered too from their proper object by lingering with holy joy over the human form of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . To them his manhood is a hindrance so long as they cling to it with mortal pleasure; they ought to follow God in all his ways and not keep solely to his way of manhood who reveals to us the way of Godhood', Eckhart, I.187.

As for *mithuna*, 'progenitive pair', and *maithuna*, 'begetting': generation can only be spoken of with reference to the interaction of conjoint principles, these being here, as also in Christian theology, the Knower and the Known, the Act and the Potentiality of Understanding: 'the Holy Ghost was gotten in the Word with this same Intellect', Eckhart, I.381 and 407, 'that by which the Father begets is the divine nature . . . as being that by which the generator generates', St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 41, A. 5. Our text takes for granted the second of the conjoint principles, the unuttered Word or Understanding, *vāc*: but we know from other and abundant sources that She is the divine Nature, Prakṛti, Aditi, Virāj, the Waters. She is the silence in Godhead, every possibility and promise of existence, his means whereby, the inexhaustible well of his abundance. But inasmuch as God and Godhead, Heaven and Earth, essence and nature are one in Him, it is an emission of seed not alone on the part of Intellect, pregnancy not only in the Word that has to be understood: it is Deity, not any one of Persons separately that is pregnant, 'He' brings forth.

Retas, 'seed', is not only poured forth, but becomes the begotten offspring, and so for example we speak of the 'seed of Abraham': compare the account of generation in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.5, and the Self-identity (consubstantiality) of father and son asserted here and elsewhere. The child is 'not any new thing, but the very seed of man and woman, and is only bred forth in the mixture, and so only a twig groweth out of the tree', Böhme, *XL Questions concerning the Soule*, VIII.18. In the *Aitareya Up.*, IV.1, *retas*, seed is identified with *tejas*, the Fiery-Energy: elsewhere, e.g. *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* I.8, *vīrya*, 'virility', 'virtue', is synonymous. Seed was probably regarded as the vehicle of Spirit, *prāṇa*, for 'it is *prāṇa*, verily the Self as pure Intelligence, that grasps and animates the flesh', *Kauṣītaki Up.*, III.3: that comes very near to the Christian point of view, 'the formation of the body taken by the Son is attributed to the Holy Ghost . . . just as the power of the soul which is in the semen, through the spirit enclosed therein, fashions the body in the generation of other men', St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III, Q. 32, A.1.[56]

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[56] On the significance of the begetting of a son, see *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII.13 (*HOS*, vol. 25, pp. 299, 300).

Whether the Persons of the Trinity are rightly named: though there is not a 'real', but only a possible relationship of Persons in Deity antecedent to procession, *solus ante principium*, all tradition is agree that the notion of generation, taken from our knowledge of living things, is with respect to the Son analogically appropriate.[57] Consistency then requires diversity of sex in the conjoint principles invoked: as explicitly in our Upaniṣad, I.5.7, 'The Father is Intellect (*manas*), the Mother Wisdom (*vāc*), the Child Spirit (*prāṇa*).[58] Wisdom, *vāc*, is rightly feminine in Vedic thought, for She is the divine nature, the Waters antecedent to their counter-shining, *mūla-prakṛti*, dark undifferentiated, passive Godhead: not distinct from the Father in the Unity, but distinguished from him in the eternal act of generation, as the sea is from the sun. So the Mother is the second Person of the Vedic Trinity, as the Son, the Year, Prajāpati, is logically the third. Spirit, *prāṇa*, is not here a distinct Person, but primarily an essential name of the Father; and in hypostasis, an essential name of the Son. The procession of the Spirit is naturally a spiration (*samīraṇa*): but when Spirit, Life, becomes an essential name of the Son, then the procession, *ipso facto*, must be called a filiation. In this sense the birth of the Son is a divided act, 'I proceeded out of the *mouth* of the Most High, to wit out of the natural *conception* of the essential word of the divine Father', Eckhart, I.269: and in Islamic theology, the Idea of Muḥammad is at once the Spirit of Allāh and his son.[59]

Vedic Logos doctrine is better reflected in Greek than in orthodox Christian doctrine.[60] The problem is too complex for full discussion here, but it may be pointed out that Vedic *ṛtam* and *dharman* are 'neuter' (*aliṅga*, 'without specific gender', but not excluding possibility of gender), and are to be thought of as essential names equivalent to later Brahman and the Imperishable-Word (*akṣaram*) OṀ, also epicene: in other words, the Indian Logos doctrine neither excludes the unity of Essence and Nature, nor their distinction as conjoint principles linked in joint procession by way of generation or utterance.

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[57] For example, 'God's speaking is his child-bearing', St. Augustine; 'The Word proceeding is properly called begotten and Son . . . conception and birth', St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 27, A. 2. *Solus ante principium* = *pūrṇa apravartin*, *Kauṣītaki Up.*, IV.5.

[58] Also *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.17, *prāṇa prajā*; and *Taittirīya Up.*, I.3.3.

To render *vāc* consistently by one and the same English word would be impossible. A distinction of *vāc*, synonymous with Sarasvatī in *Ṛgveda*, I.3.12, and representing an aspect of Māyā, Parkṛti, Śakti, Omnipotentia, from *vāc*, 'word' or 'language' must be clearly recognized. In the beginning, as conjoint principle with Intellect, *Vāc* is Sophia, Dante's 'wisdom': 'in highest praise of Wisdom, I say that she is the mother of all first principles, affirming that she was with God when in the beginning he made the world, and specially the movement of the heaven which engenders all things, whereby every other movement is originated and set going; adding, "she was the thought of Him who set the universe in motion"; I mean that she was in the divine thought, which is very intellect, when He made the world. Whence it follows that she made it; and therefore Solomon on the book of *Proverbs* says speaking in the person of Wisdom, "When God prepared the heavens, I was there, when he fenced the depths with a fixed law and a fixed circle, when He set fast the firmaments above, when He hung aloft the fountains of the waters, when he encircled the sea with its boundary, and laid down a decree for the waters that they should not pass their borders, when he laid the foundations of the earth, I was with Him disposing all things, and I took my pleasure every day", *Convivio*, III.15; cf. *Ṛgveda*, X.71 and X.95.

[59] Jīlī, on Qur'ān, II.14.23f., cited by Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 113.

[60] For Heraclitus (who was regarded by St. Justin as a 'Christian before Christ') the Logos, manifesting as Fire, is that universal principle which animates and rules the

It will be understood that Vedic 'theology' takes account of two distinct Trinities. In the one arrangement (Agni, Āditya, Vāyu; Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā) the Persons are distinguished by their natures (the characteristic *guṇas* being *tamas, sattva,* and *rajas*); the names are essential and the relations mutual and reversible, so that any two may be thought of as aspects or emanations of the first, there being no logical order of manifestation. In the other arrangement (Supernal Sun and Waters—or Heaven and Earth—and Agni Vaiśvānara or Āyus; Śiva, Śakti, Kumāra; Manas, Vāc, Prāṇa, etc.), the persons are distinguished by naturally progenitive relationships, *quā* Father, Mother, and Offspring, the names take on a more personal character, and there is a logical order of procession. The Christian and Indian Trinities can only be rightly compared when it is realized that while the Christian Father, Son, and Spirit correspond directly to Āditya, Agni Vaiśvānara, and Vāyu (procession being by way of utterance or spiration, not a generation), Father and Son, when the latter is spoken of as begotten by generation from 'conjoint principles' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 27, A. 2), or as 'his understanding of himself', correspond also to Manas and Prāṇa, and to Agni and Agni Vaiśvānara ('born of the Waters' or 'born of Earth', and whose nature is exemplary). There is lacking, then, in the Christian formulation, when the Son is thought of as natural and begotten, that Person who should be the second of the 'conjoint principles', which principles can be no other than his Essence and his Nature; no 'wisdom' or 'Nature', corresponding to Vāc or Prakṛti, is recognized as a

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world. This non-dualistic point of view is more fully developed by the Stoics, in a fashion again suggesting Indian contacts: according to them 'God did not make the world as an artisan does his work, but it is by wholly penetrating all matter that He is the demiurge of the universe (Galen, *De qual. incorp.* in *Fr Stoic.* ed. von Arnim, II.6); He penetrates the world "as honey does the honeycomb" (Tertullian, *Adv. Hermogenem,* 44); this God so intimately mingled with the world is fire or ignited air; inasmuch as He is the principle controlling the universe, He is called *Logos*; and inasmuch as He is the germ from which all else develops, He is called the *seminal Logos* (*Logos spermatikos*). This Logos is at the same time a force and a law, an irresistible force which bears along the entire world and all creatures to a common end, an inevitable and holy law from which nothing can withdraw itself, and which every reasonable man should follow willingly' (Cleanthus, *Hymn to Zeus* in *Fr. Stoic.*, I.527-37). Conformably to their exegetical habits the Stoics made of the different gods personifications of the Logos, e.g. of Zeus, and above all of Hermes', *Catholic Encyclopedia,* S.V. Logos.

The correspondence and probable connection of this ideology with that of the Upaniṣads is obvious. The more special application of Cleanthus may be likened to the Buddhist concept of *dharma-cakra pravartana.*

Person in the Christian arrangement of God. It is true that Christ takes on fleshly nature from—'is natured by'—the Virgin Mary, and that she is therefore called the 'Mother of God', but that is not with respect to his eternal procession, merely with respect to the accident of his birth in Galilee. Abstracted from eventful generation, Christ is motherless. It is only in effect and tacitly, if not under protest, that with the Assumption and Coronation of the virgin, and Mariolatry generally, that Mother Nature, Wisdom, *natura naturans*, Prakṛti, Vāc, Māyā, is restored to her numinous bridal throne.

That is made explicit when Eckhart says that 'it is God who has the treasure and the bride in him', I.381, 'the Godhead wantons with the Word, I.388, 'from the Father's embrace of his own nature comes the eternal playing of the Son', I.148, 'where personal understanding keeps to its unity of nature and has intercourse therewith, there the Father-nature has maternal names and is doing mother's work, for it is exclusively mother's work to receive the seed of the eternal Word', and in the divine light 'stood Mary always, bearing her divine child', I.404, as naturally follows if we take it that Christ's birth is eternal.[61] Nothing here contradicts that the Spirit is the common spiration, common love and mutual regard of the Three Persons.

With our Upaniṣad, I.1.2, *tasya samudre yoniḥ*, 'in the sea is his womb', may be compared St. Augustine, *Sermonae*, 124, *processit . . . de utero virginali*; Eckhart's 'in the bare chamber of the virgin heart of their chosen vessel Mary . . . out of chaos a shining spiritual soul emerged', I.463.464; and Petrarch, *Vergine bella, che di sol vestita, coronata di stelle, al sommo sole piacesti si che'n te sua luce ascose*, ' . . . to the Supernal Sun thou didst seem so fair, that in thee he hid his Light', a noteworthy parallel to the many Vedic passages in which the Angels are represented as seeking for the hidden Sun or Fire, and finding him reflected or brought to birth in the Waters. Dante, 'Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son . . . fixed goal of the eternal counsel . . . in thy womb was lit again the love under whose heat in the eternal peace this flower unfolded', *Paradiso*, XXXIII. A 'Tantrik' ideology of this kind is characteristically developed in the gnostic conception of Sophia as a primordial Aeon, and especially in Valentinian gnosticism, where the Propater Bythos has for his 'śakti' Ennoia, 'Thought', or Sige, 'Silence', from whom are begotten Nous and Aletheia as first principles of manifestation. Finally, it may be observed that in the systematic language of the *Bṛhad Devatā* and *Nirukta*, the Father would be called a celestial, the Mother a chthonic, and the Son an aerial divinity.

'For as long as is the year': that long time would be the same as the 'night' of the deep sleep of Brahman, as distinguished from the following 'day' or 'year' of the Brahman's waking, during which the horse runs free, as explained in the seventh stanza. Cf. *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, I.12, *tasminnaṇḍe sa bhagavānuṣitvā parivatsaram.*

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[61] Eckhart speaks of the 'maternal names' of God in two different senses: when he calls him the 'Mother of all things', that is not in the present sense of 'natural parent', but in that 'he stays with all creatures to keep them in being', I.427. That would be in Indian terms, in his Person as Viṣṇu, or as in our text, 7, where he 'remembers' (*manvata*) all existences for as long as time endures: that in scientific phraseology is the 'conservation of energy', cf. Note 78.

'The Year is Prajāpati', *Maitrī Up.*, I.5.14: 'the Year, verily, is Prajāpati, is Time (*kāla*),[62] the nesting-place (*nīḍa*) of Brahman, Self . . . this formal Time is the great ocean of begotten existences (*prajā*) . . . this whole universe here, and whatsoever of weal or woe may be seen therein . . . he who offers and likewise he who receives the offerings . . . Viṣṇu, Prajāpati', *Maitrī Up.*, VI.15-16, 'for the Brahman has two forms, Time (*kāla*) and the Timeless (*akāla*)', ibid.

That is, while the Son 'remains within as essence and goes forth as Person . . . things flowed forth finite into time while abiding infinite in eternity . . . in this image, everything is God; sour and sweet, good and bad, all are one in this image', Eckhart, I.271.285.286.

'Death yawned upon him',[63] that is upon the newborn Year, now God has taken on mortality, *nirṛtim ā viveśa, Ṛgveda*, I.164.32: existence, life, is a modality of being naturally subject to mortality, 'sure is death for the born, sure is birth for the dead', *Bhagavad Gītā*, II.27, cf. the vision of Deity there as all-devouring Time, Ch. XI.

'He gave out a cry': viz., 'the hidden name whereby thou didst beget all that is and shall be', *Ṛgveda*, X.55.2, wording (*vāc*) is indeed his Word (*vāc*), *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.1.1, Cf. *Ṛgveda*, I.163.1, 'Thy great birth from the Pleroma (*purīṣa*) and from the sea (*samudra*), O Steed, is to be magnified, in that thou didst neigh (*akranda*) when first born, whose are the wings of the falcon and the limbs of the deer'; and *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV.2.8, 'When first thou didst cry on birth, a rising from the sea, the foam, that is thy famed birth, O Steed.' 'In the beginning this (universe) was unuttered (*avyāhṛta*)', *Maitrī Up.*, VI.6; but by that utterance (*vyāhṛti*) of Prajāpati's, in which all things are called by their essential names,[64] their existence was poured forth (*asṛgram*),[65]

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[62] Kāla, our 'Father Time', but here essentially, not as now merely allegorically.

[63] Represented in the later iconography by the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, threatening Brahmā, lotus-seated and navel-born from Nārāyaṇa.

[64] Utterance, *vyāhṛti*, is that of the Three Worlds, as explained in the *Maitrī Up.*, VI.6; these worlds, this universe, being the body (*tanu, śarīra*) of Prajāpati, the Horse, the Tree, the Wheel, the Dance of Śiva.

The analysis of the singular name or utterance into its manifold aspects is the co-creative function of the poetic genius, imagination, or prophecy, expressed primarily in the sacrificial chants. Cf. 'When, O Bṛhaspati, calling things by their names (Prophets), put forth the head and front of Wisdom (*vāc*), then what was best and flawless in them, hid in the innermost (*guhā*), that by their love (*preman*) they brought to light . . . by Intellect (*manas*) they dealt with Wisdom (*vāc*), hence it is said that 'by the Sacrifice they found the tracks of wisdom, within the Prophets (*ṛṣi*) lodged', *Ṛgveda*, X.71.3: for 'whom I (viz., Wisdom, *vāc*) love, him I make forceful, Brahman, Prophet, and very wise', ibid., X.125.5. Access to this unspoken Wisdom in the innermost, is spoken of as vision and audition (*-dṛś* and *-śru*), ibid., X.71.4, hence the later designation of the Veda as *śruti*, 'that which was heard'.

[65] *Sṛṣṭi, asṛjata, asṛgram*, etc., ought not to be translated as 'creation' and 'created'. For though *sṛj* may denote the same as *kṛ*, the connotation is quite different, in the first

'for all these existences are Principles (*manas*, 'Intellect'),[66] *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, VI.9.14.20. 'One should know that all these verses (*ṛc*), all these Vedas, all sounds, are merely one Utterance (*vyāhṛti*), verily Spiration (*prāṇa*), Spiration verily the verses', *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.2.2. Just as in Christianity, 'God spake never a word but one', Eckhart, I.148, 'in this only Word he spoke all things', I.377, for 'the Word of the Father is his understanding of himself ', I.146, 'the Father spoke himself and all creatures in the Word . . . to all creatures in his Son', I.377, or again 'First out of the Father there leaps forth the Son, small but so puissant in his Godly strength that it is he who causes the whole emanation. The second sally is the premier angel, following hard upon the first event. It speeds apace . . . so charged with power that given a thousand or more worlds they would be wanting in capacity ere the first issue had been spent. . . One unique throw with the world a sheet of water and the water would fail ere the circles died away,' Eckhart, I.130.

He, Death bethought himself: "Verily, if I shall intend against him. I shall make the less food for myself ". With that Word by that Self, he poured forth (*asṛjata*) all This, whatsoever: the Ṛg, the Yajur, and the Sāma Vedas, metres, sacrifice, men and beasts.

Whatsoever he poured forth, that he began to eat (*ad*). Verily he devours (*ad*) everything: that is the Liberty (*adititva*) of Aditi. He who knows thus the Liberty of Aditi becomes an eater of all things here, everything becomes his food(*anna*). 5.

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case to 'pour out', 'emanate', in the second to 'make', 'create', 'fashion'. Thus *sṛj* and *kṛ* are the terms proper respectively to metaphysical, and to dualistic parlance, and they should not be confused in translation. For *sṛṣṭi*, etc., English 'emanated', 'outpoured', 'outflown', etc., are immediately available.

The root *kṣar* in the transitive sense of to 'pour-forth' is similarly employed in connection with the notion of Utterance (*vyāhṛti*), *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.2.2: in that he pours-forth (*kṣarati*) gifts, and none can exceed this his generosity, a syllable is '*akṣara*'. Or *kṣar* being intransitively in the sense of to 'flow away', or 'perish', *akṣara* means 'imperishable', and especially 'the Imperishable-Word', OṀ. 'Creation', in other words, is fontal, its flux is never diminished: the plenitude (*pūrṇa, bhūman*) of the unity-of-potentiality-and-act is infinite, 'The yon is all, and this is all, take all from all, withdrawing all from all, still over and above remains the all', *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV.8.1 = *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, V.1; cf. *Atharvaveda*, X.8.29.

Nor should *bhūta*, literally 'that which has come into existence', although equivalent to Christian 'creature', be so translated, nor even as 'being'; for in the first place, existences are generally spoken of in Vedic texts as 'emanated', rather than as 'created', and in the second, while it is true that all existences have being, not all being has existence. A common equivalent of *bhūta* as 'an existence' is *sattva*, cf. below, p. 80. *Bhū* = werden, *sthā* = *exstare*.

[66] Here 'Principles' seems to convey the sense rather better than 'Intellect', though both amount to the same thing. We take for granted the definition, 'Intellect is the habit of First Principles', and Eckhart, I.74, 'Intellect is a matter of pure being'. Will and Intellect the gateway (*mukha, dvāra*) of procession (*prasaraṇa*).

The first part continues the thought of the preceding stanza, and needs little explanation. 'The less food', i.e. the less life. 'With that Word, by that Self ', viz., from the mouth of the Year, Prajāpati, and here we must understand a neighing of the Horse.

'That he began to eat': that is Death, Godhead, began to live, to exist as God: as we have already seen, God's existent being depends on his existent world no less than its existent being depends on him, each pre-supposes the other. Not in causal relation, but in reciprocity and simultaneity, here there 'is no distinction save outpouring and outpoured . . . they are one God . . . begetter and suddenly begotten', Eckhart, I.72.

It is that same fiery mouth that utters all existences, and whereunto they hasten back; in our Upaniṣad, I.1.1, 'Universal Fire his open mouth',[67] cf.

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[67] Here some further light can be thrown upon the terms corresponding to East and West, Upper and Nether, discussed above, p. 47, Note 49. In the epic account of the Churning of the Ocean, the stallion Uccaiḥśravas, the same as our Cosmic Horse, is called Vaḍaba-bhartṛ, 'the Mare's Husband': cf. the Vedic myth of Saraṇyū = Apyā, upon whom the Sun (Vivasvant) in the form of a stallion begets the Aśvins (*Ṛgveda*, X.13.4, etc., see Bloomfield in *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 15, pp. 172ff.). It follows that the Mare's mouth (*vaḍabāmukha*) and Fire beneath the Waters at the southern pole (Nadir) must correspond to the Stallion's fiery mouth in our Upaniṣad, I.1.1, and I.2.3. In the first of these passages his front (*pūrva*) part is *udyan*, his rear (*apara*) part *nimlocan*, in the second the head is *prācī*, the tail *pratīcī*. The correspondence of *pūrva* and *prācī*, and the equivalence of their various meanings in other contexts, will not be overlooked. In *Ṛgveda*, X.72.9, *pūrva* is beyond doubt 'above', as well as 'primordial' and 'ancient', or even 'eternal'. Any term representing the antithesis to *apara* should, further, be equivalent to '*para*'. *Udyan* and *nimlocan* indeed imply the places of the rising and setting of the Sun, and so with respect to terrestrial conditions may rightly be rendred as 'East' and 'West'. But it is clear from the correspondences tabulated above, and in the previous note that the Supernal-Sun Āditya, is thought of as 'rising' by the Zenith, and 'setting' in the Nadir, as indeed would be required in doctrine of 'light and reflection', *prakāśa-vimarśa*, as in *Kauṣītaki Up.*, IV.2, *āditye mahat . . . ādarśe pratirūpaḥ*, and as discussed on p. 35. It follows that all our terms denoting East and West *here*, mean Upper and Nether *there*. *Uttara* is the superlative of *ud*, 'up'.

It also follows that *uttara* and *dakṣiṇa*, respectively 'northern' and 'southern' *here* stand for 'Upper', and 'Nether' *there*. For as the 'Mare's mouth' is *dakṣiṇa*, the Stallion's mouth must be *uttara*. That not only throws light on the use of these terms in connection with the *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna*, but shows that *uttara yuga* in *Ṛgveda*, X.72.1 = *pūrva yuga*, ibid., 9, and that both imply the *parama vyoman*, super-celestial Empyrean. Similarly in the *Ṛgveda*, X.90.5, *paścād puraḥ* is both 'from East to West', and 'from Zenith to Nadir': His body necessarily extends from the Upper to the Nether Waters, for all existence is contained in the intervening-space (*antarikṣa*), and we have already deduced that his head is above, and that also appears in that his eye is the Supernal-Sun.

Pūrva, by contrast with *apūrva*, 'latent', has also the sense of 'immediate', that is 'within you', cf. *brahmaṁ nihitam guhāyaṁ parame vyoman, Taittirīya Up.*, II.1, cf. 'when I say the highest I mean the innermost', Eckhart, I.164. So Dakṣiṇāmūrti, 'He whose aspect is turned southward', and is therefore thought of as looking from the north, *Maitrī Up.*, VI.2, 'all-devouring Time', *Bhagavad Gītā*, XI.32, *kālo'smi . . . lokān samāhartum iha pravṛttaḥ*, 'I am come-forth as Time, for the destruction of the worlds', and *Ṛgveda*, I.164.44, 'one of these (Agni) mows down at the end of the year'.

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implies also 'He who looks from above downwards' and 'He who looks from within outwards.' Cf. also *Muṇḍaka Up.*, II.2.21, where again 'west to east' and 'south to north' are the same as 'below to above;' and *Atharvaveda*, VIII.9.8, *paścāt*, 'from within'.

All this is in fact far more a psychology of space than a cosmology: from Upper to Nether is from the Within to the Without, from knowing subject to known object, from the centre to the felly of the World-wheel. The 'back' or 'surface' of the Waters must not be understood too literally to mean an actually horizontal or anywise oriented plane, for the Waters are all the possibilities of existence on any plane, pervading measureless space in the lotus of the heart. Proof positive that the 'cosmology' is a psychology can be found in the *Chāndogya Up.*, III.10-11, where it becomes entirely a question of one's spiritual condition whether the sun rises in the East, South, West, or North, until for the Sādhyas it rises in the Zenith and sets in the Nadir, and finally 'for those who know the essential truth (*upaniṣad*) of Brahman, the Supernal-Sun, risen in the Zenith, stands there in the middle, neither setting nor rising (*na nimloca nōdiyāya*), but evermore high-noon (*sakṛd divā*)', and ibid., VIII.4.2, 'ever illumined (*sakṛd vibhātaḥ*) is this Brahma world'. Precisely the same point of view is indicated in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III.44, 'indeed he never sets, union with him and identity of form and world he attains who knows thus'. Cf. Eckhart, I.86, 'the soul mounts up in this light into space, to the zenith at high noon' the morning light being God, the evening light the light of nature and noon the light of their identity: Ruysbroeck, 'when Christ the Divine Sun has risen in the Zenith of our hearts . . . then . . . He will draw all things to Himself'. Just as also in Islamic theology, the eye (*hamm*) of the heart (qalb = hṛd) is variously oriented in men of different spiritual degree, but the heart of the Comprehensor has no face or back, 'these men face with their whole being the whole of the Divine names and attributes and are with God *essentially*', Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 114, Note 3, cf. Böhme, *Signatura Rerum*, VII.38, 'Now wilt thou be a magus? Then thou must understand how to change the night again into day.'

On the other hand, what is called the 'ordinary view' of the Brāhmaṇas, viz., that the Sun is born of the Fire, and sets in the Fire, e.g., *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII.28, refers to the Procession and Recession of the Supernal-Sun as one of the Several Angels of the Trinity, as in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.2.2 and 3. Again in *Ṛgveda*, I.35.3, where Savitṛ moves 'by the height and by the depth' (*pravatā, utyavatā*), coming 'hither from afar' (*duritā*), illuminating not merely the earth but all the worlds, and is called the axis of the wheel whereby the angels are supported, it is certainly not the physical Sun that is intended, but the Supernal-Sun 'whose paths are twain, an inner and an outer', as in *Maitrī Up.*, VI.1, translated below. All these risings and settings take place *antarbhūtasya khe, hṛdayākāśe*, i.e. 'Within you', 'in the heart-space', that is at the same time in the Waters, in the Sea (*Ṛgveda*, IV.58.1, *samudre hṛdi*, cf. *Chāndogya Up.*, VIII.1.3, 'everything here is contained within it'); and endeavours (e.g. Speyers in *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, 723f.) to interpret 'scientifically' are beside the mark: the 'science' here is not astronomical, but psychological and ontological. Nothing can be *less* scientific than to

As for the 'Liberty', *aditītva*, of Aditi: this is the fundamental meaning of the name Aditi, the ancient Mother-goddess, the supreme feminine power in the Vedas (e.g. *Ṛgveda*, I.89.10), second Person of the Trinity, Mahādevī and Śakti of later texts. Aditi is the mother-mate of Varuṇa, who as sprung from Her, though not by generation, is pre-eminently *āditya*, Child of the Infinite, and Supernal-Sun: Mother-Nature, the same as Virāj, 'Sovran-Light', from whom all things 'milk' their specific virtues and proper operation, *Atharvaveda*, VII.1, VIII.9-10, and IX.1: *Vāc*, the means of utterance: *Āpaḥ*, the Waters, all the possibilities of existence, un-limited (*a-diti*) by particular conditionings *Mahāmāyā*, Böhme's Magic, 'a mother in all three worlds, and makes each thing after the model of that thing's will . . . a creatrix according to the understanding, and lends itself to good or to evil . . . ground and support of all things', *Sex Puncta Mystica*, V.11 and 20: 'Tao', as the 'Mother of all things', *Tao Tê Ching*, I.1. 'Contained in the Father as nature . . . *wherefore* he is omnipotent . . . for the Godhead has all things *in posse* . . . (and) flows into creatures. It gives to each as much as it can hold; to stones their existence, to the trees their growth, to birds their flight, to beasts their pleasures, to the angels reason (*sc.* intellect), to man free nature (*sc.* free will)', Eckhart, I.371-2: that is, to every existence its own virtue and idiosyncrasy.

So then, *nirguṇa* Brahman, *amūrta* Brahman, are the same as Aditi, Virāj, the Waters; and the *Bhagavad Gītā* is in complete accord with Vedic tradition when it declares 'My womb (*yoni*) is the Great (*mahat* = *para* = *nirguṇa*) Brahman; in it I bestow the germ (*garbha*), thence cometh the becoming (*saṁbhava*) of all existences', XIV.3: and further, when Kṛṣṇa, after listing the material elements of existence, adds, 'That is my empirical (*apara*) Nature (*prakṛti*). Know thou my transcendental (*para*) Nature (*prakṛti*) as another (*anya*), as the elements of life (*jīva-*) whereby the universe is held-in-being (*dhāra-yate*), know this to be the womb (*yoni*) of all existences', VII.5 and 6. Just as in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.1.2, we find *samudro yoni*, corresponding to *Muṇḍaka Up.*, III.1.3, *brahma-yoni*, respectively 'whose womb is the sea', and 'whose womb is (*para*) Brahman'. Kṛṣṇa's exposition of his two 'natures' is perfectly 'correct' (*pramitī*).[68] *Para* and *apara prakṛti* are the same as the Upper

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assume for Vedic liturgists an interest in natural facts of the same kind as our own. One might as well attempt to explain the stylistic sequences of Asiatic art in terms of a more or less accurate 'observation of Nature'.

A precisely analogous problem is presented in Chinese 'cosmology', cf. Saussure, L. de, *La série septénaire, cosmologique et planétaire*, *Journ. Asiatique*, XXIV, 1924, pp. 333f., esp. p. 335, 'Le levant et l'occident représentent ainsi la naissance et la mort, le *yang* et le *yin*, comme le font également le sud et le nord'. With the 'cosmology' of *Chāndogya Up.*, III.1-11, cf. Lü Tzü's 'Circulation of the Light . . . according to its own law' (Wilhelm and Jung, *Secret of the Golden Flower*, p. 57). Here, just as in India, a metaphysical symbolism is based on both the diurnal and the annual movements of the sun, but with this difference that in China the north corresponds to nature, the south to essence. See also the Appendix.

[68] Thus no 'strange fate' has here 'overtaken the Upanishadic Brahman', as Professor Edgerton believed, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, 1925, p. 53.

(*parastāt*) and the Nether (*avastāt*) Waters of *Ṛgveda*, III.22.3, etc.; as the 'two seas' of Varuṇa,[69] which are his 'paunches' or 'wombs', *udara, kukṣi*,[70] *Atharvaveda*, IV.16.3; as the 'twin breasts' of Aditi, Mother and Honey-whip, that 'milk out refreshment', life, ibid., IX.I.7.

He willed, 'Let me offer up again by a further sacrifice' (*yajña*). He strove, he undertook intension. When he had striven and was intensified, his glorious virility (*yaśovīrya*) went-forth (*udakrāmat*). So when the life-breaths had gone forth (*prāṇeṣu utkrānteṣu*), the body (*śarīra*) began to swell (*śva*). Yet the Intellect (*manas*) remained in the body.[71] 6.

He, that is the Year, Prajāpati, the Son. A 'further sacrifice' implies a former sacrifice: that was the first procession or flowing out into existence, the taking on of personal (*pauruṣya*) nature, and mortality. For all utterance is an incontinence: to 'spend' is to 'die', and in taking on existence, God takes on mortality: that is the Fisher King's 'debility', the meaning of the Grail 'myth'.

Utkram is used of 'going forth', much as in our colloquial 'passing out'. Either with respect to natural death, whether voluntary and sacrificial as here in our text, or involuntary as in our Upaniṣad, III. 2.11-12, and *Kauṣītaki Up.*, 1.2.12-15[72]: or in connection with *avataraṇa,* the 'appearance on the stage of life' of an *avatāra,* which is at once a descent[73] from heaven to earth and a death in heaven, 'His exit thence is his entrance here', Eckhart, I.132, 'Falling into time, they droop and fade', ibid., 244. The technical equivalent of (ut-) *krama* (= *kramodaya, prasaraṇa*) is 'procession', with respect to *avataraṇa*: as when *tejas,* the Fiery-Energy, proceeds (*utkramya*) in the Tree of Life, as it branches forth into space, *Maitrī Up.*, VII.11, or when the Great Yakṣa resting on the back of the Waters is described as 'by intension proceeding' (*tapasi krānta*) in the world-tree, *Atharvaveda,* X.7.38. That going out, that incarnation of the Year, Prajāpati, was the 'first sacrifice'.

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[69] With respect to *para* and *apara*, and their equivalents, see p. 46 above. In our Upaniṣad, I.1.2, each of the twin Waters, *pūrva* and *apara samudrau*, is spoken of as an 'omnipotence', *mahimā* (f.), a very close parallel to Eckhart's 'wherefore he is omnipotent', I.371, cited above. That by no means excludes the interpretation of *mahimā*, also as 'sacrificial vessel', cf. the double significance of *dhiṣaṇā*, often in the dual *dhiṣaṇe*: for which see Johansson's admirable pamphlet, *Die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā und Verwandtes*, Uppsala, 1910. Cf. *Ṛgveda*, III.45.3, 'Even as deep waters, even as kine, thou makest grow (*puṣyasi*) thy will (*kratum*), and X.75.1, where 'the craftsman in Vivasvan's seat shall, O ye Waters, tell of your incomparable almight (*mahimānam uttamam*).' Hence also the designation of the 'Rivers' as *revatī* 'rivers of plenty', X.19.1, etc.

In all probability the conch and lotus were originally symbols of the twain Waters: this would explain their association, as sources of inexhaustible wealth, with the *aśvattha*, in the case of the well-known Besnagar capital (my *Yakṣas*, II. Pl. 1, right): and their survival as the principal 'treasures' (*nidhi*) of Kubera, Dhanapati, in whom the progenitive and plutocratic elements of Varuṇa's character are so clearly preserved.

[70] Thus in progenitive deities, especially Varuṇa, Brahmā, Kubera and Gaṇapati, also in the case of the Patriarch and Prophet Agastya (twin of Vasiṣṭha, and like him probably = Prajāpati), the great belly is a symbol of pregnancy: such types embodying simultaneously chthonic (f.) and celestial (m.) powers. When Prakṛti is represented not thus as She is in him *nityayutau*, but as She is in herself, *ayuta*, in a wholly feminine form, then the promise of her infinite maternities is revealed more explicitly in her heavy breasts and swelling hips, told of in her litanies and seen in her images from prehistoric times to the present day. Clear indications of pregnancy are recognizable similarly in the iconography of mediaeval Mariolatry.

[71] On the connection between Intellect (*manas*) and the life of the body, see *Ṛgveda*, X.58, an incantation employed to recall the Intellect of a man at the point of death 'that thou mayst live and sojourn here'.

Now having taken on flesh in the bodily form of the Cosmic horse or World Tree, incarnate deity would save from its incurred mortality that body which is the sum of all existences. He suffers therefore a Passion, viz., intension and death, that is the 'further sacrifice'; as emphasized in the concluding verse, 'he sacrificed himself to himself', and *Ṛgveda,* X.90.15, where the 'Angels' (Persons of the Trinity), acting as sacrificial priests, 'sacrificed with the sacrifice unto the Sacrifice'. That concept of self-sacrifice and voluntary passion, undertaken or suffered to the end that life may be made more abundant recurs throughout the Vedas and in the traditions of many peoples. Here we need allude only to the Christian parallel, the Crucifixion on the Tree of Life: for the Cross, the Rood, is a 'tree', the Tree of Life, its trunk the axle-tree of being, its arms or branches all extension on every plane of being, 'the gift of God is the positive existence of all creatures in the Person of his Son', Eckhart, I.427. The identity of Cross and Tree is too familiar to need particular demonstration here,[74] nevertheless the phraseology of Böhme,

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[72] Here the powers of the soul are called 'angels', and all these leaving (*utkram*) the body at death, together with the five breaths (*prāṇa*), return to their source.

The root *kram* can be used in connection with any change of state ('all change is a dying'): do not only of procession, but also of recession, as in *Maitrī Up.*, VI.30, where *atikramya* is used with respect to ascession from Brahmaloka to the 'final stage', *parā gati.*

[73] For example, when the Bodhisattva descends from the Tuṣita heaven to take birth on earth, Bārhut inscription *bhagavato ūkraṁti,* see Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions,* 1926, pp. 52-3. Cf. *Ṛgveda,* I.164.19, 'those had come hitherward (*arvañc*) they call departing (*parācaḥ*)'.

[74] For the universal symbolism of the cross, see René Guénon, *La symbolisme de la Croix,* Paris, 1931. Observe also that the Cross is both a 'tree' and a sacrificial 'post'. Similarly in Vedic texts the sacrificial post (*yūpa*) is often spoken of as a tree (*vanaspati,* 'forest lord', *Ṛgveda,* I.13.11; I.65.2; III.8; X.70.10). As pointed out by Oldenberg, *SBE,* XLVI, p. 254, the ritual acts associated with the setting up of the sacrificial post 'seem to be connected with ancient tree worship', cf. the accounts in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* III.6.4 and 7.1. The three parts of the post, base, middle, and crest, correspond to the Three Worlds (*ŚBr,* III.7.1.14 and 25), cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, II.2.1, where the 'new-born infant' (*śiśu* = the 'Year' of our text) is compared to the sacrificial post, 'his base (*ādhāna,* i.e. the part set into the earth) is this (Earth), his top

Signatura Rerum, XIV.32, may be remarked, 'Now the flash, when it is enkindled by the liberty, and by the cold fire, makes in its rising a cross with the comprehension of all properties; for here arises the spirit in the essence, and it stands thus: If thou hast here understanding, thou needest ask no more; it is eternity and time, God in love and anger, moreover heaven and hell.' Equally consonant with the thought of the Vedas and Upaniṣads are Swinburne's moving lines:

> The tree many rooted
> That swells to the sky
> With frondage red-fruited
> The life-tree am I . . .
> In me only the root is
> That blooms in your boughs . . .
> My own blood is what stanches
> The wounds in my bark . . .

The efficacy of the ritual sacrifice (*karma, yajña*), that the ritual undertaken with a given end in view assuredly procures that end, is by no means denied in the Upaniṣads. The end in view, however, is a renewal and magnification of life, not an absolute emancipation from mortality. Knowledge alone, That *art* thou, is the realization of immortality, in or regardless of any here or now. So then there is a higher sacrifice, his who understands, *ya evaṁ veda*, the ritual not only in its imitative operation here, as a thing per-formed,[75] but in its intrinsic form as a thing un-formed, re-turned, there in the uttermost Empyrean, the lotus of the heart. And that applies not only to specific rituals,

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(*pratyādhāna*) is (Heaven), his trunk (*sthūṇa*) midmost (*madhyamaḥ*) is Spirit (*prāṇa*), the fetter (*dāma*) food (*anna*)'. The same simile is implied in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.1.6, where 'language (*vāc*) is the rope (*tanti*), names its slip-knot (*dāma*) . . . whereby all things are bound'. The rope and its knot by which the victim is held are more fully described in *ŚBr.*, III.7.1.19 and 20 as 'triple' and as 'food': it is bound about the navel of the post (*nābhidaghne, Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI.3.4.5) and thought of as the clothing of the post. In *ŚBr.*, loc. cit. and *Kauṣītaki Br.*, X.1, the post is called a *vajra.* These passages taken together suffice to show that the sacrificial post was envisaged as the Tree of Life, the body of Prajāpati, its trunk the axis of the universe, the support of all existences, to 'support existence' being indeed the very object of the sacrifice; and that which is the support of all existences is also the place of their extinction, at which the breaths of life are returned to their source, '*prāṇāḥ* to *prāṇa*' as the Vedas and Upaniṣads express what is involved in our 'dust to dust'. To the arms of the Cross corresponds the rope of the sacrificial Post; both correspond to 'felly' in the symbolism of the World-wheel. The details of these symbolisms are more fully discussed in my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography.*

For representations of the Christian Cross as the Tree of Life, see W.L. Hildburgh, *A mediaeval brass pectoral Cross*, Art Bulletin, XIV, 1932, pp. 79-102

[75] Whether or not the Comprehensor act-ually per-forms the ritual is a matter of indifference.

The concept of life itself (the 'daily round') as a ritual is expounded in *Chāndogya Up.*, III.17.5 concluding 'Death is an ablution after the ceremony (*avabhṛta*)'.

such as the horse-sacrifice or offering of *soma,* but to all the functions of life, which if they are undertaken blindly and desirously increase the sum of our mortality, but if undertaken undesirously, and unselfishly but Self-ishly, and with an understanding of their spiritual, transubstantial equivalents, are by no means obstacles, but rather ways of enlightenment. What is here involved is transformation (*parāvṛtti, abhisambhava*),[76] or in terms of psychology, sublimation: in religious extension, 'Except a man be born again'. All that is further developed in the *Bhagavad Gītā,* e.g. IV.27.32 and 33, 'Others pour out as their sacrifice all the functioning of the senses (*indriya-karmāṇi*) and all those of life *(prāṇa-karmāṇi)* in the fire of the discipline of self-restraint (*ātmasaṁyogāgnau*) which is lit by wisdom (*jñāna-dīpite*) . . . many and various are the sacrifices thus outspread before the face of God (Brahman), but all these are by way of works, which if thou understand is thy release; better than the sacrifice of any objects is that of wisdom, therewith are works undone in gnosis (*jñāne parisamāpyate*), naught remaining over.'

Returning more directly to our text, what was the body of the horse suffers corruption and 'swells up',[77] it is no longer a living horse, but de-natured, its horsiness (*aśvatva*) has gone out of it. The flesh becomes 'food' and life for other existences, as before explained. Intellect, the Principle of existence, Self-same in the Father and the Son, only remains incarnate, though in another nature and other individual existences or permutations (*pariṇāma*): for That: 'is indestructible, perpetual, unborn, undiminished, not slain when the body is slain', *Bhagavad Gītā,* II.20 and 21. So, just as we saw previously that the living universe had no 'first' beginning, so now it is asserted in another way that the universe is without end, *sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper, in saecula saeculorum.*

He willed, 'May this my *body* be renewed (*medhya*), may I thereby be Selfed (*ātmanvī*) again. Therewith there-became-again (*samabhavat*) a horse (*aśva*). 'That horse (*aśva*) has-been-made-whole (*medhyam-abhūd*), he thought (*iti*). That is verily the horse-whole-nature (*aśvamedhatva*) of the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*). He knows indeed the Aśvamedha, who knows it thus.

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[76] For *abhisambhava* see, e.g. *Chāndogya Up.*, VIII.13, 'as a self perfected I am conformed (*abhisambhavāmi*) to the unmade world of Brahman'. For *parāvṛtti,* e.g. of *maithuna,* cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, VI.4, and Maitreya-Asaṅga, *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṁkāra,* IX.46, also my *Parāvṛtti = transformation, regeneration, anagogy,* in Festschrift Ernst Winternitz, 1933.

Parāvṛtti, 'transformation', 're-versal', should not be confused with *pariṇāma,* 'permutation', which takes place in the order of nature.

To illustrate exactly what is meant by sublimation, transubstantiation or transformation 'I see the lilies in the field, their gaiety, their colour, all their leaves . . . my outward man relishes creatures, as wine and bread and meat. But my inner man relishes things not as creature but as the gift of God. And again to my innermost man they savour not of God's gift but of ever and aye', Eckhart, I.143. The change from one to another of these modes of perception constitues a death of the soul.

[77] No importance need be attached here to the 'etymology' by which the word *aśva,* 'horse', is connected with the root *śva,* 'to swell'. More plausible derivations are from *aś,* 'to pervade', 'wander wide', 'range'; or less probably, *aś,* 'to eat', hence preeminently 'to live'.

He beheld him intellectually (*tam... manyata*), not restraining him. After as long as is a year, he sacrificed him, i.e. Purusha as distinguished from *paśavaḥ*. Other *sacrificial* beasts (*paśu*) he delivered over to the Angels. Therefore they sacrifice the victim dedicated to Prajāpati as though to the Several Angels (*sarvadevatyam*).

The Sacrifice-that-is-the-horse (*aśvamedha*) is verily he who intensifies (*tapati*): it-Self is the Year, Prajāpati. This *sacrificial* fire is the Sheen (*arka*): the Three Worlds (*lokāḥ*) are its Hypostases (*ātmānaḥ*).

Such are these twain, the Sheen and the Sacrifice-that-is-the-Horse (*aśvamedha*) he becomes. Yet again they are One Angel, even Death (*mṛtyu*). He who knows this, forfends mortality (*punar mṛtyu*), death (*mṛtyu*) gets him not, Death (*mṛtyu*) becomes him-Self, of these Angels he becomes the Unity. 7.

This last section of the *adhyāya* describes the resurrection of the Horse, the perpetuation of life. Here the meaning of *medhya* is of primary importance. The word *medhya* is commonly rendered 'sacrificial', 'fit for sacrifice', but these meanings are secondary to the primary sense of 'fit', 'strong', 'vigorous', 'whole', 'virile', 'free from blemish'. These primary meanings are the valid ones in our context, for the sacrifice has been made already, and now life is renewed: there is a resurrection and rebecoming of the horse, a new, renewed, horse-nature, horsiness has been made whole again.

'Beheld him intellectually', that is 'remembered' him 'for as long as is a year': that means kept him, these Three Worlds, in living being throughout the cycle of angelic time, the lifetime of a Brahmā-Prajāpati, that is a 'day' of supernal time, during which the Brahman 'wakes'. His remembrance is our existence.[78] But as the soul 'honours God most in being quit of God', 'it remains for her to be somewhat that he is not', it is 'God's full intention' that she should 'relinquish her existence', that 'means the death of the spirit',[79] so in 'strange words she prays 'Lord, my welfare lies in thy never calling me to mind', Eckhart, I.274 and 376. That point of view is implicit in the conclusion of the *adhyāya*, where the Comprehensor forfends mortality, becomes im-mortal in full identity (*sāyujya*) with Death. Immortality is not eternal life, but a never being born, for only what is never born can never die:

[78] 'And so with works in God; he thinks them and they are ... he stays with creatures to keep them in beings', Eckhart, I.238 and 427. Cf. *Agni lokasmṛta*, 'who remembers the worlds', *Maitrī Up.*, VI.35. See also Note 61.

[79] That would be in Sanskrit literally *prāṇasya nirvāṇa*, 'despiration of the breath of life': a re-turn (*nivṛtti*) to His modeless mode who 'breathes without breathing', *ānīt avāta*, *Ṛgveda*, X.129.2. Cf. *aprāṇa*, 'spirit-less', or 'despirited', *Muṇḍaka Up.*, II.1.2.

Death-absolute transcends existence and non-existence, *sat* and *asat* at once, all good and evil. In the meantime, existence is the primary good, the *raison d'être* of the sacrifice, '*nothing* can wish it did not exist', *He* cannot in Person will the non-existence of his worlds before the end of time 'these worlds would be destroyed did I not work works', *Bhagavad Gītā*, III.24, who willed that he might have possessions to the end that he might 'work works', *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.17. Note that to 'work works', *karmāṇi kṛ*, is also a technical expression equivalent to 'to perform sacrifices', 'celebrate offices'.

'Not restraining him': that is, permitting the cycle of existence, our 'process of evolution', to run its course without interference, subject only to the natural consequentiality of accidents, the latent (*apūrva*) and unforeseen (*adṛṣṭa*) working of past events. As we have already seen, what He bestows is life (*prāṇa*), not mode or species: 'He emanates neither agency nor acts', *na kartṛtvanna karmāṇi sṛjati*, it is the proper-nature of each thing that operates', *svabhāvastu pravartate, Bhagavad Gītā*, V.14, 'what should restraint effect?' *nigrahaḥ kiṁ kariṣyati*, ibid., III.33, Wisdom lies in the knowledge that it is not 'I', not 'Self' that acts, 'I do not anything' should he think who is a bridled-man[80] and knows the suchness', *naiva kiṁcitkaromīti yukto manyet tattvavid*, ibid., V.8, thus acting unattached, Eckhart's 'willingly but not from will', he is liberated from the pairs (*nirdvandvaḥ*) loosed from bondage (*bandhāt pramucyate*), V.30, attaining, in the terms of our text, the Liberty (*adititva*) of Aditi.

So then at the end of the 'year', cosmic or terrestrial as the case may be, the horse is sacrificed, its life-breaths returning to him whose image it is, not as he is in hypostasis (*dvitīya ātman*), but in the Unity, there 'the Son is lost in the unity of the essence', Eckhart, I.275. Just as all 'souls' (*bhūtāni*) are returned into His universal nature at the end of time, *Bhagavad Gītā*, IX.8, so the 'soul' of the horse is returned to its source when it is ritually slain: that is done with an end in view, that life may be renewed, just as at the beginning of time, of any time, in the spring of the 'year', all 'souls' are poured forth again from their latency in him, ibid.

The cosmic Aśvamedha is the willed Passion of incarnate deity, begotten Second Person (*dvitīya ātman*), this his further sacrifice being a denial of the will to life, as the first was its assertion. But this Passion and formally undertaken death are not without an end in view, this also is a desirous work, *kāmya karma*, and as such will have its consequences in a renewed manifestation of life, in another Time, when another Sun, another Horse, will be poured out (*visṛṣṭi*). The terrestrial Aśvamedha is the solemn enactment of that Passion, to the analogous end that life may be renewed, made viable, enhanced and continued here and now, 'I ask the seed of the male horse'. He who undertakes the rite accordingly, with an eye to its fruits, wins fullness of life on earth (a hundred years, in the analogy of His 'hundred years'), wealth, offspring, cattle, whatever he desires here, and therewith also the world of the Patriarchs, after his death: that is not a final emancipation, for the natural reward of interested works is inevitable, he must return again to renewed birth, *punar apādana,* and other deaths, *punar mṛtyu.* He only who knows, who understands, who realizes and so performs the rite intellectually, who knows Self-evidently that the horse is transubstantially Prajāpati, the Year, the Son, wins either now or in due course, according to the perfection of his realization, back to Intellect, to Brahman, and is thus delivered, he only forfends mortality, being one with Death, in and of the Supreme Identity, One Angel.

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[80] *Yukta* the *yogī*, 'one who is uniformly-poised in heat and cold, pleasure and pain, repute and disrepute, etc.', *Bhagavad Gītā*, VI.7 and 8, the same as Eckhart's 'reasonable man'—'One who is controlled in joy and sorrow, him I call a reasonable man', I.460, 'unmoved by weal or woe or wealth or want', I.56.

For the use of *yuj* in this sense, cf. *Ṛgveda*, V.46.1, 'Like a knowing horse I yoke myself (*svayam ayuji*) to the chariot pole, coveting neither liberation nor a coming back again': a striking 'anticipation' of 'later' modes of thought.

'Forfends immortality', then what? That is, in the last analysis beyond our ken, which can extend only to the operation of the Persons, that is beyond the ken of God himself as Person, 'he knows or knows not', as the *Ṛgveda,* X.129, 7, expresses it. For the thing known being in the knower always and only according to the mode of the knower, existence can know only of existence. He only is, without a second whom he might know, or by whom He might be known. So then he only 'who knows "I am Brahman" becomes this All . . . whoever worships any other Angel than him-Self, thinking "He is one and I another", he knows not, he can only be likened to a sacrificial animal fit to be offered to the Angels', *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.10.[81]

What lies there beyond the order of nature, on the farther shore of time, is compared by the Veda either to dreamless sleep, or to a fourth state of simultaneous sleep and waking; that corresponds in Christian phraseology to the 'idleness' or 'silence', and to the simultaneity of 'eternal rest and eternal work'. None of this is intelligible to the reason, being inexpressible in terms of thesis and antithesis. Let us see nevertheless what Vedic and Christian seers have told of that primordial and modeless state of being.

It is implied in the doctrine of reflection, that the Self is present in the world throughout time, and that the world-picture and all therein is similarly present to the Self throughout time, 'He, Varuṇa, numbers the winkings of the eyes of men', *Atharvaveda,* IV.16.4, 'not a sparrow falls to the ground without thy Father's knowledge', What this involves for the individual is very clearly explained in our Upaniṣad, III.2.12, where it is said that when a man dies, 'what does not go out of him is the name (*nāma,* 'noumenon'), that is without-end (*ananta*), and inasmuch as what-is-wihtout-end) is the Several Angels, thereby he wins accordingly the world without-end'. The Several Angels is the Trinity of Persons, as explained below, p. 89. The notion of 'name' has to be understood in connection with that doctrine of the Word, *vāc,* and that of the utterance, *vyāhṛti,* of the worlds: 'name' is 'idea', and what is meant by the endlessness of names in their persistence as prototypes of acts[82] in the consciousness that is the Self, whose remembrance (*manana*) is our existence (*sthiti*). That is a persistence, as it were of 'art in the artist' (Eckhart, I.285), in the Triune Intellect, or Buddhist Ālaya-vijñāna, what Eckhart calls our 'storehouse of ideas and incorporeal forms', I.402, 'God's art', I.461, 'all creatures in their natural mode are exemplified in the divine essence', I.253. That eternity of individual prototypes of all the accidents of being is by no means the same thing as an individual immortality of the soul, as now conceived, in no way a reward, but purely abstract and 'nominal'. That is brought out very clearly in the *Kauṣītaki Up.*, II.12-15, where the immortality of the angelic powers of the soul is not with respect to their specific integration as a given individual, but with respect to the return of the several powers or elements of consciousness to their single source in the knowing Self, almost literally in the words of Eckhart 'combining with each divine power she is that power in God', I.380. That loss of creaturehood, and therewith loss of God as an external object of devotion Eckhart calls the 'lowest death of the soul on her way to divinity', I.274.

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[81] *Ya evaṁ vedāhaṁ brahmāsmīti sa idaṁ sarvaṁ bhavati . . . yo'nyāṁ devatāmupāste'nyo 'sāvanyo'hamasmīti na sa veda, yathā paśurevaṁ sa devānām, Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.10.

We do not mean to say that a perpetuity (*sthāyitā*) of individual consciousness without further change of state during part or all of time, and corresponding more nearly to the popular idea of immortality, is excluded from the possibilities of existence. On the contrary, such perpetuities are envisaged as attainable by those who are not yet Comprehensors, but are in the way to understand, or have acquired merit by good works. Such a perpetuity is on one or another of the lower planes of angelic existence, where the angels-by-works enjoy the fruits of works. Here at the best she reaches the Empyrean heaven, and finds herself in her eternal prototype, her 'name' written in the Book of Life, herself as she is in the manifested Son. There 'when the soul puts off her creature nature there flashes out its uncreated prototype (= *nāma*) wherein the soul discovers herself in uncreatedness . . . according to the property of the image', Eckhart, I.275: That is, she finds herself in the exemplar, Christ, Lamb, Horse, Prajāpati, the Year, in her 'potential, her essential, intellectual nature . . . revealed in its perfection, in its flower, where it first burgeons forth in the ground of its existence, and all conceived where God conceives himself—that is happiness', Eckhart, I.290 and 82. There being 'one with God in operation' (*pravartana*), 'creatures are her subjects, all submitting to her as though they were her handiwork', Eckhart, I.290. 'There perfect, ripe, and whole is each desire; in it alone is every part, there where it ever was, for it is not in space nor hath it poles', Dante, *Paradiso*, XXII. 64-7. There the will, being well-nigh naughted, is well-nigh-free; for as Boethius expresses it, 'the nearer a thing is to the First Mind, the less it is involved in the chain of fate'; that is, the nearer any consciousness may be to the centre of the gyroscope of causal becoming, *saṁsāra, bhava-cakra,*[83] the less is consciousness determined or constrained by external necessity, the more autonomous.

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[82] Vedic ideas are types not of 'things', but of acts; thus not exactly the same as Platonic ideas, but corresponding to the types of Aristotle as understood by the schoolmen. 'Names are all derived from action', *Bṛhad Devatā*, I. 31, and *Nirukta*, I.12. 'Because he creates the activity of everything (*viśva*), he is called Viśvakarmā', *Bṛhad Devatā*, II.50. The identity of *nāma* and *karma* as transmigrating factor is remarked by Keith, *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda*, p. 507: cf. also the opposition of *nāma* and *guṇa* in the Mīmāṁsā system. For the view that a thing is what it does, see also Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa*, II.56 d, Poussin, p. 289, and cf. *dharmā* (pl.) as 'principles' and *dharma-cakra-pravartana* as equivalent to 'utterance of the Word', *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, *passim*.

Nāma-rūpa, constituting, the unity of the individual, are often rendered 'name and form', but *nāma* is here the true 'form': the combination *nāma-rūpa* really corresponds to 'soul and body', as when, distinguishing form from substance, we say 'the soul is the form of the body'. *Nāma* = Lat. *forma*, Greek *eidos*; *rūpa* = Lat. *figūra*. Cf. Mainonides, *Guide* . . . III.8, 'Form can only be destroyed accidentally, i.e., on account of its connection with substance, the true nature of which consists in the property of never being without a disposition to receive form.' Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 239, Note 2, remarks, 'Even the Buddhist *rūpam* is not a pregnant conception.' Of course not: the pregnant conception is *nāma*, *rūpa* being merely the sensible aspect. It is true that *rūpa*, like English 'form', may be used with reference either to intelligible or to sensible objects, but when 'informing form' is meant, *rūpa* is generally distinguished by a suitable determinant, as in *sva-rūpa*, 'intrinsic form', or *antarjñeya rūpa*, 'mental image'. *Nāma* is noumenon, *rūpa* phenomenon.

But however glorious, however desirable such an estate may be, whatever bliss beyond imagination (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.3.33, *Taittirīya Up.*, II.8), as 'this is not the summit of divine union so it is not the soul's abiding place', Eckhart, I.276, cf. 410, 'that is a resting place (*viśrāma*), not a re-turn (*nivṛti*)', actually 'there is no extinction (*nirvāṇa*) without omniscience (*sarvajña*)',

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[83] The Indian similes of the Word-wheel and World-wheel, a mechanical but living image equivalent to that of the Cosmic Horse and World-tree, and more specifically representing the revolution of the 'year', require a more detailed treatment than can be given here. Briefly, 'we understand him as a wheel having a single felly, with a triple tire', *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, I.4: a wheel, that is, of which the hub is essence and the felly nature, 'triple' with respect to the three *guṇas*. Cf. Eckhart, I.357, 'This circle . . . is all the Trinity has ever wrought. Why is the work of the Trinity called a circle? Because the Trinity . . . is the origin of all things and all things return into their origin. This is the circle the soul runs. . . . So she goes round in endless chain. . . . Spent with her quest she casts herself into the centre. This point is the power of the Trinity wherein unmoved it is doing all its work. Therein the soul becomes omnipotent. . . . This is the motionless point and the unity of the Trinity. The circumference is the incomprehensible work of the Three Persons . . . The union of the Persons is the essence of the point. In this point God runs through change without otherness, involving into unity of essence, and the soul as one with this fixed point is capable of all things.' Or again, Eckhart, I.56. 'The heaven adjoining the eternal now, wherein the angels are, is motionless, immovable. . . . The heaven the sun is in, moved by angelic force, goes round once a year. The heaven the moon is in, again, is driven by angelic force and goes round once a month. The nearer the eternal now, the more immovable they are, the further off and more unlike to the eternal now the easier to move so that they are spinning in this temporal now . . . all things get their life and being from the motion there imparted by the eternal now.'

Saddharma Puṇḍarīka, V.74.75, 'not till she knows all that there is to be known does she cross over to the unknown good', Eckhart, I.385. So this is neither from the Indian nor the Christian point of view a final end. For that 'eternal nature wherein the soul now finds herself in her exemplar is characterized by multiplicity—the Persons being in separation. . . . Now Christ says: 'No man cometh to the Father but through me.' . . . Though the soul's abiding place is not in him yet she must, as he says, go through him. This breaking through is the second death of the soul and is far more momentous than the first', Eckhart, I.275: 'he invites us to enter by the door of his emanation and return into the source whence we came forth . . . the gate through which all things return perfectly free to their supreme felicity', Eckhart, I.400. That answers to the Vedic image of the Supernal-Sun, Āditya, as the gateway-of-the-worlds (*loka-dvāra*), whereby there is an entrance (*prapadana*) for the Comprehensor into Paradise (*prāṇārāma*, playground of the Spirit) but which is a barrier (*nirodha*) to the foolish (*avid*), *Chāndogya Up.*, VIII.6.6:[84] 'there is no approach by aside path here in the world', *Maitrī Up.*, VI. 30; 'Puruṣa, of the cast(e) of the Sun . . . only by knowing Him does one pass over death', *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, III.8. It is also as the Supernal-Sun that Viṣṇu is called the 'door-keeper' of the Angels, and opens for the understanding sacrificer this door, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I.36. That 'Agni arose aloft, touching the sky: he opened the door of the world of heaven, verily Agni is the overlord of the world of heaven', ibid., III.42, corresponds to the 'myth' of Christ's ascension and being seated in condominium at the right hand of the Father. Kristos and

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[84] Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, V.15, where the entrance (*mukha*) to the verity (*satya*) is said to be closed by the golden orb (*pātra*) and prayer is made to Pūṣan to discover that entrance to him whose principle (*dharma*) is the Verity (*satya*): and *Chāndogya Up.*, V.10.2, where a Superhuman Person (*amānava puruṣa*), who is Agni-vaidyuta, 'of the Lightning', 'leads them on to Brahman, this is the angelic voyage'.

Similarly in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I.5, passage is represented first as barred to the soul on ethical grounds, but when she answers to the Angel (Agni, or Agni-Rudra), 'Thou it was, not "I" that did the deeds', she proves herself a Comprehensor of the Self, proves that she is emancipate from individuality, proves that like her guide she is *amānava*, no longer thinking in human modes, and the way lies open. The doctrine as to 'Works' of the *Bhagavad Gītā* is identical, though presented with some devotional colouring: thus, III.30, 'Casting off all thy works upon Me', IV.13, 'I (God) am the doer of works, but they defile Me not, who have no ends to be attained', IV.36, 'Even though thou be the most evildoer of all sinners, thou mayst by the ship of Understanding be brought across all evil', V.10, 'He who in doing works lays his works on Brahman and puts away attachment is undefiled', VI.29, 'Who sees Me in all things, and all things in Me, I am not lost to him nor he to me.' These are metaphysical equivalents to the religious doctrines of forgiveness and remission of sins, salvation by faith, etc.: 'Come unto Me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden (sc. with the burden of sin) and I will give you rest.' If from the religious or ethical point of view it be objected that in the metaphysical formulation nothing is said about repentance, the answer is that, that very Understanding by which the notion of individuality (*abhimāna*, etc.) is transformed, is in itself and quite literally a repentance, a turning-away-from (*nivṛtti*) these Worlds wherein alone are moral values valid.

Agni, Son of God, and Sacrifice reflected on the Supernal-Sun, are that one Angel with the Flaming Sword who guards the gates of Paradise, and one Way-leader on the narrow path that leads across the Upper and the Nether Waters to the Grail Kingdom. There proven by degrees, perfected (*sukṛta*) man, emancipated from individual modality, takes his seat at last with Brahman on 'the seat "Far shining" . . . which is "Wisdom" (*prajñā*) . . . and the throne "Unmeasured Life" . . . and to him Brahman says, "The Waters verily are my world, and are thine"', *Kauṣītaki Up.*, I.3-7. So he comes into Lordship (*aiśvarya*) over all the possibilities of existence.

But that Plenum (*pūrṇa*), that Wisdom (*prajñā*), that Self (*ātman*), and Spirit (*prāṇa*) are not the end.[85] There remains for the soul thus lost in and one with (*sāyujya*) the Father a last death, *parimara, parinirvāṇa, fanā al-fanā*, the 'Drowning' and 'Despiration': there where 'God himself gives up the ghost . . . abiding to himself unknown, in agnosia and a-perception' she must give up her-Self and God him-Self in a naughting of their common 'name' and coincident intrinsic 'aspect', there she must abandon 'name and aspect', however ideally conceived. . . . 'Everything must go. The soul must subsist in absolute nothingness. . . . The third nature out of which the soul goes is the exuberant divine nature energising in the Father . . . the soul has got to die to all the activity denoted by the divine nature if she is to enter the divine essence where god is altogether idle.[86] This supernal image is the paradigm whereto the soul is brought by her (last) dying . . . dead and buried in the Godhead and the Godhead lives for none other than itself ',[87] Eckhart, I.274-8: so also Blake, 'I will go down to self-annihilation and Eternal Death, lest the Last Judgment come and find me unannihilate, and I be seiz'd and giv'n into the hands of my own Self-hood.' Those are sayings no more comfortable than the hardest to be found in Indian scripture, and correspond to what is said when our Upaniṣad speaks of Death as the last end and meaning of our life, or when the Śūnyavādin exhausts the categories of negation in defining man's true goal. That is the Liberty of the In-finite, *aditer-adititva, Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.2.5, 'free as the Godhead in its non-existence', Eckhart, I.382: 'When I go back into the ground, into the depths, into the well-spring of the Godhead, no one will ask me whence I came or whither I went', I.143.

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[85] Union with Brahmā, or with the Buddha in Glory (Sambhogakāya), though it implies a sharing of the throne and sovereignty of God, is always clearly distinguished from emancipation (*mukti, nirvāṇa*), cf. Sāyaṇa on *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.3.7 (citing also *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.1.2) and Śaṅkarācārya on *Brahma Sūtra*, IV.4.22.

That is also made very clear in *Maitrī Up.*, VI. 30, where the Comprehensor passes through the Solar region to the Brahma world and there beyond to the 'ultimate station', *parā gati*. In Buddhism, it is pointed out that even the highest of Buddha-paradises (Sambhogakāya-plane), is but a resting-place (*viśrāma*), not a Return (*nivṛtti*) *Saddharma-Puṇḍarika*, V.74.75. Similarly for Eckhart, I.274.276, the soul in heaven is 'not yet dead and gone out into that which follows created existence . . . as this is not the summit of divine union, so it is not the soul's abiding place'.

[86] 'Lo, God de-spirited' (*aprāṇa, nir-vāta*), Eckhart, I.469. Tirumūlar, 'they lose themselves and become idle'.

[87] Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, II.4.1, 'it is for love of the Self alone that all things are dear': that is 'in the love wherein god loves himself therein he loves all things . . . in the joy wherein God enjoys himself, therein he enjoys all creatures', God is in all things self-intent, 'the good man . . . formed in the image of God . . . loves for his own sake', Eckhart, I.142.380 and 66, 'the love is to the lover and comes back most to him . . . itself only finally satisfies the soul', Walt Whitman.

This end is hidden 'in the darkness of the everlasting Godhead, and is unknown, and never was known, and never will be known', Eckhart,[88] being in its nature and by definition unknowable. There Self—our-Self, him-Self—both sleeps and wakes, sees and sees not, at once fontal and inflowing, modeless and modi-fied, that is all one and the same to the Supreme Indiscrimination. Though we speak of that sleeping and that waking as nights and days of supernal time, that night and day, darkness and sunshine, are not like ours in succession, but simultaneous. For there, there is no distinction of unknown potentiality and conscious act: and that is precisely *what*, Vedic *ka*, we cannot understand, who proceed from potentiality to act, and think of 'being' only in terms of consciousness.

That *what* we cannot understand is not therefore remote from us, 'Heaven is at all points equidistant from the earth', Eckhart, I.172; nearest and dearest, nesting in the lotus of the heart, inaccessible to knowledge, *That art thou.* Whether we think of That as Selfed and form-ed in Person, or of the Person as therein Self-less, name-less, form-less, it is all One Angel, One transcending knowing and unknowing, gnosis and agnosia. It is just 'as these flowing rivers that tend toward the sea, their name and aspect are shattered, it is only spoken of as "Sea"' *Praśna Up.*, VI.5: 'as the drop becomes the ocean . . . so the soul imbibing God turns into God', Eckhart, I.242. In the words of Ruysbroeck,[89] 'traversing all worlds of being . . . the rivers pour ceaselessly into this ocean . . . whence there is no return . . . an abyss of darkness, fathomless, limitless, and without qualities, above the names of created things, above the names of God . . . nameless, yet the central point where all names are one. It is the mountain crest of human effort and the abyss of transcendent essence': that is ' . . . nostre pace, à qual mare, al qual tutto si move . . . ', Dante, *Paradiso*, III.85-6.

'His, verily, is that (true) aspect of his which is beyond desires, free from ill, without fear. As a man locked in the embrace of a darling bride, knows naught of a within nor a without, so the Person, embraced by Wisdom, by the Self, knows naught of a within nor a without . . . his desire is satisfied, him-Self is his Will (*kāma*), without will (*akāma*), without care. . . . There the father becomes not a father; a mother not a mother; the angels not the angels; the Vedas not Veda; a thief not a thief . . . he is not followed after by merit, nor followed by demerit, for he has crossed beyond all anguish of the heart . . . he sees though he does not see . . . tastes though he does not taste, speaks though he does not speak, touches though he touches not', *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.3.

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[88] From Claude Field's version of selected *Sermons*, p. 28.

[89] *Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage, passim.*

21-9:[90] 'there', as Eckhart, I.360, quotes from the 'Book of Love', 'there heard I without sound, there saw I without light, there breathed I without motion, there did I taste what savoured not, there did I touch what touched not back. Then my heart was bottomless, my soul loveless, my mind formless, and my nature natureless.' There where Void shines into Void, Deep answers unto Deep, unattainable by thought but all-contained in the lotus of the heart, there is the Supreme Identity, the source and end of life, One Angel, even Death, the Father of Life.

Whispers of heavenly death murmur'd I hear . . .
Darest thou now O soul,
Walk out with me toward the unknown region,
Where neither ground is for the feet nor any path to follow?

All waits undreamed of in that region, that inaccessible land.

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[90] 'That one breathes without stir', *ānīt avāta*, *Ṛgveda*, X.129.2: 'he sees without eyes', *paśyatyacakṣuḥ*, *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, III.19; 'sees without seeing', *paśyaty apaśyanayā*, *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, prose, p. 317. Other Parallels could be cited.

Portions of the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*

The following translation of parts of the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, describing the procession of the Tree of Life, as a Burning Bush, is offered without comment:

SIXTH PRAPĀṬHAKA, 1-4

He bears himself twofold: as the Spirit here (*prāṇa*) and yonder as the Supernal-Sun (*āditya*).[91]

Likewise, indeed, are twain these paths of his, an inner and an outer; and their revolution is accomplished with the day and night. Yonder Supernal-Sun is verily the outer-Self, the Spirit is the inner-Self. Hence, the motion of the inner-Self is to be measured by that of the outer Self. For thus has it been said: 'Whosoever is a Comprehensor, freed from guilt, an over-seer of the senses, of washed-white intellect, whose looking is within, is even He.' *And conversely,* the motion of the outer-Self is to be measured by that of the inner-Self. For thus has it been said: 'Lo, that Golden Person who is within the Supernal-Sun, and who from his golden station looks down upon this *earth,* is even He who dwells consuming food in the Lotus of the Heart.[92]

He who dwells existent in the Lotus of the Heart, consuming food, is that same numinous Solar Fire that is spoken of as all-consuming Time.

What is the Lotus and of what modality (*-maya*)? This Lotus is verily the same as Space.[93] These four airts and inter-airts are its surrounding petals.

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[91] Cf. *Ṛgveda,* I.115.1, 'the Sun (*sūrya*) is the Self (*ātman*) of all that proceeds or exists'. Cf. Note 117.

[92] 'To consume food' is a general expression for 'to exist'. 'This indeed is the premier aspect (*paraṁ rūpam*) of the Self, viz., 'food' (*anna*), for Spirit (*prāṇa*) indeed is mode-ified (*-maya*) by 'food' . . . from 'food' are all-things-begotten that-abide-on-any-ground verily begotten, by 'food' in sooth they live, and thereto in their latter end return', *Maitrī Up.*, VI.11. Nature, from whom all things 'milk' their specific virtue, is the ultimate, Earth the proximate source of 'food',—'through Me alone (viz., *Vāc*) all eat the food that feeds them—each man who sees, breathes, hears the Word outspoken', *Ṛgveda,* X.125.4. Needless to say that the symbol 'food' has the widest possible reference, implying not merely comestibles, but whatsoever nourishes the ego in any way, spiritually, mentally, or physically: cf. 'eating of the Tree' in Genesis, and in *Ṛgveda,* I.164.20. *Annāt bhavanti bhūtāni . . . parjanyāt . . . yajñāt karmaṇaḥ, Bhagavad Gītā,* III.14.

[93] Eckhart, I.81, 'the intellect wherein there is measureless space, wherein I am as near a place a thousand miles away as the place I am standing on this moment . . . (where) a hundred is as one'.

These twain, the Spirit and the Supernal-Sun go forth towards each other. One should laud them with that Imperishable-Word OṀ, with the Utterances, *Bhūr, Bhuvar, Svar,* and with the Sāvitrī, '*That Fiery-Energy of Savitṛ, be ours the vision of that Angel's glory, may He incite our Understanding.*'[94]

There are verily two forms of Brahman: in a likeness (*mūrta*) and imageless (*amūrta*). Now the That which is in a likeness is contingent (*asatya*): the That which is imageless, essential (*satya*) Brahman, Light.[95] That Light is the Supernal-Sun.

He verily became with OṀ as Self. He assumed a Trinity (*tredhā*): for the OṀ has three factors, and it is by these that 'the whole world is woven, warp and woof, on Him'. As it has been said, 'Beholding that the Supernal-Sun is OṀ, unify therewith thyself.'

And as it has been said, again: 'Now, verily, the Chant (*udgītha*) is the Rune (*praṇava*), and the Rune is the Chant; that is indeed the Supernal-Sun, he is the Chant, he OṀ. Thus it says: 'The Chant is the Rune, the Inductor (*praṇetra*), image-bearing-light (*bhā-rūpa*), sleepless, unaging, undying, of three feet, three syllables, and again as fivefold known, hid (*nihita*) in the cavern (*guhā*) *of the heart.*' For thus it has been said: 'The threefold Brahman has his root above; his branches are space, air, fire, water, earth and the other elements.[96] This is called the Single Fig-tree (*eka aśvattha*); and therein inheres the Fiery-Energy (*tejas*) that is the Supernal-Sun, and it is likewise of the OṀ. Therefore one should ever laud Him with OṀ, who is the One Enlightener (*eka sambodhayitṛ*).

For it is said, 'This Imperishable-Word is as it were profitable, this Imperishable-Word is transcendent; he who knoweth this, whatsoever he desires is his.'[97]

SEVENTH PRAPĀṬHAKA, 11

This, verily, is the intrinsic-form (*svarūpa*) of the firmament (*nabha*) in the vacance of the inner man (*antarbhūtasya khe*): that is the Supreme Fiery-Energy (*tejas*), determined (*abhihita*) as the Trinity (*tridhā*) of Fire, Supernal-Sun, and Spirit. The intrinsic-aspect of space (*nabha ākāśa*) in the vacance of the inner man—(*antarbhūtasya khe*) is indeed the Imperishable-Word, OṀ.

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[94] *Ṛgveda,* III.62.10.

[95] Cf. *Ṛgveda,* IX.113.6 and 7, *yatra brahmā . . . yatra jyoti ajasraṁ,* 'where Brahmā is, there Light is emanated.' Also *Bṛhad Devatā,* VII.109, 'that knowledge (*jñāna*) which is immortal Light, and by union wherewith one wins to Brahman'.

[96] Cf. *Ṛgveda,* IV.13.5, 'Unsupported, unattached, spread-out downwards-turned': and ibid., I.24.7, 'King Varuṇa upholds in the abyss (*abudhna,* firmament, cf., VIII. 77.5) as Pure-Act (Dakṣa) the summit (*stūpa*) of the Tree (*vana*), the ground (*budhna*) is above, may its downward-standing flaming-banners (*ketavaḥ*) be planted-deep (*nihitaḥ*) in us.'

[97] The notion of an Imperishable-Word (*akṣara*) by which the earth is measured out appears in *Ṛgveda,* X.13.3.

And by that Imperishable-Word, the Fiery-Energy sprouts forth (*udbudhyati*), springs-up (*udayati*) and suspires (*ucchvasati*), also 'blossoms'): that is verily an everlasting (*ajasram*) basis (*ālamba*) for the vision of Brahman (*brahmadhiya-*). In the spiration (*samīraṇe*) it has its place (*sthāna*) in the dark-heat (*uṣṇa*) that emanates (*prakṣepa*) Light (*prakāśa*), proceeding-upward (*utkramya*) as in the way of smoke when-the-wind-blows (*samīraṇe*), as a branching-forth (*praśākhayā*) in space (*nabha*) the firmament, stem following on stem . . . all-pervading as contemplative vision. . . .[98]

SIXTH PRAPĀṬHAKA, 35

He who is yonder, yonder Person in the Supernal-Sun—I my-Self am He.

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[98] The notions of the Tree of Life, Pillar of Smoke, and Axis of the Universe are all closely connected. Cf. for example, *Ṛgveda*, IV.6.2, *meteva dhūmaṃ stabhāyat upa dyām*, 'He (Agni) as a pillar of smoke upholds the heavens' (Sāyaṇa explains *metā* as *sthūṇā*). Agni, again, is often spoken of as Vanaspati, flames being his branches.

Three Vedic Hymns

The Vedas, as we possess them, embody a tradition of immemorial antiquity, already locally developed in characteristic idioms, but by no means original or exclusive to themselves: Veda antedates the Vedas. However, it is not so much intended here to stress this argument, as to point out that there is little or nothing in the metaphysics of the Upaniṣads that necessarily implies a 'progress' with respect to the older Vedic books. The 'three Vedas' are primarily concerned with 'Works' (*karma, yajña*) and with 'Genesis' (*bhāva-vṛtta, Bṛhad Devatā,* II.120;[99] perhaps also *jāta vidyā, Ṛgveda,* X.71.11, and *Nirukta,* I,8): exegetical matter, such as appears abundantly in the *Atharva-veda,* Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, and *Nirukta* generally, is included amongst the Vedic liturgies only as it were by accident and incidentally. That the language of the Upaniṣads is less archaic than that of the three Vedas proves only a late publication of the traditional exegesis, but in no way proves, nor even suggests to those who recognized the consistency of one tradition in the Vedas and Upaniṣads, that the essential doctrines of the latter had not 'always' been taught to those possessed of the necessary qualifications.[100] This

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[99] 'How in the beginning this world was not, either as non-existent or existent, how all this was born (*jajñe*), that (i.e. a hymn of that kind) they term the "movement of being" (*bhāva vṛtta*) (hymn).' *Vṛtta,* also implying 'circle', 'cycle', 'transformation', 'appearance', eventuality', 'activity', etc., is from root *vṛt,* 'to move', 'revolve', 'proceed', 'exist', etc., (or with similar senses causatively), which root is also present in *vartana, cakravartin,* with reference to the setting in motion of the world-wheel, and in *pravṛtti, nivṛtti,* 'extroversion' and 'introversion', or 'evolution' and 'involution'. Certain of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda,* e.g. X.129, are *bhāva vṛttāni,* cf. *Bṛhad Devatā,* II.86, VII.123, VIII.46 and 91; in VIII.56, *Ṛgveda,* X.145, is called an *aupaniṣada bhāva vṛtta* hymn, which is rendered by Macdonell as 'esoteric evolutional hymn'.

[100] Upaniṣad as a verb with the sense 'to sit near' (with a view to hearing a discourse, as we speak of sitting under a lecturer) may be noted in *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa,* III.3.7, and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* II.2.3.

Bloomfield, in *J.A.O.S.,* XV.144, argues 'that *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech, which are largely contemporaneous. . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from earliest times.' Needless to remark that *brāhmaṇa* includes, to a certain degree, *upaniṣad.*

It may be stated as a law, that a given traditional text represents no more than a comparatively late fixation and publication of doctrines long previously taught orally. Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* XIV.I.1. 26 and 27, and *Muṇḍaka Up.,* I.2.12 and 13; and the lists of teachers in pupillary succession, e.g. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.,* II.6.

With the distinction between the Vedic *saṁhitās* on the one hand and the would fully accord with the traditional interpretation of 'Upaniṣad' as 'secret doctrine' or 'mystery', *rahasya,* without contradicting the traditional connotation 'doctrine with respect to Brahman'. In any case, the history of tradition, and the history of literature, are two different things; and that is especially true in India, where even at the present day it is felt that none but a living teacher can communicate ultimate truth.

Furthermore, that is an erroneous view which describes the 'beginnings' of Indian 'philosophy' as a process of 'syncretic' thought, as a "tendency to see that all the angels are really One'. On the contrary, Vedic 'mythology' as we possess it represents an already 'late' and sophisticated stage in the history of symbolism, an employment of increasingly diverse similitudes and images, and of new-found essential names and epithets, accompanied by a tendency towards a conception of these names as those of independent powers, so that a superficial aspect of polytheism is brought about, of the same sort as that which can be recognized in Christianity when it is said with respect to the Trinity, 'We do not say *the only God,* for deity is common to several', St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I., Q. 31, A. 2.[101] These elaborations may be regarded from some points of view as a progress in the logical science, but from that point of view which takes into consideration that 'the angels have fewer ideas and use less means than men', and holds that in a single seeing and in one idea 'He' beholds himself and all things simultaneously, and accordingly that with the knowledge of That One 'this entire universe becomes known', *Muṇḍaka Up.*, I.1.3, rather as a decline. In reality, the notion of a progress or decline is out of place, an absolute progress or decline being no more conceivable in metaphysics than in art: the thing known can only be in the

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Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads on the other, may be compared the distinction between the Babylonian liturgies 'repeated in the temples' and the 'wisdom literature . . . not written to be repeated in the temples' ; this wisdom literature 'shows an increasing scepticism concerning the value of this life', and whereas 'life unto distant days', in Babylonian liturgies, like *amṛta* in *Ṛgveda,* X.129.2, may have meant rather fullness of life and length of days than 'immortality', it was precisely in the wisdom literature and especially towards the end of the Babylonian empire that there was developed a 'doctrine of final escape from mortality', Langdon, S., *Tammuz and Ishtar,* pp. 11, 14, 38, 41.

[101] The 'appearance of polytheism' is a secondary development in tradition, and this development *had already taken place antecedently to the Vedas as we possess them.* What Professor Langdon has to say of the Sumero-Accadian pantheon is absolutely pertinent, viz., 'The complicated Sumerian pantheon was obviously the work of theologians and of gradual growth. Almost all the names of deities express . . . some personification of natural powers, ethical or cultural functions, perfectly intelligible to the Sumerologist . . . names given to definite mythological conceptions by clear thinking theologians and accepted in popular religion. . . . Since in their mythology all the gods descended from An, the Sky-god, it is extremely probable that the priests who constructed the pantheon were monotheists at an earlier stage, having only the god An, a word which actually means 'high' . . . (that is) not a mythology springing from

knower according to the mode of the knower,[102] and that is why under changed conditions alternative-formulations (*paryāya*) necessarily present themselves; each of these, insofar as it is 'correct', and not in the measure of its complexity or simplicity, expressing one and the same truth. All that concerns the historian of style, rather than the expositor of the meaning of meanings, *paramārtha*: it is precisely with respect to that ultimate significance that *ya evaṁ vidvān* might have been said at any time, and not for the first time when the Upaniṣads were finally 'published'. A single illustration of this may be cited in the equivalence of Varuṇa, Brahmā-Prajāpati, Viśvakarmā, and Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, which can be demonstrated easily from many points of view (cf. *Yakṣas*, II, p. 36). That the Vedic *kavi*[103] was in fact *vidvān* is shown by such

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primitive religion, but speculation based upon nature, spiritual, and ethical values', *Semitic Mythology*, p. 89. Cf. 'le monde des dieux (sc. the Āditya-maṇḍala) relativement homogéne a l'origine, se soit differencié plus tard', Przyluski, *Brahmā Sahāmpati*, Journal Asiatique, CCV, 1924, pp. 155-63.

The 'abstract deities' of Vedic scholarship, for example, represent essential names not yet divided from their source and independently personalized: a multiplication of deities, or rather of angels, takes place by a gradual treatment of essential names as though these had been personal designations, as for example in the case of Kāma, Viśvakarmā, Tvaṣṭr, Prajāpati.

[102] All symbols are 'according to the enlightenment of the reason of him who shapes and shows them', Ruysbroeck.

[103] *Kavi*, from root *kū*, to voice, utter (= *kav*, to describe or depict), is in Vedic usage nearly synonymous with words such as *ṛṣi, sumedha, dhīra, rebha*, 'prophet', 'sage', 'singer'. The professional reference to 'one who makes literature', and the application of the term *kāvya* to 'belle-lettres' belong to a later time. If we render the word *kavi* by 'poet', we must do so with the original meaning of *poiein*, to 'make', 'create', in view, and think of the poet not as lyricist, but as shaper, maker, prophet, oracle, or Latin *vates*, or even as a magician in the proper sense. Vedic poetry is neither 'fine' nor 'decorative', but simply highly accomplished in execution; the 'poet' rightly compares his own craftsmanship to that of the weaver or wheelwright, in modern terms we might say to engineering rather than to 'art'. The verses (*ṛc*) or measures (*chandas*) are thought of as formulae, spells, incantations, centres of force or words of power (*mantra*). They are not in any way comparable to hymns or prayers such as are now thought of as the natural expression of 'religious' aspiration: for the operation of a Vedic rite or hymn depends on accurate performance, not on any emotional state on the part of the celebrant, or emotional response on the part of the object of 'worship'. What is truly moving in Vedic 'poetry' is not as lyrical quality, but one of profundity: the lauds are means to happiness far rather than to pleasure, and it would be an affectation to speak of them as 'literature'. 'What is set forth in the Vedas, that is Essential Truth. By what the Vedas tell, wise men live their life', *Maitrī Up.*, VII.10. .

The Vedas are not of human origin, but *apauruṣeya*, Śaṅkarācārya on the *Vedānta Sūtra*, I.2.2. On the one hand the utterance of the *mantras* and ordering of the ritual ('the observance of the rule thereof is the same as at the "creation",' *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV.1.2.26 and XIV. 3.1.36) by the Angels or by non-individual Prophets, Poets, or Seers, represents a co-creative activity whereby the one and singular Utterance of the Spirit is contracted and identified (*vi dhā, Ṛgveda*, X.71.3) into variety (*viśvam*): the discrimination of things by name (*nāma-dheya Ṛgveda*, X.71.1, see well-known assertions as that 'The priests speak in divers ways of that which is but one: they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan . . .' *Ṛgveda*, I.164.46; 'Priests and singers make manifold the (Sun-) bird that is unique', ibid., X.114.5; or when Aditi or Prajāpati are identified with all that is, ibid., I.89.10 and X.121. The ideas and often the actual locutions of the Upaniṣads are to be found in the Vedas, e.g. VI.16.35, *yastā vijānat*, equivalent to *ya evaṁ vidvān*; and even more striking, V.46.1, *na asyāh vaśmi vimucaṁ na āvṛttaṁ punaḥ, vidvān pathaḥ puraḥ etā ṛju neśati*, 'I covet neither deliverance nor a coming back again, may He that is waywise be my guide and lead me straight', where *punar āvṛttam* can hardly be otherwise understood than in the 'later' literature.

A transation of the famous *bhāva vṛtta*, or 'Creation hymn', *Ṛgveda*, X.129, now follows:

ṚGVEDA, X. 129

'Non-existence (*asat*) then was not, nor Existence (*sat*); neither Sky (*rajas*), nor Empyrean ('*vyoman*) there beyond:

What covered o'er all (*āvarĭvar*) and where, or what was *any* resting-place (*śarman*)? What were the Waters (*ambhaḥ*)? Fathomless abyss (*gahanaṃ gabhīram*). 1.

Then was neither death (*mṛtyu*) nor life (*amṛta*), nor any fetch (*praketa*) of night or day:

That One breathed (*ānīt*) breathless (*avāta*) by intrinsic-power (*svadhā*), none other was, nor aught there-beyond. 2.

Note 64) being the immediate cause of their distinction as such, cf. the statement of Śaṅkarācārya, *Vedānta Sūtra*, I.1.3. that the Veda 'is the cause of the distinction (*paribhāga-hetu*) of the castes and estates of angels, animals, and men'. So we have in *Ṛgveda*, X.5.2. 'Poets (*kavi*) ward the traces (*pada*) of the Law-of-Heaven (*ṛta*), and in the innermost (*guhā*) are-pregnant-with (*dhṛ*) the ultimate (*para*) ideas (*nāma*)': X. 71.1. 'Then what was best and flawless in them, hid in the innermost, that by their love they brought to light.' The *Nirukta*, XII.13, with reference to the designation of Savitṛ, the Solar Angel, as *kavi*, in *Ṛgveda*, V.81.2. explains, 'He is kavi in that he displays (or reveals, lit., releases) the various forms-of-things (*viśvā rūpāṇi prati muñcate*) . . . 'kavi', either because his presence is desired (√*kam*), or the word is derived from √*kav*, to describe, praise, or depict.' How, then, the designation *kavi* is appropriate to the Sun and to the prophet alike is, inasmuch as both reveal or bring to light, that is into the field of perception, what was previously unseen or latent.

On the other hand, by the reverse process implied in the phrase 'for him who understands', the *mantras* constitute a means of reunion to higher states of consciousness. We might express this in Vedic phraseology by saying that the yarn of the poetic tissue can be traced intellectually back to its unitary source, or that the metres are traces of footprints of the Law and may be followed on a homeward course, just as a lost animal is tracked. It is from this standpoint of a return from existence to its sources in pure Being and Non-being that the Vedic texts are considered in the Upaniṣads.

In the beginning (*agre*), Dark-Inert (*tamas*) was hid (*gūḷha*) by Dark-Inert (*tamas*). This all was fluid (*salila*), indeterminate (*apraketa*):

Void (*tucchi*) by void (*ābhu*) was overlaid (*apihita*): That One was born (*ajāyata*) by the all-might (*mahi*) of intension (*tapas*). 3.

In the beginning, Will (*kāma*) arose (*samavartata*) therein, the primal seed (*retas*) of Intellect (*manas*), that was the first:

Searching the heart (*hṛd*) throughly by thought (*manīṣā*) wise-singers (*kavayaḥ*) found there the kin (*bandhu*) of Existence (*sat*) in the Non-existent (*asat*). 4.

What trace was stretched across below, and what above?

Seed (*retas*) was, Almight (*mahimānaḥ*) was; Intrinsic-power (*svadhā*) *below*, Purpose (*prayati*) above. 5.

Who knows it aright? Who can here set it forth? Whence was it born (*ājātā*), whence poured forth (*visṛṣṭiḥ*)

These Angels (*devāḥ*) are from its pouring-forth (*visarjana*), whence then it came-to-be (*ābabhūva*), who knows? 6.

Whence outpoured (*visṛṣṭiḥ*) this came to be (*ābabhūva*), or whether one appointed (*dadhe*) it or not,

He who is Over-Eye (*adhyakṣa*) there of in uttermost Empyrean (*vyoman*), he knows indeed, or knoweth not. 7.

That is what is called a 'late' hymn: from our present point of view it suffices that it antedates the earliest Upaniṣads by some centuries. A likeness to Upaniṣadic texts generally, and to our *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.2.1, and *Maitrī Up.*, V.2, in particular will be noticed at a glance. This similarity is partly one of verbal identity (*agre, sat, asat, tamas, salila, tapas, kāma, retas, manas, hṛd, tad-eka, ānīt = prāṇiti, vāta = vāyu, avāta = nirvāta, visṛṣṭi, visarjana*, etc.), partly of verbal sense (*ambhaḥ, salila = āpaḥ, tapasaḥ-mahi = tejas, svadhā = māyā, śākti, svabhāva*),[104] and partly of total statement. *Bandhu* (=*sajāta*) 'kin' as of blood relationship, is an exceedingly well-found expression for the 'opposite relation' of Existence to the Non-existent, God to Godhead, Essence to Nature;[105] as also in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.1.2. As for *rajas*, granted that no more is here directly implied than 'firmament' or 'space', and that the Sāṁkhya as a formulated system is of later publication,[106] it still remains significant that in our hymn (not to speak of other Vedic sources) we have a trinity of terms (*tamas, rajas,* and *tapasaḥ-mahi* = *tejas* = *sattva*)[107] employed in their correct factorial (*gauṇa*) senses to denote the principles of passivity, movement, and essentiality, 'later' represented by the three *guṇas* more explicitly, and by the corresponding Trinity of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Śiva. By the 'primal seed of Intellect', I understand rather 'intellectual virility', 'creative intellect', than the *source* of Intellect: cf. *Ṛgveda* X.71.2, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.5.7, and similar passages, where Intellect (*manas*) is the fecundating power that begets upon Utterance or Wisdom (*vāc*). *Amṛta*, in the second stanza, is not 'immortality', but simply life, continued existence, as in *Ṛgveda*, VII.57.6, and equivalent to *dīrghamāyuḥ* in X.85.19; the sense is 'neither birth nor death as yet were'.

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[104] Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I.8.23, *padmā svadhā śāśvatapuṣṭidā*, 'the Lotus-Lady (= Śrī-Lakṣmi = Prakṛti = Māyā) is intrinsic-power, constant giver of increase'; also the discussion of Aditi, Māyā, Virāj, above, pp. 58f. *Ṛgveda*, X.129.5, corresponds exactly to Dante, *Paradiso*, XXIX.31-6, 'Co-created and in-wrought with the Substances was Order; which were the summit of the world, wherein pure Act was put forth. Pure Potentiality held the lowest place; in the midst Potentiality twisted such a withy with Act as shall ne'er be unwithied', where also *nel cima del mondo, mezzo,* and *infime parte* correspond to Vedic 'celestial', 'atmospheric', and 'terrestrial'. *Sustanzie*, 'substances', here refers to the Angels, cf. *Paradiso*, XXIX.76-8, who primarily fulfil the act of being: *concreato* and *construtto* correspond to the *ekajātatva, sālokyatva*, etc., of the *Bṛhad Devatā*, cited below, pp. 88, 89, and Note 119.

[105] 'Neither can exist without the other, so neither can originate the other', Eckhart, I.479.

That 'He breathes without air' (*avāta*, cf. later *nirvāṇa*, 'despiration') is a profound and significant expression, implying all the correlative of motion without local movement, and the like, which may be properly enunciated of the First Principle, 'for (only) where there is a duality, as it were' (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.5.15) could it be otherwise. The thought is taken up and further developed in several passages of the Upaniṣads, particularly the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, as quoted above, p. 70, *Kena Up.*, 1.8, 'Know that as Brahman which breathes (*prāṇiti*) without breath (*na . . . prāṇena*) yet by whom breath (*prāṇa*) is breathed (*praṇīyate*)', *Muṇḍaka Up.*, II.1.2 and 3, where That from which Intellect (*manas*) and Spiritus (*prāṇa*) are born (*jāyate*) is Itself imageless (*amūrtta*), un-intelligent (*amanaska*), de-spirited (*aprāṇa*), and *Taittirīya Up.*, II.7, where That without which none might breathe (*prāṇyāt*) is Self-less (*anātmya*), indiscriminate (*anirukta*), placeless (*anilayana*).

'By intrinsic power' (*svadhā*): cf. *Ṛgveda*, IV.13.5, 'by what intrinsic-power (*svadhā*) does he move?' and the answer in I.144.2, 'When he (as Fire) dwelt diffused in the womb of the Waters (*apāmupasthe*), thence got he (*adhayat*) the intrinsic powers (*svadhāḥ*) whereby he proceeds (*īyate*)': the Waters, *nirguṇa*-Brahman, unconscious Godhead, being as explained above, the source of all omnipotence (*mahimānaḥ*) and facility (*kauśalya*). Essence

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Cf. Jīlī, 'I am convinced that It is non-existence, since by existence It was manifested, thought hath beheld it from afar as a power exerting itself in existence. . . . It is the hidden treasure', Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 89.

[106] Cf. Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda*, pp. 539, 540. For the view that the *guṇa* theory is substantially of much greater antiquity, and extra-Vedic origin, see Przyluski, J., *La theoric des guṇa*, Bull. Sch. Or Studies, VI, pp. 24-35.

Rajas in *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XVIII.7.11, is again simply '*antarikṣa*': Sāyaṇa very rightly speaks of the meaning here as 'obvious', and Caland's discussion in his *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, 1931, p. 488, is quite superfluous. In *Ṛgveda*, V.47.3, unquestionably, *rajas* = *antarikṣa*: for Heaven and Earth are its limits (*antāḥ*).

[107] For *tejas* = *sattva*, see E. Senart, *La théoric des guṇas*, Études Asiatiques, II, pp. 287-92. Further, as has been shown by Hertel in particular, *tejas* = *vareṇya* (= *hvarena*) = *brahma*.

being impotent (*starī*) apart from nature; nature being power (*śakti*) and magic (*māyā*), means whereby anything is done.[108] Cf. *Bhagavad Gītā*, IV.6. 'I am born by my own power', where *ātmamāyayā* is clearly the same as *svadhayā*, cf. *māyayā* in *Ṛgveda*, IX.73.5 and 9.

'That One' is clearly here not an existence, for as we have seen, his mode is modeless, in that he breathes without breath: a similar conception is met with in *Ṛgveda*, I.164.4, where That 'which supports Him who is by way of being the first born embodiment', *prathamaṁ jāya-mānam-asthanvantam . . . vibharti*, is itself 'bodiless', or more literally, 'boneless', *anasthā*, that is to say, 'structureless'. 'That' is not yet 'Selfed' (*ātmanvī*)—'before creatures were, God was not God, albeit he was Godhead', Eckhart, I.410. *Tamas* (as in *Maitrī Up.*, V.2), *apraketa salila, gahanaṁ gabhīram*, etc., are all terms naturally designating the undifferentiated, unintelligible Godhead, 'which is as though it were not', Eckhart, I. 381: *asat*, non-existent, *gūḷha*, hidden, there where

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[108] See p. 58 and my *On translation*: *maya, deva, tapas,* in Isis, No. 55. 'The Godhead is contained in the Father as essence, *wherefore he is omnipotent*. . . the potentiality of the essence lies in *not* being a rational Person: in persisting in its essential unity', Eckhart, I. 373 and 393, italics mine. The pertinence of these considerations to modern therapeutic psychology and the resolution of 'conflicts' will not be overlooked. Virtuosity and spontaneity in action (*agibile* and *factibile* Skr. *karma*), better than obedience to rules externally imposed, better than to obey the 'dictates' of the 'conscience', are commonly exemplified in the shining of the sun, who shines *only* because that is its nature, and not for any 'sake'. Such a virtuosity and spontaneity can only be realized to the extent that we abandon purpose and let the divine nature work in us: 'Let go thyself and let God work in thee', Eckhart, I.308. That is the principle of *wu wei*, Chuang Tzū's 'Do nothing, and all things shall be done'; that is the doctrine of the *Bhagavad Gītā* with respect to works. In *bhaktivāda* terms that is called the resignation of the will, *asaktatva, islām*: resulting in a 'grace' or power which robs the ego of self-willing and self-thinking and substitutes therefor His will who is without potentiality (in the sense that all potentiality is realized in him, cf. Eckhart, I.409). With respect to *agibilia* and *factibilia*, we call this grace *habitus*, Skr., *kauśalya, śliṣṭatva* (cf. my *Reactions to Art in India, J.A.O.S.*, vol. 52, p. 220, note 10, third paragraph). 'It behoves a man in all he does to turn his will in God's direction and keeping only God in view to forge ahead without a qualm, not wondering, am I right or am I doing something wrong? If the painter had to plan out every brush-mark before he made his first he would not paint at all. And if, going to some place, we had first to settle how to put the front foot down, we should never get there,' Eckhart, I.141. Cf. St. Thomas, 'human virtues are habits', *Sum. Theol.*, II, Q. 55, A. 2. To identify this point of view with 'nature-worship' (where 'nature' stands for 'ens naturata'), to suppose that what is meant by all this is nothing but a 'selfish' obedience to merely functional impulses and animal instincts, implies a defective intellect: for how can he, who is by definition freed from private will, be at the same time spoken of as 'self-willed'? As remarked by Jung, *Psychological types*, p. 263, 'as we study the Upanishad philosophy, the impression grows on us that the attainment of the path is not just the simplest of tasks.' Proportionate to the difficulty of the task, however, is the immediate reward in terms of power and happiness, which power and happiness are precisely from the Upaniṣad point of view, the values of gnosis.

'darkness reigns in the unknown known unity', Eckhart, I.368, cf. p. 34 and Note 21.

'What covered o'er?' That is, what and where was the world? *āvarīvar* being from *varī*, intensive reduplicated form of *vṛ*, 'to cover', 'veil.' The world is thought of as veiling the ultimate reality, cf. *Ṛgveda*, V.19.1, 'state after state is generated, veil (*vavri*) from veil appears', hence also the prayer, *Maitrī Up.*, VI.35, with respect to the Sun, 'That face do you unveil (*apāvṛṇu*)' or 'That door do thou open'.

Our hymn is by no means necessarily an expression of scepticism: it is rather wonder than a wondering that is suggested. 'Who knows' is no more 'sceptical' than Kabīr's *tāsukā soi santa jānai*, 'who are the Comprehensors thereof?' or Blake's 'Did he who made the lamb make thee?' 'He knows or knows not', if understood to mean 'he knows *and* knows not' would be sound theology. In the last stanza, alternative theories of 'emanation' and of 'creation by design' are propounded.[109] In any case, the very form of the various statements and questions proves that sound ontological speculation was by no means a new thing, for it is inconceivable that such questions had been correctly formulated just a week or year before this particular hymn was published.

Not only are the terms and implications of our hymn all formally correct (*pramiti*), they tally also in form and content with those of the Upaniṣads. Yet we are asked to believe that Vedic thought was 'primitive'[110]—that the wise-singers of the Vedic hymns were able to express themselves in terms that have been universally employed elsewhere and other when with a deep and known significance, and all without knowing what it was they said. It is as though it were argued that the law of gravity had been hit upon by lucky chance, long before anyone had consciously observed that heavy objects have a tendency to fall. Surely our faith in uniformity forbids us to imagine, what is outside the range of our experience, viz., that any sound formula, any clear statement of principles, could have been propounded by anyone who did not understand his own words.[111] It would be far easier to suppose that such a statement had been propounded in the past by those who knew what they were saying, and that it had since come to be repeated mechanically without understanding: but on the one hand, that would be to push the beginnings of wisdom too far back for the comfort of those who fondly believe that wisdom came into the world only in their own day, and on the other would need proof by some internal evidence of the presumed misunderstanding. I prefer to believe that wherever and whenever a proposition has been correctly and intelligibly stated (and that covers both verbal and visual symbolisms, both 'scripture' and 'art') the proposition was also understood. Problems of ontology are not so simple that they can be solved by 'luck' or 'inspiration': on the contrary there is no sort of work more arduous than 'audition', and here a man has need of all the power of the pure intellect.

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[109] With *dadhe* in this active sense of 'appointed', cf. *dharmāni dadhiṣe, Ṛgveda*, IX.64.1; also X.81.5, *vidhātṛ*.

[110] 'To compare' (the 'first existing one thing, which is described as breathing without wind') with 'Aristotle's deity, the unmoved mover, is to falsify entirely primitive thought': similarly, the 'assertion that the sages were able to discriminate between the thing in itself and the phenomenal world, between *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* is unnatural and strained'. Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda*, p. 436. Professor Keith himself does not understand the type of thought he is discussing. *Pamāṇaṁ na jānāsi, Jātaka*, II.254: *cikituṣe janāya, mā gām anāgām aditiṁ vadhiṣṭa, Ṛgveda*, VIII.101.15.

When the modern scholar boldly asserts that 'the method of interpreting earlier ideas from a larger point of view', that is to say in the light of our own deeper understanding, may be 'very serviceable . . . to the expounder of a philosophy or to the exhorter of a religion . . . yet by the scholar is to be carefully discriminated from a historically correct exegesis of the primitive statements' (Hume, *Thirteen Upanishads*, p. 299, Note 2), there comes to mind a remark of the *pṛthagjana* very often overheard in museums in presence of the Italian 'primitives', 'That was before they knew anything about anatomy.' The notion of 'progress' in fact so flatters our pride, that we cannot refrain from applying it even where it is inapplicable, i.e. in the fields of art and metaphysics. Professor Hume's own versions and induction of the Upaniṣads raise in our minds very serious doubts of his own 'larger point of view'.

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[111] When Professor Keith speaks of 'our natural desire to modernize and to find reason prevailing in a barbarous age', he begs the whole question, and we suggest, again to quote his own words, that 'we must be prepared to shed our personal predilections and to accept the conclusion which evidence indicates' (*Buddhist philosophy*, p. 26). Those who think that 'in a country like this we must not expect to find anything that appeals to mind or to deep feeling' (Baden-Powell, *Panjab manufactures*, 1872, II.iii) are not likely to be disappointed by the results of their researches, the only marvel is why they undertake them at all. In the case of those who devote their lives to a study of the Vedas, despite an *a priori* conviction of their spiritually negligible content, one may well ask *yastanna veda kimṛcā kariṣyati?* (*Ṛgveda*, I.164.39 = *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, IV.8). What in fact can the Veda mean for these? *Ta ete vācam abhipādya pāpayā sirīstantraṁ tanvate aprajajñayaḥ*, *Ṛgveda*, X.71.9.

It is hardly possible for the Western scholar to realize that the very terms applied by themselves to Vedic texts (e.g. 'puerile, arid, and inane', said of the Brāhmaṇas, Lanmann, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 357), are precisely those in which their own exegetical productions are evaluated by the most competent Indian scholars, who are either too polite to say what they think, or politic enough to play the game of Western scholarship by way of condescension to the *pratyakṣa-priyatā* of the present day and age.

The Western scholar (e.g. Lanmann, ibid., pp. 356-7) complains that 'what we deem the realities of life' are for the Brahmanical thinker 'mere shadows' (and so at least puts the Brahman in a class with Plato and others of his rank): and that for the Brahman 'Everything is not only that which it *is* but also what it *signifies*' (and so ranks the Brahman with Deity or Buddha, for whose omniscience 'all principles are *same*'). The Indian thinker may be insufficiently arrogant to accept such praise, but he is at least sufficiently intellectual to understand that one in whom 'the line of demarcation between "is" and "signifies" becomes almost wholly obliterated' cannot be far from His 'omnipotence and salvation' in whom the distinction of Essence from Nature is *altogether* obliterated.

It is not without reason that Jung confesses 'Our western air of superiority in the presence of Indian understanding is a part of our essential barbarism' (*Psychological types*, p. 263), or that as Salmony remarks, 'Man darf ruhig sagen: Das europaische Urteil wurde bisher durch den Drang nach Selbstbehauptung verfälscht' (*Die Rassenfrage in der Indienforschung*, Sozialistische Monatsheften, 8, 1926).

A version now follows of another hymn of creation, *Ṛgveda,* X.72:

ṚGVEDA, X. 72

'Now shall we tell clearly of the kindred (*jānā*) of the Angles (*deva*),
As it may be seen in the chanted songs, and of a transcendental aeon (*uttare yuge*). 1.
The Lord-of-Increase (Brahmaṇaspati) like a smith with-his-bellows-smithied (*adhamat*) it;
In the primordial aeon (*pūrvye yuge*) of the Angels was Existence (*sat*) from the Non-existent (*asat*) born (*ajāyata*). 2.
In the primordial aeon (*prathame yuge*) of the Angels, the Existent was from the Non-existent born,
And therewith the Airts (*āśāḥ*), that was from the Recumbent (*uttānapad*). 3.
From the Recumbent was born the Earth (*bhūr*), from Earth the Airts born:
Dakṣa (Pure-Act) from Aditi (the In-finite) born, and Aditi from Dakṣa. 4.
Aditi, verily, was born, She is thy daughter, Dakṣa!
From thee again were born the Angels, the Blest, the King of Immortality. 5.
As ye Angels stood-firm (*atiṣṭha*) there in the Flood (*salila*), each-enlinked-with-other (*susaṁrabdha*).
There as it were *from the feet* of dancers (*nṛtyatām*) rose the pungent (*tīvra*) dust (*reṇu*). 6.
When ye, O Angels, together with the Disponents (*yatayaḥ*), expanded (*apinvata*) the *Three Worlds* (*bhuvanāni*),
Then brought-ye-to-birth in the Sea (*samudra*) the hidden (*gūḷha*) Sun (*sūrya*). 7.
Eight are the sons of the In-finite (Aditi) of embodied birth (*jātaḥ tanvaḥ*):
With seven She went upward to the Angels, the Sun-bird (Mārtaṇḍa) She left here. 8.
With seven sons the In-finite (Aditi) fared upward to the primordial aeon (*pūrvyaṁ yugam*),
The Sun-bird She bore-hither (*ābharat*) unto repeated birth and death (*prajāyai mṛtyave*). 9.

As pointed out by Charpentier, from whose version (*Suparṇasage*, pp. 386-8) the foregoing differs only in minor details, this hymn describes creation as primarily from the 'Recumbent', and secondarily the terms of the stirring of the Waters by the feet of angelic dancers in a ring. That is a figure closely related to, though not identical with that of the Churning of the Ocean, the Epic *samudra manthana*. And as in some other accounts of the beginning, the dust or spray arising from the troubled Waters becomes the Earth, the support of living beings amidst the possibilities of existence.

The 'Recumbent'[112] is originally Varuṇa, 'great Yakṣa supported on the back of the Waters', *Atharvaveda*, X.7.38, from whose navel rises the Tree of Life, and therein are the Angelic Host (*viśve devāḥ*); later, Brahmā, finally Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. That he reclines supported in the Waters corresponds to the reflection of his image in the Waters, as described in *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII.8.1, cited above, p. 36. In that reciprocal sense, he as Dakṣa is 'born' of Aditi, that is as a reflected image, and Aditi of Dakṣa inasmuch as the Waters antecedent to his shining, his knowledge, are but an unrevealed possibility. Dakṣa, 'Operation', 'Skill', the 'right hand' of God, Dante's *puro atto*, being an essential name, like Viśvakarmā and Prajāpati, is rightly identified with Prajāpati, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II.4.4.2.[113]

To render rightly the familiar words *sat* and *asat* is far more difficult than might appear at first sight. In certain passages, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.1, and *Chāndogya Up.*, VI.2.2 the relativity of Existence to a permissive cause (Non-existence) is ignored or rejected, Self (*ātman*), Person (*puruṣa*), Existence (*sat*) being taken for granted as first cause. In our text and many others, e.g. *Ṛgveda*, X.129.1, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, V.2.1 *Chāndogya Up.*, II.2.1, *Taittirīya Up.*, what is meant by the birth of *sat* from *asat* may be the birth of Intellect, Self,

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[112] *Uttānapad*, 'with feet outstretched': cf. *nyunnutānaḥ* 'downwards extended', *Ṛgveda*, IV.13.5. Or if *uttāna* = *uttānā* = *pṛthvī*, 'Earth-outspread', then *uttānapad* would be equivalent to *supratiṣṭha* 'firmly supported' in the possibilities of existence, of, *supratiṣṭhapāda*, Maitreya-Asanga, *Uttaratantra*, II.16. In *Ṛgveda*, I.164.33, both Heaven and Earth are '*uttāna*'.

[113] Dakṣa, Tvaṣṭṛ, Viśvakarmā, properly essential names of god with respect to his creative activity, are called by Vedic scholars as 'Abstract gods', and seem to be regarded by them as independent personalities. To create an adequate parallel, for example in Christian theology, we should have to regard Jehovah, the Father, the Creator, the Lord of Hosts, etc., and likewise Jesus and Christ as distinct 'gods', with solemn discussion of their diverse ethnic origins and oppositions. Vedic and later authors on the other hand are perfectly aware of the identities; for example, that Tvaṣṭṛ is the same as Savitṛ, Viśvakarmā, and Prajāpati: as is indeed perfectly evident from the Vedic accounts of Tvaṣṭṛ's personality and functions. To conceive of Aditi, Nirṛti, Urvaśī, Lakṣmī, etc., as distinct 'goddesses' would be equally misleading. Umā, Pārvatī, Dūrgā, Kālī, etc., are by no means distinct essences, one more or less abstract than another.

Dakṣa = *dūnamis*, Dante's *puro atto nel cima del mondo; Aditi* = *énergeia*, Dante's *potenza in infime parte.*

Person, Consciousness, from Death, Privation, Dark-Inert, Un-consciousness; of God from Godhead, essence from nature,[114] cf. Dakṣa from Aditi. In general, however, *sat* has the more restricted sense 'that which exists' or 'is actual', so, for example, Sāyaṇa on *Ṛgveda*, VII.87.6, equates *sat* with *jagat*, the 'world', literally 'that which moves' (of course, with reference to local movement). A very clear distinction of *sat* from *asat* occurs in *Atharvaveda*, X.7.21 'The kindreds (sc. of the Angels) understand (*viduḥ*) the branch (*śākham*, i.e. the Tree of Life, *praśākhayā* of *Maitrī Up.*, VII.11) established (*pratiṣṭhantīm*, i.e. in the Waters as the manifest existence of all things) by-way-of (*iva*) Non-Existence (*asat*); those-here-below (*avare*) who revere (*upāsate*) the Branch reckon-it (*manyante*) as Actuality (*sat*).' Here, as so often happens, the inverse points of view, angelic and human, metaphysical-intellectual (*parokṣa*) and empirical-sensational (*pratyakṣa*) are expressly contrasted; the distinction of the verbal roots *vid* and *man*, implying respectively 'knowledge' and 'opinion', should be noted, and it is hard to see why Whitney should have found the stanza 'highly obscure'. Corresponding to these uses of *sat* as 'real' or 'actual' (as realia are 'real'), or 'actually existing', is that of *sattva* as tension in relation to *tamas* as relaxation, and also that of *sattva* as equivalent to *bhūta*, 'living being', 'mortal' (whose existence depends on the maintenance of a tension). *Yat prameyam tat sat.*

In the *Ṛgveda* generally, *satya* = *ṛta*, the Law or Way of Heaven, and hence also 'Truth'. In the same way in *Taittirīya Up.*, II.6, *satya* is contrasted with *anṛta*, and quite consistently, in *Maitrī Up.*, VI.3, *asatya* corresponds to *sat* in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, II.3. In the Upaniṣads *passim*, *satya* is equated with Brahman, Prathama Yakṣa, Ātman, Puruṣa, Prajāpati, Prāṇa, Āditya, Arka, etc., that is to say with God as he is in himself and as he manifests: e.g. *Maitrī Up.*, VI.6, where Prajāpati as *satya* thence proceeds to utterance of the grosser world-forms. The symbol *satya* has thus a reference quite distinct from that of *sat*; but it will be found that its reference includes and further illuminates that of *sat*.[115] That is evident from *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, V.5.1, 'The Waters

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[114] Not that either *originates* the other, but that neither can be without the other.

[115] The theme is further developed in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.1.5, where *satya* is treated as threefold, just as the OṀ is a + u + m: here '*sat* is Spirit, *ti* is Food (the *means* of being in a mode), and *ya* is yonder Supernal-Sun: that (*satya*) is triple'. The sentence following, which arouses Keith's moral indignation (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, 1909, p. 207, Note 8), is perfectly intelligible in the light of the concluding part of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, V.5.1, to be translated as follows: (1) 'Though he speaks amiss (*mṛṣā*), yet he speaks Truth (*satya*) who knows this Truthfulness of Truth (*satyasya satyattvam*)', and (2) 'The first and last syllables are Truth (*satya*), in the midst is the Untrue (*anṛta*). This Untrue is comprehended on both sides by the Truth, so the Truth preponderates. The Untruth does not injure him who knoweth this.' Neither passage envisages an ethical problem of any sort: both are dealing with the metaphysically True and Untrue, *Vidyā* and *Avidyā*. He who understands that 'Brahman is all this', that Multiplicity is merely the becoming, the middle term of the Unity, though he may (as indeed he must) use the language of empiricism, is not deceived, misled, or injured thereby, for he knows contingent things eternalwise, he is not really but only

(*āpaḥ*) poured forth (*asṛjata*) Essence (*satya*); Essence, Brahman; Brahman, Prajāpati; Prajāpati, the (Several) Angels'; and is developed even more clearly when the reference is analysed, as in ibid., II.3, where *-tya* corresponds to the notion of *asat*: here the Brahman in a likeness (*mūrta*),[116] mortal (*martya*), existent (*sthita*)[117] is *sat*, 'actual', while the imageless (*amūrta*) Brahman, not-

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apparently a 'materialist', all his 'facts' are transformed by his understanding of them.

As for the moral crux apparently presented by passages such as *Kauṣītaki Up.*, III.1, see above, p. 68. The *jīvanmukta*, by hypothesis, having no motives, cannot be charged with good or evil purposes, 'such, indeed, do nothing for themselves', *Prem Sāgar*, Ch. XXXIV. Or according tò Deussen's 'acute and concise interpretation' (Hume), ignored by Keith. 'Whoever has attained the knowledge of the Ātman and his unity with it, and thereby has been delivered from the illusion of individual existence, his good and evil deeds come to nought: they are no longer his deeds, simply because he is no longer an individual' (*Sechzig Upaniṣads des Veda*, p. 544, Note 1).

It was also the view of Aristotle that he who surpasses his fellows beyond all comparison in virtue is a law to himself, and not to be judged by other laws. Perfection and morality are incommensurable terms. If any are alarmed by this proposition, let them reflect that this doctrine by no means excepts the Wayfarer from his obligations, 'while we are on the way we are not there', and that any man who claims to be a Comprehensor, or in a state of Grace, does so at his own peril. That there can be false prophets does not affect the doctrine as to the intrinsic form of Perfection: which form, by its very nature, must be inexpressible in terms of thesis and antithesis, good or evil.

Eckhart, 'No law is given to the righteous, because he fulfils the law inwardly, and bears it in himself' (Claud Field's selected *Sermons*, p. 55); St. Augustine, 'Love God, and do what you will.'

On Perfection and Liberty, see Guénon, *Les états multiples de l'être*, 1932, Ch. XVIII. and *L'homme et son devenir selon le vedanta*, Chs. XXIV and XXVI. That should be compared with the whole of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, II.3, where for example, the quintessence or tincture (*rasa*) of the 'yon' is said to be the Person in the Sun, cf. also Note 38.

[116] 'Anything known or born is an image', Eckhart, I.258. Rāmānuja glosses mūrta by kaṭhina 'concrete'.

[117] The usual implication of *sthā* is 'to exist', i.e. as natural species anything nor is this at all inconsistent with Rāmānuja's gloss, *sthita= avyāpaka*, 'particular', 'individual', in opposition to *yat= vyāpaka*, 'universal', 'pervading'. The common renderings (Max Müller, Hume, etc.) of *sthita* as 'solid' or 'stationary', are entirely misleading, the reference being to whatever is integrated or actual, whether physical or mental. In the same way the renderings of *yat* as 'fluid' or 'moving' are mistaken: 'fluids' are by no means less '*sthita*' than are 'solids', while the 'mobility' implied in *yat* is principal, not local. As remarked by Sāyaṇa in connection with *Ṛgveda*, V.19.1, *sthitaṁ padārtha jātam*, 'the meaning of the word *sthita* is "born", cf. Eckhart, 'Anything known or born is an image', as in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, II.3.1, where what is *sthita* is also *mūrta*. What is *sthita*, existent, is precisely the five subtle elements and their gross manifestations: 'this all, this work of His which revolves, is to be thought of as solid (*pṛthvya*), liquid (*āpya*), phlogistical (*teja*), gaseous (*anila*) and etheric (*kha*)', *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, VI.2.

Sthita is to *yat* as *tasthuṣaḥ* to *jagataḥ* in *Ṛgveda*, I.115.1; as *dhruva* to *carat* in X.5.3

mortal (*amṛta*), immanent-and-universal (*yat*), is 'yonder' or 'infinite (*-tya*), cf. Rāmānuja's glosses *yadvyāpakam* and *tyattaditaradityarthaḥ*. In some cases the meaning is emphasized by the use of the expression *satyasya satyam*, e.g., ibid., II.3.6, and *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.1.5, and II.3.8, where That (Brahman) 'in which is yoked the ultimate reality, there it is that all the Angels become One'. It would appear then that *sat* must be distinguished from *asat* not as 'Being' from 'Non-being', but rather as 'Existence' from 'Nonexistence'; i.e. from Being *and* Non-being, which are not existent but are the possibilities of Existence.

The Vedic doctrine of Angels has never been seriously studied.[118] 'Because of His great-Plenitude-and-Majesty (*māhā-bhāgya*) they apply many names to him who is single (*ekaika*)', *Nirukta*, VII.5. 'Because of their Great-Self-hood (*māhātmya*) a diversity of names is given to the three angels, Agni, Indra-and-Vāyu, Sūrya, here, betwixt, and in the Empyrean, apparent in this or that (world), according to the ordering-of-their-stations (*sthāna-vibhāga*). To wit that they are powers (*vibhūti*) their names are different. The wise-singers in their formulae, however, say that they have a mutual origin (*anyonyayonitā*, cf. *itaretarajanmāna* in *Nirukta*, VII.4).[119] These angels are called by different names according to their spheres. Some say that they belong (*bhakta*) thereto and are mainly concerned therewith: but Self (*ātman*, i.e. person) is rightly-predicated as the whole (i.e. only distributive-assumption (*bhakta*) on the part

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(*dhruva* = *sthita* also in VII.88.7); as *tiṣṭhatu* to *anugāta* in X.19.3 and 1 (where also *sthā* in 3 corresponds to *jiv* in 6); as *ejat* to *carat* in *Muṇḍaka Up.*, II.1 (where the '*carat*' is *guhā sannihitam*, 'hid in the innermost'); and as *paribhramati* to *carati* in *Maitrī Up.*, III.2, and II.7 (where also that which '*carati*' is *acala*, 'immoveable'). In *Maitrī Up.*, VI.6, *car* is used with respect to the Person in the eye, which 'surveys' (*carati*) dimensioned things. In all these passages *gam* and *car* are used with respect to principial motion, *sthā* with respect to things which have a place and local motion; cf. Eckhart, I.114, 'Like motion without motion although causing motion and size which has no size though the principle of size.'

The case of *Ṛgveda*, V.47.5, is especially interesting: 'Tis a marvel, this paradox, ye folk, that when the rivers (*nadyaḥ*) flow (*caranti*), the waters (*āpaḥ*) stand (*tasthuḥ*)'. Direct comparison with Ecclesiastes, I.7, is fallacious. What is intended is as follows: Principial motion *there*, is birth, concrete existence, position, *here*.'

[118] See my *On translation: maya, deva, tapas*, in Isis, 55. A minimum qualification for a profound study of this aspect of Vedic ontology would be not merely a knowledge of the Vedas and Upaniṣads, but in addition an acquaintance with the Gnostic conception of the Pleroma and of Aeons, and with the Christian theory of angels as outlined in the sections of the *Summa Theologica* dealing with Devine government (I. QQ. 103-19). The discussion above is offered merely as an essay towards a better understanding of the problems involved.

[119] Cf. also *Bṛhad Devatā*, I. 98, 'the divinity (*devatva*) of each angel is from their *being-of-one-sphere* (*sālokyatva*) and of one and the same origin (*ekajātatva*) and because of the immanence (*vyāptimatva*) of the fiery-energy (*tejas*) in them, though it is seen that they are individually lauded'. A like interdependence of the angels is implied in the *susamrabdha* of our text. The 'angels' here are the Persons of the Trinity.

of those three foremost Lords of the World who have been separately mentioned above. They say that the weapon (*āyudha*) or vehicle (*vāhana*) of any (angel) are his fiery-energy (*tejas*).[120] Likewise Wisdom (*vāc*) is separately lauded as of this (sphere), as of Indra's (midmost), and as heavenly.[121] In all those lauds which are addressed to many angels (*bahudevatā*), and in those joint lauds which are in the dual, the (three aforesaid) Lords are predominant', *Bṛhad Devatā*, I.69-75, of *Nirukta*, VII.4 and 5, where the Angels are also 'members' (*aṅga*) of the Self, and *Ṛgveda*, V.3.1, where the Several Angels are 'in Him' who is variously designated as Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Indra.

So far, then, it is clear that the Angels spoken of are the Selves or Persons of the Trinity (*tridhā*, see above, pp. 65f): either designated as already mentioned, or by whatever alternative essential or personal names may be employed, as Āditya, Prāṇa, Prajāpati, Dakṣa, Mitra-Varuṇa, Agni, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc. To these will correspond, of course, alternative essential or personal names of Wisdom (*vāc*), such as Prakṛti, Māyā, Urvaśī, Sarasvatī, Śrī-Lakṣmi, Durgā, etc. It is just these *bahudevatā*, the *daivasya dhāman = devāḥ* of *Ṛgveda*, VII.58.1, *viśve yajatrāḥ* of *Ṛgveda*, I.65 the 'birds-of-a-feather' or 'fellow-nestlings' (*nīḷayaḥ*) of *Ṛgveda*, X.92.6, the *sarva daivatya* of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.2.7, who are the Viśve Devāh, 'Several Angels', or 'Angelic Host' in a special sense, who are so constantly lauded in the Vedas, e.g. *Ṛgveda*, X.82.5, and *Atharvaveda*, X.7.38: also the same as the unspecified 'Angels' when these are mentioned as already present 'in the Beginning', or as cooperating in the 'first sacrifice', as in *Ṛgveda*, X.90 and 129 as well as X.72, where 'born' (*anvajāyanta*) must be taken in connection with *susaṁrabdha*, and with respect to such terms as *ekajātatva* and *itaretarajanmāna* cited above, to mean 'connascent' rather than eventfully born. So far as our text is concerned then, the Angels mentioned are to be regarded as those of one, viz., the premier or supercelestial order, that of the Āditya-maṇḍala: an order everlasting with respect to time, as recognized in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, VI.9.15f., where the Angels are spoken of as a 'first emanation' (*prathamam asṛgram*) and 'enduring utterance' (*sthita vyāhṛtiḥ*) and contrasted in this respect with the coming into existence of rational beings (*mānuṣyaḥ*, 'men', 'mortals') whose utterance is 'from day-to-day'. We say 'order' rather than hierarchy advisedly, because the arrangement (*dhā, saṁhitā*) of the Persons represents a natural or logical not a hierarchical order; there is no precedence here.[122]

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[120] Inversely, the angel is the 'self' (*ātman*) of the weapon or vehicle, *Bṛhad Devatā*, IV.143.

[121] That is, each of the Selves or Persons has his own-nature, potentiality, *śakti*.

[122] The discussion above covers only one of the numerous classes of angels; actually the hosts (*gaṇa*) of the angels include beside the Viśve Devāḥ, also the Ādityas, Vasus, Mahārājikas, Sādhyas and others. In *Taittiriya Up.*, II.8, three hierarchies of angels are referred to, of whom the highest are simply 'Angels' (*devāḥ*), and next to these are the 'angels with respect to works' (*karma-devāḥ*)', 'who reach the angels by their works' (*ye karmaṇā devānapyanti*) evidently the same as the 'angels whose self is works' (*karmātmanāḥ devāḥ*) of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, I.22; third in rank are the 'begotten

The mention of Yatis, here rendered 'Disponents' according to the root meaning, is of special interest: their co-presence with the Several Angels antecedent to local motion is implied. These 'ascetics' are evidently the same as the 'prophets' (*ṛṣayaḥ*) of other texts, who together with the Patriarchs (*pitaraḥ*) are desirous of progeny (*prajākāmya, Praśna Up.*, I.9). The return (*punar āvṛtti*) of Prophets and Patriarchs alike from the *pitṛyāna*[123] course to corporeal (*śārīraka*) existence in a future aeon (*yuga, kalpa*) is determined by the unexpended force of former works, in other words the Prophets and Patriarchs are the bearers of heredity. The One Angel or Several Angels are the givers of Life: but it is Man, 'Adam', 'Āyu', who bestows upon every existence its specific character. Brahma-Prajāpati in relation to the world is himself a Patriarch in this sense, his 'Works' (*karma*) or 'Sacrifice' (*yajña*)[124] in any aeon determining his re-embodiment at the dawn of a succeeding cycle.

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angels' (*ājānajāḥ devāḥ*), and all these are superior to the Patriarchs (*pitaraḥ*). In the words of Dionysius, 'our knowledge of the angels is imperfect' (*Coel. Hier.*, VI).

It can hardly be doubted that Williams Jackson, *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 21, pp. 168 and 181, rightly interprets Avestan *vitha* as derived from *vispa* (Skr, *viśva*) 'all', and that the 'All-gods' often mentioned in connection with Ahura Mazda were precisely the 'Several Angels' of Vedic texts.

[123] With further reference to 'Dakṣa': the two posthumous voyages, *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna* are described in the Upaniṣads as respectively 'northern' (*uttara*) and 'southern' (*dakṣiṇa*). Observe now that *uttara* means primarily 'yonder', 'higher', 'transcendent', etc., *dakṣiṇa* primarily of or belonging to Dakṣa', the meanings northern and southern being secondary. Dakṣa's 'way' is precisely that of the *pitṛyāna* (inasmuch as he is himself by his works and sacrifice the cause of his own return to embodied existence at the dawn of every 'creation') and that is why the *pitṛyāna* is called *dakṣiṇa*, 'southern'.

[124] Note that *yajña = dulia, pūjā = latria. Yajña*, 'sacrifice', is properly speaking a metaphysical (or as anthropologists express it, 'magical'), not a devotional rite. The bull sacrifice in Atlantis, described by Plato (*Krit*, 119 D and E) well illustrates what is meant by 'a metaphysical rite'. The Greek Bouphonia (for which, with its significance, see Harrison, *Themis*, 2nd edn., pp. 141ff.) very closely parallels the Indian Aśvamedha; both are 'mimetic representations', *apomimema*. And just as the Aśvamedha was later claimed by Indra, so the Bouphonia by Zeus, in reality both sacrifices antedate anthropomorphic conceptions of deity. If Christian *dulia* now implies devotion, that is only what took place elsewhere, in Greece and India alike, the figure of an anthropomorphic deity being as it were superimposed upon the original formula, in accordance with the requirements of the religious (devotional) extension of the original 'mystery'.

An excellent example of a metaphysical (certainly not a 'religious') rite may be instanced in the Vājapeya ceremonies, where ritual racing takes place, and the sacrificer mounts the sacrificial post, cf. *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XVIII.7.9 and 10, 'They run a race course, and make the Sacrificer win; thereby they make him gain the world of heaven. He mounts to the sky; to the world of heaven he thereby ascends.' All Vedic rites are of this sort, viz., that described by anthropologists as 'magical'.

An admirable account of a metaphysical rite may be found in H. Blodget, *The worship of Heaven and Earth by the Emperor of China, J.A.O.S.*, XX.58ff.

In the Epic account of the Churning of the Ocean, we find instead of the Yatis, Angels and Asuras pulling in opposite directions. That by no means implies an equation of Yatis with Asuras, but rather a different imagery, in which the Yatis as bearers of heredity are replaced by Angels and Demons: the latter collectively representing the good and evil factors (*dharmādharmau*) and all other pairs of opposites (*dvandvau*)[125] which are essential to the existence of a perceptible universe, though they have no place, as such, in the 'invisible'. As we have seen above, the Lord of Life (*īśānaḥ amṛtasya, Ṛgveda,* X.90.2),who bids us but be, acts as permissive, not as immediate cause of the operation of the conflicting principles:[126] these contending glories, the children and disciples of Prajāpati (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, V.2), are the immediate cause of idiosyncrasy in living beings. All that corresponds to what is called in Christianity 'original sin', Böhme's 'turba': for it should not be overlooked that the consequence of 'original sin', viz., the loss of innocence, is not especially the knowledge of evil, but precisely the 'knowledge of good and evil'.

'Then brought ye to birth in the Sea the hidden Sun': that would be the same as Agni's often mentioned birth in the Waters, where he lies hidden (i.e. not yet reflected in a counter-shining) until sought for and discovered by the Several Angels. The innumerable Vedic allusions to the finding of the Sun or Fire, lost in the Waters, in the Depths (*guhā*), or in the Darkness (*tamas*)—e.g. *Ṛgveda*, V.40.6, *gūḷhaṁ sūryaṁ tamasāpavratena*—have primary reference to the obscuration of Light antecedent to the Dawn of a World-cycle, and to the finding of this Light by means of hymns or rites chanted or undertaken by Angels or men. Naturally enough the analogous rites are performed, and the same hymns are chanted at the dawn of everyday, or during an eclipse, to effect the return of the hidden Light. But it must not be overlooked that the Waters, the Depths, and the Darkness, are also the Depths of the Heart, and that for him who understands, the same hymns and rites are means to the inward vision of that Supernal Sun of which the shining and the darkness are without succession, nor subject to any accident of time.

Of the begotten of Aditi, 'Children of the Liberty', viz., the well-known group of the Eight Ādityas, it is said that seven return upwards, that would be by the *devayāna* to the source of their being: while one remains in the world, the manifested Sun in each of the Three Worlds, subject to mortality.[127] Here then it is said that one-eighth of deity taking on mortality, remains incarnate in the universe: elsewhere we find a statement that only one-quarter of him is present here. Such expressions must not be understood to imply a partibility of *being*, but only the incommensurability of the incalculable totality of existences in time with the infinite unity of being in eternity.

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[125] 'What are opposites? Good and bad, white and black are in opposition, a thing which has no place in real being.' Eckhart, I.207.

[126] Thus, 'He uses the demons for Himself', St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 109, A. 1.

[127] Cf. *Ṛgveda*, II.5.2, *manuṣvaṭ daivyam aṣṭamam*, 'the eighth angelic being in human guise'; I.35.6-9, where it is Savitṛ that lights the world and eight airts. The best list of eight Ādityas occurs in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, I.13.3, where the eighth (Vivasvat) is identified with Mārtaṇḍa, i.e. Āditya as manifested and existent deity, the others seem to be Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Dakṣa, Bhaga, Aṁśa, and Agni or Soma, Cf. *SBE*, XXXII.252ff.

We have rendered *yuga* as 'aeon' with intentional regard to the dual meaning of this word as (1) a great period of time, and (2) a power existing from eternity, in and of the Pleroma.[128] But in our three hymns, *pūrvya yuga*, *uttara yuga*, etc., denote as much a place beyond place, Eternity qua place, as an ancient lineage (Charpentier's *alt Geschlecht*), or a time beyond time: *pūrvya yuga* is really *vyoman*, 'the motionless heaven, this firmament is the abode of the blest', Eckhart, I.170, and that 'beyond is in the lotus of the heart, the locus of space-in-itself (*ākāśa*, *Maitrī Up.*, VI.2), 'all is contained therein', *Chāndogya Up.*, VIII.3, 'he who knows Brahman hid (*nihitam*) in the cavern-of-the-heart (*guhāyam*), in the uttermost Empyrean (*parame vyoman*), he wins all desires and therewith also Brahman', *Taittirīya Up.*, II.1, cf. *brahma pūrvyam*, *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, II.5 and 7. Other terms having a reference similar to that of 'Pleroma' inclue *purīṣa* and *purīṣin* in *Ṛgveda*, I.163.1, and I.164.12; *bhūman* in *Chāndogya Up.*, VII.23 and 24; and *pūrṇa apravartin* in *Kauṣītaki Up.*, IV.8.

That ancient supercelestial place, kindred, and time are contrasted with the realms of birth and death, the Three Worlds, as enduring not merely for a time, but until the end of time; there are the Persons, the Angels, and the Saints, an immortal kin, *amṛta-bandhavaḥ*, thence there is no return (*punar āvṛtti*), no gliding down (*avaprabhraṁśana*, *avasarpaṇa*), though this is not the Unity of the Persons, not an absolute immortality but rather a *sthayitā* of incalculable duration, not out of, but throughout, time. This is in fact Paradise, the Paradise beyond the Sun, accessible to the Comprehensors only: originally Varuṇa's (*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, I.42-4), later Brahmā's (*Kauṣītaki Up.*, I.2-7), still later also Amitābha's (*Sukhāvatī Sūtra*).

Accordingly, at least in passages where this primordial angelic sphere is clearly implied by the context, we ought to render terms such as *vyoman*, *dyauḥ*, *divi*, *nāka*, and even *yuga*[129] by 'Empyrean', 'Paradise' or 'Pleroma', rather than as 'heaven'. For whereas Brahmā's Paradise lies beyond the Sun, beyond the gateway of the worlds (*loka-dvāra*, *Chāndogya*, VIII.6.5) whereby there is forwarding only for the Comprehensor (*vidu*), ibid., Indra's heaven is but the uppermost of the Three Worlds, a heaven accessible to all who have done good works, irrespective of understanding, and whence there is for them a constant coming back to terrestrial conditions.

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[128] Aeon, 'a power existing from eternity . . . phase of the supreme deity taking part in the creation and government of the universe, 'New English Dictionary. Pleroma, in the New Testament, is the 'fullness' of Deity, cf. *pūrṇa* and *kṛtsna* in the Upaniṣads, and *akṛtsna*, 'not entire', characterising individual existence, e.g. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.7; in Valentinian gnosticism, likewise, the Pleroma is the abode of the Angels.

Cf. de la Vallée Poussin's exegesis of *Dharmakāya* and *Sambhogakāya* as primary and secondary 'Aeons', *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 967.

[129] Similarly Chinese *yu t'ien.*

The return of the seven Ādityas to the Empyrean recalls Irenaeus, III.11.1, 'the Christ from above . . . continued impassible . . . (and after descending upon Jesus) flew back into his Pleroma'.

ṚGVEDA, X. 90

The Person (Puruṣa) has a thousand eyes, a thousand heads, a thousand feet:

Encompassing (*vṛtvā*) Earth (*bhūmim*) on every side, he rules (*vṛtvā*) firmly-established (*atyatiṣṭhat*) in the heart (*daśāṅgulam*). 1.

The Person, too, is all This, both what has been (*bhūtam*) and what is to come (*bhavyam*),

Even the Lord (*īśānaḥ*) of Life (*amṛtasya*) when he rises-up (*atirohati*) by food (*annena*). 2.

Great as the Omnipotence (*mahimā*) thereof may be, greater yet than that is the Person:

One-fourth of him is all-existences (*viśvā-bhūtānī*), three-fourths in the Empyrean (*divi*) undying (*amṛtam*). 3.

With three parts the Person is above (*ūrdhvaḥ*), but one part came-into-existence (*abhavat*) here:

Thence he proceeded (*vyakrāmat*) everywhere, to animate and inanimate (*sāśanānaśane*). 4.

Of him was Nature (*Virāj*) born (*ajāyata*), from Nature Person born:

When born, he ranges (*atyaricyata*) Earth (*bhūmi*) from East (*paścād*) to West (*puraḥ*). 5.

When as the Angels laid-out the sacrifice (*yajñamatanvata*) with the Person for their offering (*havi*), Spring was the oil, Summer the fuel, Autumn the offering. 6.

Him, erst-born Person, they besprinkled on the strew (*barhiṣi*):

The Angels, the Saints (*sādhyāḥ*) and the Prophets (*ṛṣayaḥ*) by him made sacrifice. 7.

From that sacrifice, when the offering was all accomplished, the speckled oil was gathered up:

That made the birds and beasts of field and forest. 8.

From that sacrifice, when the offering was all accomplished, the Verses (*Ṛg*) and Liturgies (*Sāma*) were born (*jajñire*),

The Metres, and the Formulary (*Yajur*) born (*ajāyata*) of it. 9.

Therefrom were born horses, and whatso *beasts* have *cutting* teeth in both jaws.

Therefrom were born cows, and therefrom goats and sheep. 10.

When they divided (*vyadadhuḥ*) the Person, how-many-fold (*katidhā*) did they arrange (*vyakalpayan*) him?[130]

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[130] Cf. *Ṛgveda*, X.13.4, 'He for weal (*kam*) of the Angels chose death (*mṛtyu*), and for

What was his mouth? What were his arms? how were his thighs and feet named (*ucyate*)? 11.

The Priest (*Brāhmaṇa*) was his mouth; of his arms was made (*kṛtaḥ*) the Ruler (*Rājanya*);

His thighs were the Merchant-folk (*Vaiśya*); from his feet was born the Servant (*Śūdra*). 12.

The Moon (*Candramā*) was born from his Intellect (*manas*); the Sun (*Sūrya*) from his eye;

From his mouth the King (Indra) and Fire (Agni); from his Breath (*prāṇa*) Wind (*vāyu*). 13.

From his navel (*nābhyaḥ*) was the Firmament (*antarikṣam*); from his head was turned-out (*samavartata*) Heaven (*dyauḥ*);

From his feet the Earth (*bhūmiḥ*): the Airts (*diśaḥ*) from his ear: so they designed (*akalpayan*) the *Three* Worlds (*lokān*). 14.

With a sacrifice the Angels sacrificed unto the Sacrifice; there were established the first Laws (*prathamāni dharmāṇi*). 15.

These Almighty-powers (*mahimānaḥ*) abide in (*sacanta*) the Empyrean (*nākam*) from of old (*pūrve*); there are the Saints (*sādhyāḥ*), the Angels. 16.

This text, translated nearly in accordance with Professor Brown's admirable version in *J.A.O.S.*, 51, 108-18, requires but little additional comment. 'Rises up by food', i.e. 'exists', *tiṣṭhati.* It follows that *amṛta* is not here 'immortality', but simply 'life', as also in X.90.2, where 'life' and 'death' are complementary aspects of mortality: in the same way we have seen that 'death' (*mṛtyu*) may be either Death-absolute, the same as Immortality-absolute, or may be 'death' as the complement to 'life' and 'death'.

The second half of the first verse clearly enunciates the same thought as that which finds expression in the *Maitrī Up.*, VI.1, that of the exact correspondence of the outer and the inner tracks of the Self; and this tends to confirm the traditional explanation of *daśāṅgulam* as 'heart'.[131] With this curious term may be compared various measurements of the Self in the heart, mentioned in the Upaniṣads. For example, the second half of our verse 1 is literally repeated in *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, III.14, preceded by stanzas in which he, Puruṣa and inner-Self, is said to be *aṅguṣṭhamātra*, 'of the measure of a

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the weal of their begotten chose not immortality (*amṛta*): they sacrificed the Prophet, Bṛhaspati, yama yielded up his own dear body'.

Cf. the creative transformation of Dionysos described as a 'rending asunder' and 'tearing limb from limb', Plutarch, *de Ei ap. Delph*, IX. Is a scene of this kind to be recognized in the Sumerian seal illustrated by Legrain, Museum Journal, Sept.-Dec. 1929, Pl. XL, No. 111?

[131] A further argument might perhaps be developed from the fact that in the *Śulbasūtra*, *uttara yuga* represents a particular measurement, viz., *trayodaśāṅgulam.*

thumb', cf. *Kaṭha Up.*, IV.12, and VI.17, and *Chāndogya Up.*, V.18. Again, in the *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, III.20 and V.9, we find *aṇorañīyān mahatomahīyān*, 'less than atomic, greater than magnitude', and *vālāgra-śatabhāgasya śatadhā*, combined with *ananta*, that is 'a hundredth part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair', and yet 'without end'. All these fanciful measurements applied to the Self abiding in the heart are tantamount to 'undimensioned', and that is what is really meant: 'so subtle is the nature of the soul that space might not exist at all for all it troubles her', Eckhart, I.279.

As to the Perfected, the Saints, *sādhyāḥ*, the *siddhāḥ* of later texts: these are to be understood, as rightly explained by Sāyaṇa,[132] to be those who have long ago by knowledge or devotion passed through the gateway of the Three Worlds to the Empyrean paradise there beyond, whence there is no return[133] and are now abiding there as Angelic Powers: perhaps to be identified with the Yatis of X.72.7, and in any case partaking in the work of creation. Just as in Christianity, 'men can merit glory in such a degree as to be equal to the angels, in each of the angelic grades; and this implies that men are taken up into the orders of the angels', St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I, Q. 108, A. 8: and 'the man who is exalted above time into eternity will do with God what he did in the past and also what he does in the next thousand years . . . meaning that in eternity, exalted above time, man does one work with God . . . works wrought by thee there are all living', Eckhart, I.150.151, 'God made the universe and I with him, standing as I did all undefined albeit substantial in the Father', I.398. in *Ṛgveda*, I.164.50, the Sādhyas are *pūrve devāḥ*, 'Angels from aforetime'; and as explained in the Appendix, *sādhya* = *muni*. The Sādhya is thus more than a saint: they are Sādhyas who in a former aeon have become the Light of the World, the Pillar of the Universe. The notion corresponds to that of 'former Buddhas', or Agni's 'elder brothers' in X.51.6.

It will be observed that the Brahman here (V.12) takes precedence of the Kṣatriya. We know that there existed in ancient India a conflict on this point. A very remarkable solution is offered in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.11, where the spirit-power (*brahma*) is said to be the source (*yoni*) of the temporal power, than which there is nothing higher: in other words, the spiritual power is to the temporal power as Being to Existence, as Unconscious (superconscious) to conscious, the conscious naturally having worldly precedence. Cf. 'The lower heart moves like a strong, powerful commander who despises the heavenly ruler because of his weakness, and has seized for himself the leadership of the affairs of state', Lü Tzü in Wilhelm and Jung, *Secret of the Golden Flower*, p. 27. It is precisely from this point of view that the character of Indra can be best explained: the original Indra (an aspect of Agni, *Ṛgveda*, V.3.1, and born of truth, ibid., IV.19.2) representing the legitimate Temporal Power (*kṣatra*), in relation to Agni or Vāyu (Prāṇa) as Spiritual Power (*brahma*); the 'fallen' Indra ('deluded', *Bṛhad Devatā*, VII.54) self-infatuated, misconceiving his position, and asserting his independence, as in *Ṛgveda*, IV.142 and X.124.

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[132] 'There in that all-possessing-all-pervading (*prâpti-*) form of Virāj, in the primordial Empyrean (*nāke pūrve*) the Saints (*sādhyāḥ*), who were of old (*purātanāḥ*) worshippers (*sādhakāḥ*) of the Virāj, now-abide (*santi tiṣṭhanti*): they dwell-in (*sacanta*) that Empyrean, the all-possessing-all-pervading form of Virāj, in Paradise (*svargam*), as Powers-attendant-thereon (*mahimānastadupāsakāḥ*), as Mighty-Selves (*mahātmanaḥ*, "Mahatmas")', cf. *Chāndogya Up.*, III.10, and *Bhagavad Gītā*, X.15.

[133] No 'gliding down', *avaprabhraṁśana* in the *Atharvaveda*, XIX.39.8, *avasarpaṇa* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I.8.I.7, *punar āvṛtti* and *punar apādana*, Upaniṣads, *passim*, *āvṛttam punaḥ*, *Ṛgveda*, V.46.I.

We have rendered Indra tentatively as 'king', assuming that *indra, devānām indra*, was originally, that would be antecedent to the Vedas as we possess them, an essential name[134] of him who is but One, not an independent deity of alien ethnic origin, as has generally been thought.[135] His treatment as a separate and rival deity, often displacing Varuṇa, would thus afford an ancient parallel to such cases as those of Kāmadeva who are properly speaking 'powers' of Varuṇa or Brahman, only later or popularly worshipped as independent persons: Śrī-Lakṣmi presenting a similar case on the Mother-side. It is noteworthy that in *Bṛhad Devatā*, I. 69, and *Nirukta*. VII.5 where the Trinity consists of Agni, Indra and Vāyu, and Āditya, Indra and Vāyu count as one person:[136] in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.2.2, Indra is interpreted as 'Kindler' and as correlative to Virāj, 'their place of conjunction is the space in the heart', ibid., 3; in *Taittirīya Up.*, 1.6.1.

Indra is 'individuality'. The accepted etymology connects *indra* with *ind* 'to drop', and *indu* 'drop' (especially a drop of *soma*[137]) or mathematical point, cf. *bindu, parabindu*, which 'point' in *yantra* symbolism[138] represents the I-ness, 'I am', *ahaṁkāra, abhimānatva*, 'egoity' in Deity, and subjectivity generally. Indra, and Indra's rather childish character become indeed most intelligible when he is thus regarded as a personification of the ego-principle, *aham, abhimāna*. That ego-principle in Deity, set up as an independent person, and usurping many of the divine functions, could have developed only as (1) the king of an inferior heaven, or (2) as a demon deliberately laying claim to the supernal throne. The latter development seems to have taken place in Christianity, in the case of Lucifer-Satan, and likewise in the *Avesta*, where Indra and *daeva* are demonic powers[139] (cf. *Bṛhad Devatā*, VII.54, 'having obtained sovereignty amongst the Daityas, puffed up with pride by reason of his titan-magic (*asura-māyā*) he began to harass the Angels'). The former development took place in India, though even here it may be observed that Indra constantly appears in the guise of a Tempter, jealous of his throne, and sending his nymphs to lead astray the saints on earth who might displace him.[140] None but the warlike and arrogant Indra introduces elements of discord: in IV.30.3-5, he is represented as fighting against the heavenly powers and it is only by theft or purchase that he gets possession of the heavenly *soma* which was originally Varuṇa's and guarded by the Gandharva Viśvāvasu or Kṛśānu (IV.27.3). In any case, and already in the *Ṛgveda*, Indra is wholly an angel of *this* world.[141] In effect, Indra in Brahmanical mythology plays that part which is allotted to Māra (Kāmadeva) in Buddhism.

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[134] In *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II.4.3 (*Ait. Up.*, I.3.13 and 14), Indra ('Idamdra') is plainly an epithet (essential name) of the Self (Ātman). Cf. *Ṛgveda*, V.31, 'Thou (Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra) art Indra to the mortal worshipper'.

[135] Cf. my *Yakṣas*, II, pp. 26, 27.

[136] As is often the case in the *Ṛgveda*, e.g. III.23.2 and 3. Cf. Indra identified with Prajāpati and the Person in the Sun, *Kauṣītaki Br.*, VIII.3; and Indra as Glory (*yaśas*) and Lord of Existences (*bhūtānām-adhipati*), *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II.3.7.

[137] That *soma* drops may stand for individualities is suggested in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, VI.9.19.

[138] Cf. Avalon, *Garland of Letters*, Ch. XIII. Eckhart, I.464, 'the boundary line between united and separated creatures. . . . There her aught abides, graven in a point'. With 'boundary line'; cf. again Islamic *jidāriyya*, the 'murity' of the Outwardness contrasted with the Inwardness, see Nicholson, *Studies* . . . p. 95.

On the 'point', cf. also Dante, *Paradiso*, XVII.18, and XXVIII.16 and 41-2, '*il punto, a cui tutti li tempi son presenti . . . Un punto vidi che raggiava lume . . . Da qual punto depend il cielo, e tutti.*

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[139] It may be suggested that pre-Zoroastrian Magianism was faced by the possibility of a decay, similar to that which actually took place in Greece, by a humanization and concomitant devitalization of the older elemental, not 'immortal' powers of the Year. Was Orphism a movement in Greece comparable to the Zoroastrian in Persia, or related to the Zoroastrian (cf. Harrison, *Themis*, 1927, pp. 465, 466), but which failed to avert an actual Olympian victory? In this case, the derogation of the *daevas* (even at the cost of introducing an appearance of duality, which in Manichaeism was still further developed) must be thought as Zoroaster's supreme achievement, and the main cause of the survival of Zoroastrianism as a living religion to-day. Olympian victory in Greece sealed the fate of Greek religion: Jesus repeated later what Zoroaster had accomplished in Persia, and Christianity has survived until now, when once more Western religion stands in danger of rationalization and replacement by a moral code (modern comparisons of Christianity and Stoicism are not without good reason).

In India it is true that the older designation 'Asura' (Titan) gradually acquires an ill-omened sense, and that 'Deva' (Olympian) takes its place as the preferred designation of the bright powers: but those who are thus made 'Devas' (cf. Brown, W.N., *Proselytising the Asuras, J.A.O.S.*, vol. 39, 1919) become Olympians only in name (except in the case of Indra), in fact they are the Titans of old. Thus, the Olympian victory is merely nominal: that the conquerors are really defeated by the conquered, corresponds to the defeat of 'Aryan' by 'indigenous' culture, again in all but name. It is true that Indra, who had been in Vedic times a power ranking with and competing with Varuṇa and Agni, is relegated, together with the once elemental Gandharvas and Apsarases, to an Olympian heaven of lasting pleasures: but Indra's spiritual importance, never comparable with that of Varuṇa, steadily decreases until in Buddhist and other post-Vedic literature he is hardly more than a literary figure and *deus ex machina*. Thus in India the danger of Olympianism seems to have passed without a definite crisis. The post-Vedic development is devotional rather than rationalistic. Viṣṇu and Śiva, though now somewhat more personally conceived, inherit directly from their Vedic prototypes. Śiva's drinking of the venom produced at the Churning of the Ocean and his iconography alone suffice to reveal him as a living God: and if Lakṣmī is sometimes little more than a figure of rhetoric, that is never true of Durgā. If Viṣṇu was ever in danger, that was precluded by the doctrine of his incarnations and passions, above all by his *avatarana* as Krsna.

[140] The notion of *phthonos* (see next note) first appears in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, I.4.10.

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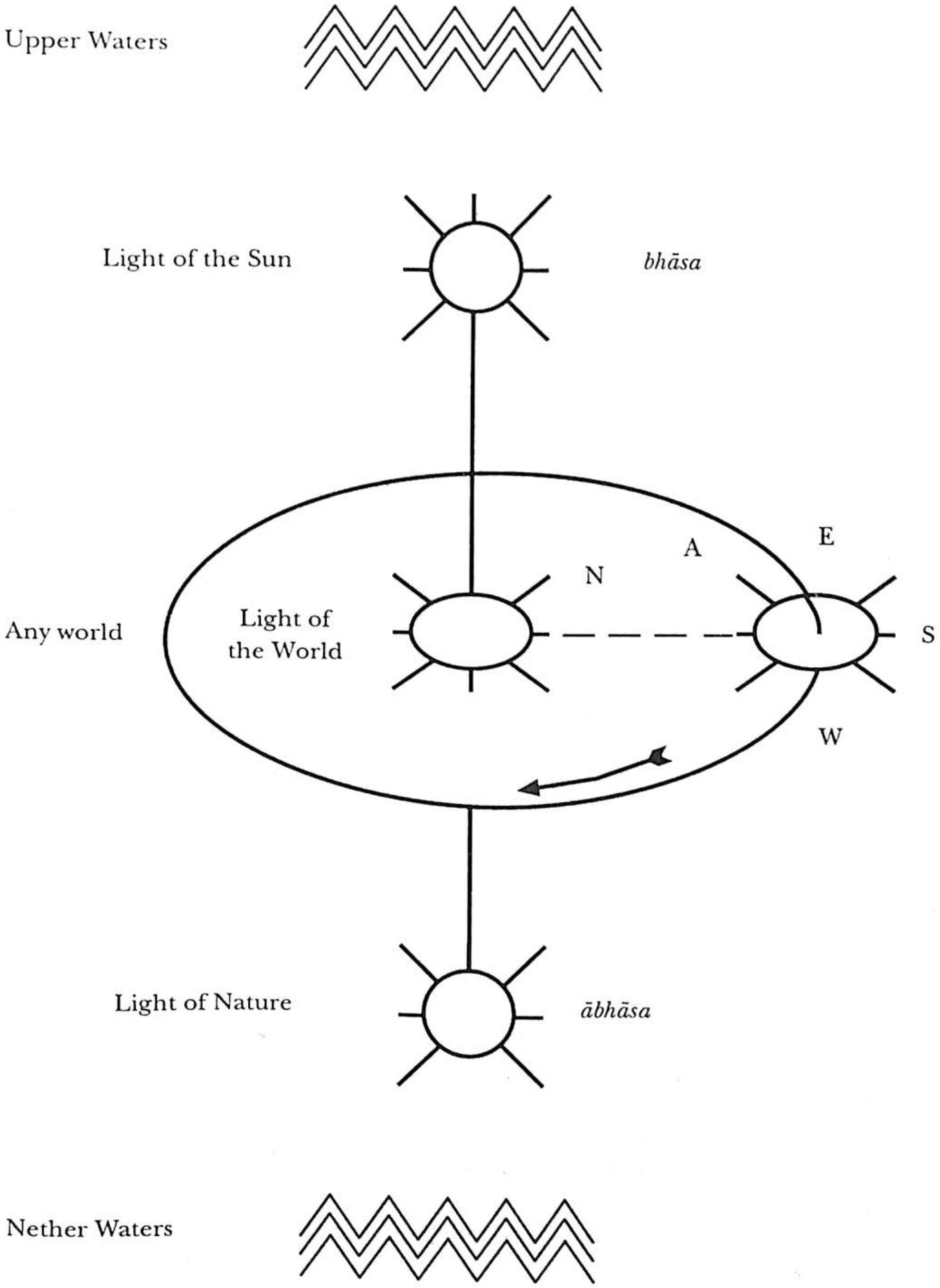
[141] The development of Indra, the only one of the Vedic Angels to be completely humanized in later times, corresponds exactly to that of the Olympian deities in Greece, who renouncing the ceaseless activity, processions and recessions of the older Daimones of the Year, would be *athanatos* = *amṛta*, undying and immutable, whereby in fact they pass out of existence without achieving non-existence. In India it is realized clearly enough that Indra and his likes must be reborn as mortals before they can achieve or realize the non-existence, the true and absolute im-mortality of the Self. To all appearance Vedic *amṛtatva*, 'not-dyingness', is equivalent to *dīrgham āyu*, 'full length of days', and not to an absolute immortality, such as could only be predicated of those who are not 'born'; that Agni himself is *nava nava jāyamāna*, 'born again and again', *bhūrijanma*, 'of many births', necessarily involves that he also dies again and again (cf. *prajāyai mṛtyave*, of the Sun, in X.72.9) and this must apply *a fortiori* to all other 'born' Angels, who are his 'parts' and 'powers'. That Indra is an Angel jealous of his throne is an especially striking aspect of the psychological parallel: for it is precisely the Olympian gods who 'begrudge a man a glory that may pale their own splendour', whereas 'to the mystery-god Dionysos *phthonos* is unknown' (Harrison, *Themis*, p. 469). Hence the spiritual necessity for the defeat and displacement of Indra by Kṛṣṇa in the Govardhanadhāraṇa episode of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and the Buddhist emphasis on the relative worthlessness of a life in Indra's heaven.

Cf. Jeremias, *Der Kosmos von Sumer*, p. 9: 'Imäonischen Kreislauf der das Weltgeschick ausmacht, kann die anti-polarische Strömung so stark wirksam werden, dass die gesamte stoffliche Welt von ihr durchimpft zu sein scheint, so dass man den geistigen Führer der Gegenschöpfung der "Fürsten dieser Welt" nennen kann, was er in Wirklichkeit nie ist. Dann erscheint die wirkliche Welt als die böse Welt schlechthin und Erlösung wird zur "Uberwindung der Welt".'


Upper Waters
Light of the Sun
bhāsa
A
E
N
Any world
Light of the World
S
W
Light of Nature
ābhāsa
Nether Waters

Appendix

THE APPARENT MOVEMENT OF THE SUN AS DISCUSSED IN NOTE 67

The spiritual cosmology of the *Chāndogya Up.*, III.6-11, where the Sun is said to rise successively in the East, South, West, North, and Zenith, and finally risen in the Centre to rise and set no more, these orientations corresponding to the types Vasu, Rudra, Āditya, Marut, Sādhya (= Muni), and Gnostic (*ya etamevaṁ brahmōpaniṣadaṁ veda*), may be better understood if presented in the form of a diagram, the formulation of the diagram in accordance with universal tradition being taken for granted. Here the circle, through the centre of which passes the vertical Axis of the Universe, represents a given World-Wheel, let us say that of the corporeal[1] mode of existence, as known to us here and now. Let 'A' represent the 'position' of any individual on this plane of experience, which position will be in the 'middle space' (*rajas*) between the centre (Heaven, Essence, *sattva*) and the circumference (Earth, Substance, *tamas*). From the familiar correlation Devayāna, 'by the North', and Pitṛyāna, 'by the South', and other sources, we know that from the point of view of such an individual, 'North' represents the centre, 'South' that of the circumference. The revolution of the Wheel being sunwise, East and West will be in the directions indicated by the diagram. The spiritual condition of the individual can be indicated in such a diagram in two ways, (1) by his distance from the centre, and (2) by the direction in which he 'faces'. Now the normal course (*gati*) of spiritual experience is in the first place centrifigual (*pravṛtta,* lit. 'extro-vert'), affirmative, extensive, and in the second centripetal (*nivṛtta,* lit. 'retrovert'), re-formative, intensive. The affirmative movement will involve a removal from and a turning away from the centre, the individual 'facing East', i.e. forward with respect to the movement of the Wheel, and for him the Sun 'rises in the East': actually, the light he sees is compounded of the 'Light of Heaven' and the 'Light of Nature' (the 'Light of Nature' being the reflection, *ābhāsa,* at the circumference, of the 'Light of Heaven' at the centre). Now this affirmative movement proceeds, until the individual attains a maximum distance from the centre, and 'faces South': he sees then only the 'Light of Nature', for him the Sun 'rises in the South'. That is the night and Winter solstice of his spiritual life. That the Sun sets in the 'North' corresponds to the point of view of the sensual and materially scientific man whose

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[1] The vertical Axis is also the trunk of the Tree of Life, and every radius or spoke of every World-Wheel a branch of the Tree, and amongst these branches are the 'nests' of individual conscience.

'realities' must be 'facts', and for whom 'ideas' are 'mere abstractions', observation being his 'enlightenment', vision his 'night'; cf. *Bhagavad Gītā*, II.69, 'In what is "night" to all existences, therein the tempered conscience is awake; and in what existences are "wakeful", is "night" for the Muni who "sees" indeed.'

Turning toward the centre, the conscience moves toward the centre, facing also West, which is at the same time 'backward' with respect to the movement of the Wheel; for him the Sun 'rises in the West'; again he sees a 'Light' compounded of the Light of Nature and of the Light of Heaven. That the light of the Sun shines now out of the West is inasmuch as the individual now realizes his true end, and that Life Eternal (timeless) is theirs only who can die to things temporal, 'He that would save his life, let him lose it'. Finally he comes to stand near to the centre of the Wheel, the centre of his own being, and 'faces North', then indeed the Sun 'rises in the North', he sees only the Light of Heaven, the Light of Nature is in the south behind him.[2]

Observe, of course, that the direction of the rising Sun (whether in the East, South, West, or North 'spiritually') is always spoken of as 'East' (le Levant, l'Orient) empirically (all our images being derived from sensible experience): hence when the Bodhisattva takes his seat upon the Adamantine Throne, about to realize the Great Awakening, he is said to face the 'East', that is locally with respect to his actual séance at Gayā, but spiritually 'North'. In the same way are to be explained the various orientations of temples, normally, for example, we should expect that the worshipper must enter from the South, the Devayāna (Chinese Shên-tao, Japanese Shinto) which leads directly to the shrine (*garbha*) running from South to North; but if the image worshipped be *rājasika*, the orientation may be actually East or West, and if the image be *tāmasika* entrance must be from the North.

Further, the four stages of the course as described above correspond to Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter in *pratyakṣa, adhyātma* sequence, or Autumn, Winter (*ut supra*), Spring, and Summer in *parokṣa, adhidaivata* sequence: similarly, to Infancy, Youth, Maturity, and Age in our corporeal parlance, that is to Maturity, Age, Youth, and Infancy, spiritually, cf. *pāṇḍityaṁ nirvidya bālyena tiṣṭhāset* . . . , 'putting aside learning, let him abide in innocence' (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, III.5[3]): and also to the four *āśramas* in the Brahmanical map of life.

When now the conscience is wholly retroverted, centred within itself and within the Nave of the World-Wheel, the individual becomes a Sādhya, '*geworden was er ist*', Sukṛtātman, 'Per-fected self', Jīvanmukta, 'set free while yet existent on a given plane of being', *bālyaṁ ca pāṇḍityaṁ ca nirvidya atha muniḥ*, 'putting aside innocence and learning both, then is he a Muni',

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[2] For the inversion of meaning, cf. *Ṛgveda*, I.164.19, 'Those that come hitherward (*arvañc*), they (viz., the Angels) call 'departing' (*parācaḥ*).'

[3] Almost literally equivalent to the words of Jesous, 'Except ye become again as little children'; and of Paulos, *Corinthians*, I.3.18, 'If anyone amongst you thinketh himself to be wise in the world, let him become as one ungrown, that he may be wise indeed.'

(*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, III.5). The conscience that had been 'wakeful' (*jāgrat*) is now 'Fast Asleep' (*suṣupta*) in terms of mortal understanding, but angelically speaking 'Wide Awake' (*prabuddha*). The Buddha Śākya-Muni, seated upon his adamantine throne at the navel of the earth, which throne is based upon the axial column that extends from nethermost to uppermost, is a case in point. There, as the Buddhist texts affirm, 'all former Munis have taken their seat', being now *saṁbuddha*, 'Wide Awake'. This is indeed the station of the Son of Man and the Son of God, however designated. *Puruṣa mahā taha adhika virājai*, 'There the Great Person shines resplendent' (Kabīr), having now become the Light of the World, which 'previous' to his Enlightenment, transfiguration, or Ascension (in fact, he is no longer limited by concepts of 'before' or 'after') had seemed to be the Light of Heaven, the very Supernal-Sun. Clothed with the Sun, he is invisible to mortal eyes, as Muni, 'Silent', inaudible to corporeal ears, his appearance in the world can be only by way of *avataraṇa* 'descent', and in an 'appointed' (*nirmāta*) body; 'I am the Silence of the Hidden' (*mauna guhyānām, Bhagavad Gītā*, X.38).

In Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, II.42-4, and *Triṁśikāvijñapti*, the same ideas are expressed somewhat differently. The conscience of one who is still on the mundane path (*laukika mārga*) remains 'general' or 'demotic' (*pṛthak*), he can attain only to the 'encountering of non-ideation' (*asaṁjñisamāpatti*), corresponding to 'childishness' or 'innocence' (*bālya*) above; and the demotic Wayfarer may mistake this heavenly station for true deliverance (*niḥsaraṇa*).[4] This is in fact a state of 'passive integration', inasmuch as it is reached 'by the efficacy of the path' (*mārgabalena labhyatvāt, Abhidharmakośa*, VI.34); a salvation in the religious or mystical, not the metaphysical sense. The demotic conscience, even of a Saint or Bodhisattva, is arrested at this level of understanding, by a latent residue of ideal affectibility; a return to consciousness is always imminent.

Proceeding now, however, as the Saint or Bodhisattva may, on the 'noble' or 'transmundane' path (*ārya mārga, lokottara mārga*), the Wayfarer, now an 'aristocrat' or 'nobleman' (*ārya*), oversteps the mere 'suppression of intellection' and reaches the 'place of neither ideation nor non-ideation' (*naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñānāyatana*), corresponding to 'neither learning nor innocence', above; which place, viz., the highest level of non-aspectual (*arūpya*) being, is also called the 'summit of being', *bhavāgra*. Then is he a Comprehensor, Vidvān, Muni, Sādhya, Jina, *prabuddha, sambuddha*.

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[4] *Nirvāṇa*, rebirth in a Buddha Paradise (= a Brahma-world), though it may be mistaken for the last end, is not yet in fact an absolute extinction (*parinirvāṇa*), as is explained in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, V.74, 'this is a resting place (*viśrāma*), not a return (*nirvṛti*)', and ibid., XV.21, 'I display return who am not myself returned (*anirvṛto nirvṛta darśayāmi*)', cf. Eckhart's 'It is God's full intention that we should become what he is not.' As also in the *Chāndogya Up.*, III.13.7, 'There is a light that shines beyond this heaven (Brahma-world), at the back of everything, and that too shines within us', cf. *Ṛgveda*, VI.9.5, 'a steady Light set up to be seen . . ., and set within the heart' and ibid., IV.58, 'within the Sea, the Heart, and living things', all which corresponds to the Buddhist doctrine of the *bodhicitta*.

As he is in himself, Sādhya, etc., his 'position' on the Axis of the Universe makes him free of its entire extension; that is, he may operate on all or any of the indefinitely numerous planes of being that revolve in the 'middle space' about this Axis, 'he goes up and down these worlds, eating what he desires, assuming what aspect he will', *Taittirīya Up.*, III.10.5. At the same time it is evident that from the point of view of any or every station on the Axis the source of Light, Oriens, East, is seen 'above', the Supernal Sun 'rises in the zenith', and its obscuration is 'below', it 'sets in the Nadir'; and this must and will be maintained 'so long as' any awareness of duality, even conscience of Sonship in relation, persists in him, whatever be the level of manifestation. That 'so long as' will be figuratively speaking, during the 'hundred years' of Brahmā's life, until the end of time. Only when all conscience of duality has passed away, *amaunaṁ ca maunaṁ ca nirvidya atha brāhmaṇaḥ*, 'laying aside both manifestation and non-manifestation, then is he Brāhmaṇa',[5] *brahmavid*, 'knowing the Brahman in identity', *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, III.5. Then the Axis of the Universe is contracted to a point, that point *al cui la prima rota va dintorno*, all forms subsisting in a single form; then only is the Supernal-Sun 'forever risen, there is no more rising and setting, He is verily One (*ekata*), in the Middle Place'[6] (*madhye sthāne* = *nābhā amṛtasya*, 'in the navel of non-mortality'), 'without duality', *advaita*.

The applications of a diagram such as that here illustrated are indefinitely numerous. For example, the line extending from the Southern Sun in the world, to the central Light of the World, and continuously thence by a right turn upward to the Supernal-Sun, represents that one amongst the many paths that Agni knows, which leads through the Solar Gateway of the Worlds (*lokadvāra*, cf. *JUB*, I.3 and John X.1-18) to the Empyrean (*parama vyoman*), the Motionless Pleroma. Agni being the Herdsman of the Flocks, who wanders in the worlds unfalteringly, and stands way-wise at the cross-roads (*Ṛgveda*, I.164.31; X.5.6; X.19; and X.177.3). 'There is no side path here in the world' (*Maitri Up.*, VI.30) no Ray or Way that leads from any position in the world directly to the Supernal-Sun: the Supernal-Sun is only visible from the centre in the world, a centre without 'position' in space, but where is the Light of the World, the Eye of the World, Buddhist *cakkhuṁ loke*. In other words, 'it is through the midst of the Supernal Sun that one escapes' (*ādityaṁ samayā atimucyate*, *JUB*, I.3; 'No man cometh to the Father but through Me.'

In a more detailed representation, the number of 'wheels' or 'circles' (*cakra*) must be indefinitely increased. In particular, one great circle passes through the Supernal-Sun and its reflection in the Nether Waters, this circle marking out the World or Universe in its entirety, its revolution being the

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[5] For this special use of the word *brāhmaṇa*, cf. in *Ṛgveda*, X.71.11, *brahmā*, 'the Brahman', viz., that one of the four sacrificial priests who *vadati jātavidyām*, 'utters the lore of genesis'; Sāyaṇa's comment being *brahma hi sarvaṁ veditum yogyā bhavati khalu*, '"Brahman" refers to the one associated in that he knows everything but is merely present'. Hence Agni's epithet, *Jātavedas*.

[6] Or 'Place Within', i.e. *guhā nihitam, antarbhūtasya khe*.

Brahmāṇḍa; and on the other hand, the individual conscience 'A' must be represented by yet another circle, in a plane at right angles to that in which the conscience subsists, each and all of such worlds being in the image of (*anurūpam*) of the other. In the individual 'world' there will be seen again reflected Suns, one central, virtually 'without position', but 'actually' situated at the point of intersection with the solar ray in the world already spoken of, and represented by the dotted line: the other peripheral. Those central and peripheral 'Suns' of the individual conscience are the individual's 'Inner Light' and 'Light of Nature'. Looking within the individual sees this Inner Light, 'risen in the North'; and being centred therein, he has entered upon the general 'Way' which is represented by the dotted line in the diagram. That the direction of this 'Way' stands at right angles to that of his former 'axis', corresponds to that *rectification*[7] of personality which is commonly spoken of as 'conversion' and 'regeneration' ('Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God'). Along this new-won Way he must proceed, until he reaches and is centred in the Light of the World[8]; then for the first time he sees directly, *sākṣāt aparokṣāt,* the Supernal-Sun, 'risen in the Zenith', 'whose Face is Fire' (*Ṛgveda,* VII.88.2)—*per tal modo che ciò ch'io dice è un semplice lume, Paradiso,* XXXIII.90.

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[7] Cf. *Kauṣitaki Brāhmaṇa,* VII.6, where the Zenith is said to have been 'first discerned' by Aditi, and it is because Aditi, whose 'Liberty' (*adititva*) is from all bonds, is thus of the Zenith, that all things, plants, trees, men, and fire 'stand upright', the 'rectitude' of things being their 'aspiration'.

On the other hand, with regard to procession, inasmuch as the extension of any world lies in a plane at right angles to the axis of the universe (cf. *JUB,* I.29, *raśmiḥ … asumayastiryaṅ pratiṣṭhitaḥ*) any coming into existence is represented by a branching outwards horizontally from the trunk of the tree of Life or vertical of the Cross. The Several Angels are therefore said to be 'born transversely, from the side' (*Ṛgveda,* IV.18.1-2) and this image survives in the Buddhist legend of the birth of Siddhārtha from Māyādevī's side.

[8] 'Thereof is he the Splendour (*śrī*), the Self (*ātman*) arisen from the Sea (*samudrūḍha*), viz., yonder Supernal-Sun (*āditya*)', *JUB,* III.3.

The *Ṛgveda* as Land-Náma-Bók

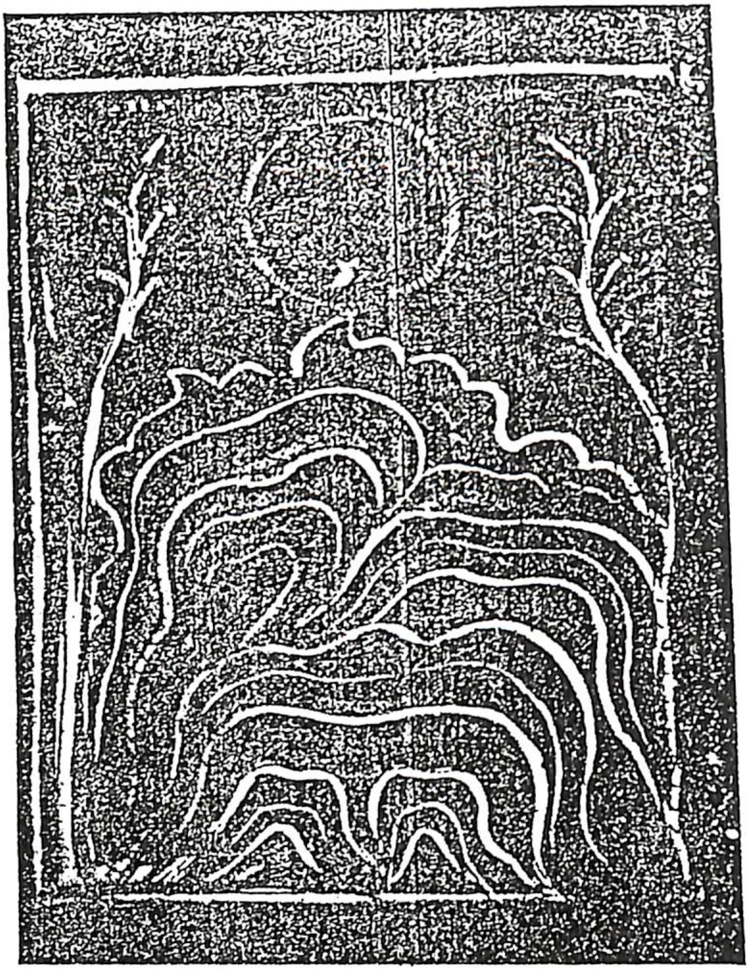

Fig. 1. Śrī Sūryodaya, the 'Holy Sunrise'. From a sixteenth-century MS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra,* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra,* 1934, Fig. 38.

The Dawn depicted is that of the day following Triśalā's announcement of her pregnancy dreams to Siddhārtha and is therefore that of the day of Mahāvīra's conception. Mahāvīra being, no less than the Buddha, the Solar Messiah, the Sunrise on the morning of his conception is virtually and, if we ignore the pseudo-historical presentation of the 'miraculous' elements in the Jina's life, is actually the Coming Forth of the Hidden Light in the Beginning.

The designation Śrī Sūryŏdaya appears as a legend in Nāgarī characters beside the illustration on the manuscript page. The text, §59, describes the rising of the Sun as follows: 'Early in the wane of night the Sun arose . . . intensely red. . . . He, the thousand-rayed Day-maker, glowing in fiery-energy, awakened the clusters of lotuses . . . by the blows of his hands the darkness was dispelled.'

Introduction

In the *Ṛgveda,* the Five Aryan kindreds are spoken of as immigrants; they have come from another place across the waters, and have settled and tilled the lands on the hither shore. This process of land-taking has generally been interpreted as referring to an historical immigration of an Aryan speaking people who, fair in colour and sharply distinguished from the dusky pagan Dasyus, crossed the Sarasvatī in the Panjab and made their home in Bhāratavarṣa. That is an euhemeristic interpretation of a traditional literature which is strictly speaking devoid of any historical content whatever. We do not mean to say by this that there may not have taken place historical events analogous to those alluded to in the Vedic 'myths'; on the contrary, we assume that history is always enacted in the pattern of the ultimate reality enunciated in the metaphysical tradition, or in Biblical phraseology, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets' (*ṛṣayaḥ*). It may therefore be true that the metaphysical tradition itself can be a process of inversion be employed by the historian as source material, just as an icon may be used by the aesthete as a piece of bric-a-brac, or by the anthropologist for his own ends. In this sense, for example, we may be sure that the people who performed the Vedic ritual and chanted the *mantras* in their recorded form, actually possessed horses and chariots, had experience of the crossing of seas and rivers, and tilled the soil. It does not follow that the cosmic myth itself—'originale Geistesschöpfung allerersten Ranges'[1]—had been unknown previous to that late stage of neolithic culture that is reflected in the symbolism of the *mantras* in which it is expressed. Certain of the symbols are by no means 'dated'; the Sun may have been referred to as a bird at any time, nor can it be doubted that a cult of the One Madonna existed already in the Paleolithic age. The symbols that imply a specific cultural niveau may, simultaneously with actual invention, have been developed from earlier prototypes; before the pillar, the tree; before the wheel, the swastika; before the plough, the planting-stick.[2] It is in this sense that the myth itself, apart from the manner of its formulation (and this will apply even to its late recension in the two great pseudo-historical epics), may not be properly regarded as an historical relation (*itihāsa*), nor as concerned with events in time, but as a metaphysical formulation in accordance with a logical order of thought. Other versions of the 'single and unanimous tradition', Genesis for example, are to be understood and have been understood in the same way. In like manner, the miraculous elements in the lives of the Messiahs are not to be regarded as later accretions imposed upon an historical nucleus, but much rather as parts of the essential theme to which an aspect of historicity has been superadded by way of accommodation (*upāya*).

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[1] Jeremias, *Der Kosmos von Sumer,* 1932, p. 20.

[2] Cf. Andrae, *Die Ionische Säule; Bauform oder symbol?* Berlin, 1933, pp. 65, 66: 'When we sound the archetype, the ultimate origin of the form, then we find that it is anchored in the highest, not the lowest. . . . He who marvels that a formal symbol can remain alive not only for millennia, but that, as we shall yet learn, can spring to life again after an interval of thousands of years, should remind himself that the power from the spiritual world, which forms one part of the symbol, is everlasting.' Cf. René Guénon, 'Du prétendu 'empirisme' des ancients', in *Le Voile d'Isis,* No. 175, 1934.

To some students, these will seem to be self-evident theses, needing no demonstration. To others, merely a fantastic theory, with the latter in view it is proposed to discuss the matter in greater detail, by an analysis of the meanings and content of certain constantly recurring and characteristic terms, viz., *ārya*, *carṣaṇi* and *kṛṣṭi*, *pañca jana*, *sarasvatī*, *setu*, *vāpa-maṅgala*, *viśa* and *viśpati*, *yajña*, and *Yama*. If the proper interpretation of some of these terms is still a matter of controversy, it may nevertheless appear that some further light can be shed on the problems by a choice of valid interpretations of such sort that all the terms can be understood consistently in relation to one another or in one and the same context.[3]

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[3] Abbreviations are employed as follows: *ṚV*, *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*; *AV*, *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā*; *TS*, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*; *VS*, *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*; *TB*, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*; *PB*, *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*; *AB*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; *JB*, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; *JUB*, *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*; *AĀ*, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*; *BU*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; *CU*, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*; *Mai. U*, *Maitrī Upaniṣad*; *MU*, *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*; *SN*, *Saṁyutta Nikāya*; *J*, *Jātaka*.

The *Rgveda* as Land-Náma-Bók

ĀRYA, ARYA

Ārya, 'noble' or 'gentle' (as in 'gentleman') is from *ṛ*, to go, rise up, reach, obtain; cognate forms are *ariya*, *airya*, Irān, Erin, and Germ. Ehre; for the root, cf. Zend *ir*, Lith *ir-ti* (to row, cf. Skr. *aritra*, 'oar'), Greek *ór-nu-mi*, *aró-o*, etc., and Lat. *or-ior*, *or-iens*. Any connection with Lat. *ar*, to plough, may be doubted. The root meanings give the sense of going forward and taking possession. The root meaning of *ārya* is that of 'pioneer', in the American sense, where the first settlers are most highly honoured (one might almost speak of an 'ancestral cult' in this connection), and where it represents the height of social distinction to be descended from these first-comers from the other side. From this point of view there develops the secondary meaning of 'noble' and that of 'right', cf. *ṛta* 'law' and *ari* 'loyal'; the procedure of the first settlers being thought of as an establishment of law and order where savagery (*anṛta*) had previously prevailed.[4] Thus he, Agni, who *pūrvam ārta*

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[4] 'The Comprehensors (*vidvāñsaḥ*) . . . they of the Law (*ṛtavānaḥ*, here the First Sacrificers) when they had bared to sight what-things-were -theirs-who-knew-no-Law (*anṛtā*) and were returned, they, the shaper-minstrels (*kavayaḥ*, Gk. ποιητοί went forth upon their glorious way', *ṚV*, II.24.6-7; 'The Patriarchs (*pitaraḥ*), on whom as being Angels, the Angels have bestowed their Providence (*kratu*) . . . have overstridden the regions, laying out the ancient measureless abodes . . . pouring out their offspring variously', X.56.4-5; 'The generous (viz., *viśvedevāḥ*) have made the Sun to mount the sky, and scattered the Āryan ordinances (*āryā vratā*) o'er the world', X.65.11 (Sāyaṇa glosses *ārya* as *śreṣṭhāni* and *kalyāṇāni*, 'best' and 'lovely'). *Per contra*, 'The Herdsman of the Law (*ṛtasya gopā*), the Comprehensor who surveys the several worlds (viz., the Sun), thrusts into the pit them that are unqualified (*ajuṣṭān*) and uninitiate (*avratān*). Men of vision (*dhīraḥ*, here the First Sacrificers) span the yarn of Law (*ṛtasya tantur vitataḥ*) upon the purifying sieve, Varuṇa's tongue-tip, by Magic (*māyayā*); but he that is not able thereunto (*aprabhuḥ*) falls down into the pit (*kartam ava padāti*), *ṚV*, IX.73. 9; mark the contrast as between the latter and the 'Herdsman moving on the paths, who never falls' (*gopām anipadyamānam . . . pathibiś carantam*, I.164.31; X.177.3, *JUB*, III.37). The Herdsman of the Universe (*bhuvanasya gopāḥ*, I.164.21; II.27.4; VII, 70.2, *JUB*, I.1; III.12, etc.) is the 'Good shephered' of Semitic tradition. Indra is typically designated *vratapā*, Fidei Defensor, which is his natural function as representing the temporal power (*kṣatra*) in alliance with the spiritual-power (*brahma*) represented by Agni, who lays the bolt in Indra's hands, X.52.5, and appoints him to perform heroic feats, VIII.100.1-2.

(*Ṛ*V, IV.1.12) is not only *ṛtajā* and *ṛtāyus,* but also *ṛtavān* and *ṛtvij,* or in short and in every sense of the word, *ārya* or *arya.*[5]

It need hardly be pointed out that the term ārya is applied by the Aryans themselves to themselves in this laudatory sense, and by way of distinction from others whose descent and behaviour are relatively abominated, and of whose point of view we hear little.[6]

CARṢAṆI AND KṚṢṬI

Carṣaṇi 'wanderer' a 'nomad' and *kṛṣṭi,* 'ploughman' and 'ploughing', or 'tilling' and 'tilth', are both secondarily 'folk' or 'people', as typically agricultural. In the same way Pali *kassaka,* 'ploughman', and *kasi* or *kasī,* 'ploughing', 'tilth', are secondarily 'farmer' and 'folk'. In many passages *pañca carṣaṇayaḥ* or *kṛṣṭayaḥ* replaces the more usual *pañca janāḥ,* for example *ṚV,* V.86.2, VII.15.2, and IX.101.9, the first of these references giving us 'Let us make oblation to Indrāgnī for sake of the Five Kindreds' (*pañca carṣaṇir-abhi*). Agni or Indra is *rāja* or *pati kṛṣṭīnām* or *carṣaṇīnām,* IV.17.5, and V.39.4, etc.,[7] and these expressions amount to the same things as *viśpati* elsewhere; Varuṇa is *rāja carṣaṇi-dhṛta,* king and supporter of the folk, IV.1.2; Agni takes his seat in homes as *gṛhapati* 'for the sake of the Five Kindreds', *pañca carṣaṇir-abhi,* VII.15.2. Agni is himself *viśva-carṣaṇi,* V.23.4; the Buddha speaks of himself as *kassaka, SN,* text I, p. 172.

It has often been observed that no trace of a caste system can be recognized in the *Ṛgveda.* For example, the Creator *per artem* (Viśvakarmā, Tvaṣṭṛ) is what would now be called a *śūdra;* and although the four characteristic functions of priest, ruler, farmer, and craftsman are distinguished, one and all of these are 'ploughmen'. What this implies is a state of affairs in which the individual of a given type is still in full possession of all the possibilities of being in the mode of that type. A caste system on the other hand reflects a posterior condition in which the individual realizes in himself only a part of the potentialities that are proper to the type generically; 'priest', 'king', etc., are now *specific* determinations, the names alluding to the one and only function which the individual can properly fulfil, and which is his 'vocation'. As the process of contraction and identification into variety proceeds, the capacities of the individual are more and more constricted; and this is outwardly reflected in our contemporary social order (an industrial order representing the notion of 'caste' in its fullest possible development), where none takes all knowledge for his province, and the workman is specifically conformed to the making of small parts of things and can make nothing whole. This excessive division of labour can result in the production only of goods that are useful, not of those that are beautiful; for integration, co-ordination, and lucidity are essential to beauty, and with these the labourer has nothing to do; he who makes only parts of things cannot be an artist (*artifex*) but only a cooly. Only those modern productions can be beautiful in which the products of the work of many men are united. If for example a bridge is beautiful, this is possible inasmuch as all those (engineer, and skilled and unskilled workers), who are collectively its maker, amount to one single proper man, one bridge-builder. Where a 'tradition' has survived (as in 'Campagnonage') it still remains within the power of the initiated individual to rise above the situation in which he finds himself, and by successive apperceptions to achieve a repossession of the lost powers; but this conception of the meaning of 'initiation into the mystery of a craft' has no longer any place in European consciousness. These considerations lie in part outside the natural limits of the present tract; but the fact that the *Ṛgveda* recognizes a state of affairs in which a division of labour is apparent only in act and not in the essence of the individual (the dual Indrāgnī, for example, represents the union of spiritual and temporal powers in one person, of which traces have survived in human social order wherever the links of tradition have not been broken) shows that we are here dealing with a 'time' antecedent to 'history'.

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[5] In *ṚV,* IV.1.7, where Agni is *arya,* Sāyaṇa's gloss is *svāmi vaiśyayor,* tantamount to '*viśpati*'.

[6] Cf., however, Namuci's reproaches addressed to Indra, 'Thou betrayer of a friend', *TB,* I.7.1.7-8. There is indeed plenty of evidence in the *Ṛgveda* that the act of taking possession of what was not originally theirs, but belonged to the dusky Asuras — as if to the 'Redskins' in our American analogy — was well understood to have been in some sort a sin requiring expiation and a symbolic restitution, e.g. *ṚV,* X.109; the *kilbiṣāṇi* are typically Indra's, while the Redeemer, *kilbiṣa-spṛt,* is typically Agni, *ṚV,* X.71.10; it may also be noted with respect to *ṚV,* I.164.32, where Agni is said to 'take on destruction' (*nirṛtim*), that if we accept Sāyaṇa's designation of Nirṛti as *pāpa-devatā,* this also implies an assumption of our guilt. We are not, however, at present concerned with this point of view, but only with that affirmative attitude which naturally prevails in the *karma kāṇḍa.*

[7] In *ṚV,* I.177.1, Indra, and in III.62.6, Bṛhaspati, is *vṛṣabha carṣaṇīnām.*

NAU.

It will be seen below, (s.v. Sarasvatī) that the floor of the Chariot of Light (*jyoti-ratha* applied to Agni, Soma, Viśvedevāḥ, *RV*, I.140.1; IX.86.44; X.63.4), that is of intellectual substance (*manas-maya*, X. 85. 12) and drawn by steeds not born of horses (*anaśvo jāto*, IV.36.1) but intellectually fashioned (*tatakṣur manasā*, I.20.2), is itself a Ground (*budhna*, X.135.6) resting upon the Waters, and in this respect like any other Earth (*pṛthivī* = *dyāvā-pṛthivī* = *dyāvā*) or platform of being. According to another familiar image any Ground may be represented by the lotus, flower of leaf, and it is in this sense (*TS*, IV.1.4; IV.2.8; V.2.6.5; *SB*, VII. 4.1.7-11) that Agni is said to have been churned from the lotus (*puṣkarāt*, VI.16.13) and Vasiṣṭha, child of Mitrāvaruṇau and Urvaśī, is born in the lotus (*jātaḥ . . . puṣkare*, VII.33.11) where also the Viśvedevāḥ are revealed.

Any Ground thus supported in and by the primordial ocean of infinite possibility may in the same way be thought of as a ship or ark (*nau*) or swing

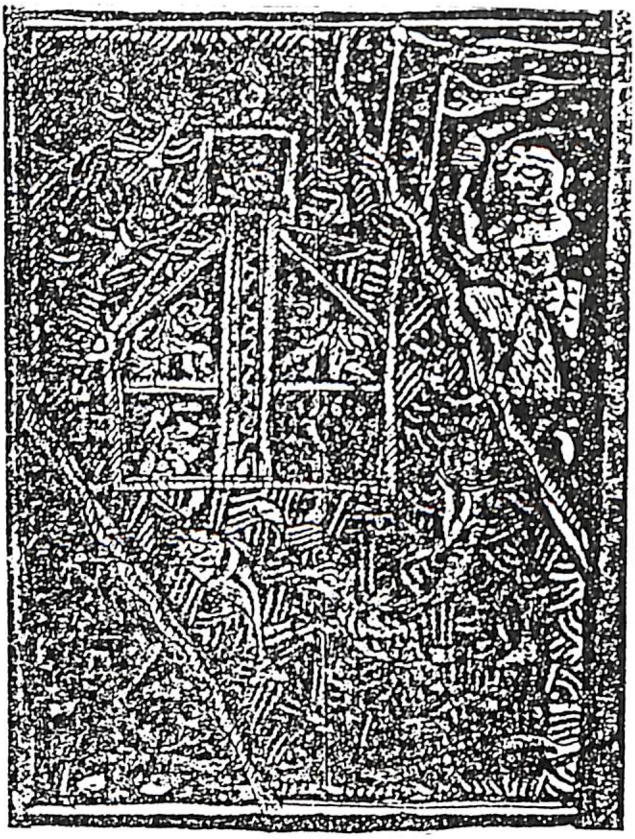

FIG. 2. THE SHIP OF LIFE, OR SUN-BOAT, AND RIVER OF LIFE WITH ITS TWO SHORES. From an MS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra* belonging to Mr. N.M. Heeramaneck, New York, see Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, 1934, Fig. 30.

The miniature illustrates one of the Fourteen Dreams of Triśalā, all of which dreams, prefiguring the advent of Mahāvīra, are essentially the themes of the Creation as described in the *Ṛgveda*. 'Every mother (*māyā = mātṛ*) of a Tīrthaṁkara sees these Fourteen Dreams in that night in which the most glorious Arhat enters her Womb' (*Kalpa Sūtra*, §46b). For a description of the River or Sea of Life as here depicted see *Kalpa Sūtra*, text 43, or translation in *SBE*, XXII, pp. 236-7, where the significant designations *gaṅgāvarta, uccalat* and *praty-avanivṛtta, kṣīra-sāgara*, and *salilam* are employed.

The 'lookout' at the top of the mast is the Sun as the surveyor of all things (*viśvam abhi caṣṭe, ṚV*, I.164.44, *abhicakṣana*, II.40.5, etc.), the mast his 'foot' as Aja Ekapad, and at the same time, the Axis of the Universe, as pointed out explicitly in the *Daśakumāracarita*, invocatory verse, cf. my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Note 139.

or rocking-boat (*préṅkha*) of life, cf. *kṣauṇī-nau* in the invocatory stanzas of the *Daśakumāracarita*. So Vasiṣṭha, in *ṚV*, VII.88, when he feels himself estranged from Varuṇa—'My God, why hast thou forsaken me?'—looks back to the beginning with a fond yearning, as of Adam's for Paradise: 'Where I with Varuṇa embarked (*ā ruhāva*), drave out our ship (*nāvam īrayāva*) into mid-ocean, rode on the crests of the waves, would that we yet swung there in the smooth-gliding swing (*préṅkha*) for gladness, where-aboard (*nāvi*) Varuṇa set Vasiṣṭha, in the clear-shing of the days, when Heaven and Earth, the Dawns and Dusks were warped' (*tatanan*). 'Wise King Varuṇa, indeed, made in Heaven this Golden Swing smooth-gliding for delight', VII.87.5; it is the Sun's reflection in the Sea, the 'sun-boat' of the manifold tradition.

The Ship of Life may equally as well be spoken of as launched and guided by all or any of the premier Angels; thus, X.63.10, 'Let us embark (*ā ruhema*) in the angelic vessel (*daivīṁ nāvam*) unto weal.' Again, 'The Ships of Truth (*satyasya nāvaḥ*) have borne the goodly-made across (*sukṛtam apīparan*, IX.73.1); 'Bear us across the Sea as in a ship, thou Comprehensor' (*nāvā na sindhum ati parṣi vidvān*, IX.70.10, addressed to Soma; 'As in a ship convey us o'er the flood' (I.97.8, addressed to Agni, cf. I.99.1, 'through peril as in a boat across a river'); 'May we ascend the vessel of safe passage, whereby we may pass over manifold and grievous dangers' (VIII.42.3, addressed to the Angels collectively); 'Transport us safely o'er manifold perils, ye Charioteers of the Law, as it were in ships across the Waters' (VIII.83.3); and 'As in a ship o'er billows, so through divers states of being (*pradiśaḥ pṛthivyāḥ*, X.56.7 lit., 'earthly regions', where as usual 'earth' is any ground or platform of being); o'er manifold and grievous perils hath the Mighty Laud (*bṛhaduktha*, i.e. Agni) set (*ā adadhāt*) his children (*prajām*), by these and farther shores' (*avariṣu, pareṣu*, X.56.7). In *JB*, I.125 (see *J.A.O.S.*, XXVIII.1, p. 84) the boat is a 'ship-city' (*nau-nagara*), viz., that of the three-headed Gandharva (the Sun, cf. IX.85.12) that swims in the midst of the Waters, or as we should say in modern parlance, a great liner.

Often enough, according to another formulation, it is the Aśvins[8]—twins diversely born (*ṚV*, I.181.4, and V.73.4), thus representing a principial duality essential to existence, and therefore naturally deliverers of things not yet in act, healers of all imperfect things[9]—who take up from the Waters into their living ships those that are not good swimmers, but are struggling in the Sea that is 'without beginning or platform or any hold' (*anārambhaṇe . . . anāsthāne agrabhaṇe samudre,* I.116.5).[10] The Aśvins are the healers in particular of the aged Cyavāna, who is or is in the likeness of Prajāpati, when overcome by eld (see s.v. Sarasvatī), and the saviours of Bhujyu ('Man' as the seeker of 'enjoyment' or experience,[11] or possibly also as 'serpent', *ante principium*).

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[8] The origin of the Aśvins 'is to be sought in a pre-Vedic period . . . (they) may originally have been conceived as finding and restoring or rescuing the vanished light of the sun' (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 49, 51, cf. von Schröder, in *W.Z.K.M.*, IX. 131).

[9] *ṚV*, X.39.3: 'Ye are the gladness of her that groweth old at home (unwed), furtherers of him that hath no horse and lags behind, healers of the blind, the wasted and the broken.' Cf. *ŚB*, IV.1.5.16: 'The Aśvins are outwardly (*pratyakṣam*) these two, viz., Heaven and Earth, for it is these that have obtained possession of all things here. They are called the 'lotus-crowned'; Agni is verily the lotus of this earth, the Sun of yonder sky.' The ontological implications are evident; Heaven and Earth are healers of all things in that they provide the necessary basis of operation in one or other of the contrasted modes, terrestrial or celestial. The Aśvins inwardly (*parokṣeṇa*) are, no

The rescue of Bhujyu or other Prophets by the Aśvins from mid-ocean, and their safe return to port is referred to in *ṚV*, I.116.3-5; I.182.5-7; I.160.3 and elsewhere. In the first of these passages we find 'Ye brought him back in living

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doubt, the brothers, 'mortal and immortal', Mitrāvaruṇau, or Agni and Varuṇa, I.164.30, 38, and X.85.18.

From the *karma kāṇḍa* point of view release (*mokṣa*, root *muc*) is a setting free of potentialities *unto operation* (*ṚV*, I.112.8, the Aśvins release (*amuñcatam*) the swallowed quail; I.140.4, Agni's steeds are *mumukṣaḥ*, as in X.111.9, the Rivers of Life are *mumukṣāṇāḥ*; V.81.12, the Sun as *kavi, viśvā rūpāṇi prati muñcate*, cf. I.42.1, where Pūṣan is *vimuco napāt*; VII.59.12, *bandhanāt mṛtyor mukṣīya mā amṛtāt*); but from the *jñāna kāṇḍa* point of view, a release *from operation* (the latter sense is naturally rare in *ṚV*, but cf. V.46.1, where *vimucam* and *āvṛttam punaḥ* are contrasted). In Buddhism, the concept of the Tathāgata as the finder of a medicine for eld and death (*jarāmaraṇa*) can only be regarded as an adaptation (*upāya*) to later mundane circumstances of the older concept of the Messiah as accomplishing with his awakening (Gautama, *buddha*=Agni, *uṣarbudh*) the Harrowing of Hell, cf. *J*, I.76, *cakkavālantareṣu . . . ekobhāsā ahesuṁ . . . jaccandhā rūpāṇi passiṁsu, jātibhadirā saddaṁ suniṁsu, jātipīṭhasappī padasā gacchiṁsu, andubandhanādīni chinditvā patiṁsu*, 'There shone One Light throughout the voids-between-the-worlds (i.e. hells, in terms of space rather than of time), the naturally blind beheld the shapes of things, the naturally deaf heard sounds, the naturally halt went forth afoot, all bars and bonds were broken and fell away.'

[10] This Sea is the fathomless abyss, covered over by darkness, fluid and indeterminate, of *ṚV*, X.129. Cf. Augustine, *Confessionum*, XIII.5, 'the dark abyss, dark as regards the inconstant flux of its spiritual formlessness' (*informitas*), where the Waters, as in Genesis and *ṚV*, are undetermined substance, infinite but mere potentiality, *ante principium*; and ibid., XIII.7, 'waters devoid of any standing ground' (*sine substantia*), where by a natural extension of meaning, and just as also typically in Buddhism, the abyss is the inconstant sea of life, with all its dangers, and its imperfections now (*post principium*) to be regarded as deformities, that is to say now as partial rather than as before a total privation of form and being. The Sea to be passed over is continuous and unsubstantial (as Augustine so well expresses it, loc. cit., 'neque enim loca sunt, quibus mergimur et emergimus'); the end to be reached is that of a full and conscious possession of its own intrinsic form (*svarūpa*) by each and every individual potentiality that has been thought of as taking passage in the ship of life. The voyage once begun is not at an end when any given port is reached, but is onward by the *devayāna* to a port beyond our understanding, or by the *pitṛyāna* to and fro from port to port.

[11] From the *karma kāṇḍa* point of view, the Ship of Life is built and oared for transport by the First Sacrifice (*ṚV*, X.101.2); but from that of the *jñāna kāṇḍa*, 'the sacrificial forms are unsafe boats', *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, I.2.7, and it is in the vessel of the spiritual-power (*brahma*) that the Comprehensor should pass over all the fearful rivers', *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, II.8.

ships (*ātmanvan-naubhiḥ*[12]), traversing mid-space (*antarikṣa*), above the waves . . . to the sea's strand (*samudrasya dhanvan*) . . . to his home (*astam*, cf. X.14.8, *punar astam ehi*), alive (*ātasthivāṅsam*, cf. from *sthā*, to be born, subsist, exist) on a ship' (*nāvaṁ*). In I.160.3, the ship is called a ferry (*peru*) that is well equipped (*yukta*) and launched on the open sea (*madhye arṇaso dhāyi*); in I.182, the ships, here four, are *ātmanvat* and winged (that is 'angelic'), and there is also presented the alternative image of the Tree of Life (*vṛkṣa*) standing (*niṣṭhita*) in mid-ocean (*madhya arṇaso*) and to which the suppliant Bhujyu clings.[13]

The last passages recall the sky-faring ship of *AV*, XIX.39.7-8, that is provided with a golden hawser (*bandhana*), and where for its passengers who 'see life' (*amṛta*[14]) there is no slipping back again;[15] the tree of *ṚV*, I.182, suggests that tree to which the ark of Manu is tied in *ŚB*, I.8.1.6. In any case it is clear that the pattern of the First Voyage is reflected in, and in principle identical with, that of the recurrent voyages of Manu, coincident with every minor *pralaya*; for here, too, though from a lesser distance, the generative principles destined to prolong their line in the ensuing *manvantara* are carried over from the past and brought to land. It is to be noted too that the waters of the Flood rise and again in due time subside (just as in *ṚV*, I.164. 51, 'uniformly with the days[16] this water rises up and falls away' (*uc ca ety ava ca*), and as to the subsidence, just as in III.33.10, the River 'bows down like a nursing mother, yields like a maiden to her lover'.

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[12] *Ātmanvat* is 'hypostasized', and 'conscious', cf. *sarvātmanvat*, *AV*, X. 8. 2; *ātmanvat yakṣa*, the human self or essence, ibid., X.8.43; *ātmanvī* in *BU*, I.2.1.

[13] In accordance with another formulation, beings dwelling in the Light-world, although fledglings of one nest (*viśo . . . sanīḷaḥ*, *ṚV*, I.69.3) and due to be reunited there at last (*yatra viśvaṁ bhavaty ekanīḷam*, *VS*, XXXII, 8), are individually nested in the branches of the Tree of Life, cf. *PB*, XI.15.1, 'Nest (*kulāya*) is offspring, nest is cattle, nest is dwelling', and *ṚV*, III.54.5-6, *avamā sadāṅsi . . . sadanaṁ yathā veḥ*.

[14] 'Life', rather than 'immortality', cf. Hopkins in *J.A.O.S.*, XXVI, p. 37, 'long life without decrepitude prior to expected death'. The best rendering of *amṛta*, as attributed to *devas*, would be 'aeviternity', which is 'a mean between eternity and time', see St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 10, A. 5; angels are measured by time as regards their affections and intelligences, which are changeable; by aeviternity as regards their nature; and as regards the vision of glory possess a share of eternity.

[15] *Na avaprabhraṁśana*, where *avaprabhraṁśana* = *avasarpaṇa* in *ŚB*, I.8.1.7. Regarding the prefix *ava*, literally 'down' though rendered above by 'back again', observe that the coming forth hitherward is always expressed in terms of upward movement (verbal forms with prefix *ut* or *upa*), or what amounts to the same thing, forward (*arvāñc*) or eastward (*pūrvam*) movement. Coming into existence is an ascent, emergence, rising up (*ārohaṇa*, as opposed to *pratyañc* in *ṚV*, passim, *AV*, V.30.7; *JUB*, I.36) from potentiality to act. A backsliding (*avasarpaṇa*) into a state of non-being, the 'pit' out of which we were digged, is from the incarnate standpoint *summum malum*; nevertheless a return from existence to non-being when effected positively by way of integration (*saṁskaraṇa*) is from the intellectual or spiritual point of view the *summum bonum*. That backsliding and integration can both be spoken of as movements of *de*scent or *im*mersion must be understood in this sense, that whereas potentiality assumes the aspect of an evil when *contrasted* with act, all is 'good' in the Supreme Identity where there is no distinction of potentiality from act. In other words, we come forth as those who cannot swim (*asnātṛ*) and return as accomplished swimmers (*snātṛ*) at home in any waters. These conceptions underlie the Christian and other symbolisms of the Redeemer as Fish, and of the redeemed as little fishes, cf. Tertullian, *De Bapt.*, I, 'But we, little fishes (*pisciculi*) after the example of our ICQUS, Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor have we safety in any other way than by permanently abiding in the water'; baptism (and all the more when there is total immersion) prefiguring salvation; for those whom the inundation of the world at the close of an aeon (at the 'Judgment

Now, so far as I know, it has never been propounded by any scholar, however historically minded, that the voyage of Manu, or for that matter, Noah's, represents the legendary memory of an historical migration.[17] *A fortiori*, in the case of the first of all voyages, it is a grave defect in understanding, to find in the Ship of Life no more than the reminiscence of some prehistoric Mayflower. What then becomes of the captain, and the passengers, the passage and the landfall? Could any but the most naively profane (*pratyakṣa-priyā*) minds have seen here no more than the record of an ethnic Volkerwanderung, or map of a terrestrial geography?

PAÑCA JANĀḤ, CARṢAṆAYAḤ, OR KṚṢṬAYAḤ

Indian sources are not absolutely unanimous as to the precise constitution of the Five Kindreds. It will suffice to cite the lists as given in *AB*, III.31, where we find *devāḥ, mānuṣyāḥ, gandharvāpsarasaḥ, sarpāḥ, pitaraḥ* (the Vaiśvadeva litany is proper to these Five), and *Bṛhad Devatā*, VII.68, where we have *mānuṣyāḥ, pitaraḥ, devāḥ, gandharvāḥ, uraga-rākṣasaḥ*, or alternatively, *gandharvāḥ, pitaraḥ, devāḥ, asurāḥ, yakṣa-rākṣasaḥ*.[18] Without discussing the

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Day') will not be liable to hurt are precisely those who are good swimmers. And in the same way Rūmī, 'I am a great fish, and desire the Ocean of Omān' (XVI, in Nicholson, *Shams-i-Tabrīz*).

[16] 'Days' here somewhat as in Genesis, and possibly already in the sense of *aeons*. The notion of temporal hierarchies was no less familiar to the ancients than was that of special hierarchy, cf. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, pp. 295f. At the same time and inasmuch as all extension whether in time or space is in principle one and the same thing, the daily ebb and flow of oceanic tides, exposing and again submerging a strand (*dhanva*) is a reflection, analogy, or trace (*vestigium pedis* in the Scholastic sense, Skr. *pada*, see my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Note 146) of the subsidence and welling up of the fountains of the earth at the beginning and end of every cosmic 'Day'.

[17] A stranding on the summit of Himālaya would ill accord with any theory of a migration across the Indus. A landing on the summit of Mt. Ararat can hardly have been an historical event.

[18] Cf. the similar list of those who are carried by the cosmic stallion (whose kin and place are the primordial ocean), *BU*, I.1.2; viz., *devāḥ, gandharvāḥ, asurāḥ*, which with addition of *pitaraḥ* would complete a tale of Five Kindreds. Incidentally, there can be

definition of these classes in detail, it may be remarked that even in these lists *mānuṣya* by means necessarily means 'human' in a merely terrestrial sense, for many of the Angels, and particularly Agni and Indra, are often spoken of as manlike, that is to say as manifested and operating in the humane mode; Indra, for example, is *nṛtama*, *ṚV*, IV.6.4, and 'the Spiritus (*prāṇa*) shines upon this world in the shape of a Person' (*puruṣa-rūpeṇa*, *AA*, II.2.1).[19] In any case the *Ṛgveda* provides us with texts amply sufficient to prove that the Five Kindreds which participate in the First Sacrifice are classes or categories of divine beings or principles, ancestors indeed of humanity, but not yet merely human in a biological sense. In *ṚV*, X.53, the Five Kindreds, *pañca janāḥ*, 'who eat the Bread of Life' are summoned to cross Aśmanvatī, are also spoken of as a *daivya jana*, 'Heavenly Kin', and as *yajñiyāsaḥ* 'proper to be sacrificially worshipped', expressions that cannot have applied to living members of the genus Homo sapiens. In *AV*, X.7.21, the Kindreds (*janāḥ*, sc. *pañca janāḥ*) having a superior understanding are contrasted with 'those below' (*avare*) whose understanding is profane.[20] The Five Kindreds are furthermore synonymous with the ere-dwellers (*viśa*) and their rulers (*viśpati*); for 'The dear Five have in the dear Light ere-begotten made-their-home' (*sam aviśanta*, *ṚV*, X.55.2), and that is in Heaven (*divīva pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ*, X.60.4). All alike are prospered by the Sarasvatī (*ṚV*, VI.61.12).

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recognized here the prototype of Avalokitēśvara as a saviour from shipwreck and patron of mariners, as for example in the *Valāhassa Jātaka*, cf. Goloubew, 'Le Cheval Balāha', *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1927, pp. 235f.

[19] Keith has observed that *AA*, II.2, 'shows that the names of the seers of the *Ṛgveda* can be deduced from *prāṇa*'s actions'; in other words, the seers are not 'individuals' (but seven rays of Agni's Light, cf. *ṚV*, II.5.2, and X.62.5-6).

Indra's associates in the First Foray are constantly referred to as 'men' (e.g. *ṚV*, IV.1.15, *naraḥ . . . uśijaḥ*). The 'human' (*manuṣvat*) Agni as eighth Āditya 'impels the whole angelic-operation' (*daivyam . . . viśvam tadinvati*, *ṚV*, II.5.2). Agni has 'man's intellect' (*nṛmaṇāḥ*, *ṚV*, X.45.1-2, that is effectively, 'human nature'), cf. Eckhart, I.236, citing 'philosophers' to the effect that 'human nature has nothing to do with time', and St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 3, A. 3, 'This flesh, these bones, and the accidental qualities distinguishing this particular matter, are not included in humanity . . . humanity and a man are not wholly identical; but humanity is taken to mean the formal part of man.' This *forma humanitatis nunquam perit* (Thierry of Chartres). Vedic *narya* is tantamount to *daivya* as distinct from *asurya*. The *devas* are man-kin by what is common to angels and men, viz., intellect (*manas*), but are not therefore 'men'. Whereas of the *asuras* (who are *devas* in *potentia*) we may say that their nature is informal, unkind (un-kin), and uncouth or uncanny, using the latter words in their basic sense of 'racially alien' and 'unknowable' (that which is informal being *ipso facto* unknowable). In any case the Vedic usage of man and manly, or human, in no way proves that the references are anywhere to Homo sapiens of the taxonomist.

[20] The terms of the contrast suggest that the Kindreds are in possession of a wisdom handed down by initiatory transmission (*guru-paramparā*), which would be characteristic for 'Āryans'.

SARASVATĪ

In the *Ṛgveda,* the act of creation is referred to under no aspect more fundamental than that of the release of the Waters (*āpaḥ*) that have been confined within the hollow-depths (*kha*) of the rock or Mountain (*aśma, adri, budhna, himavat*) where Vṛtra holds them back. When the Waters are figuratively spoken of as Cows,[21] then the Mountain is the stony fold in which they are imprisoned. The release of the Waters or the Cows is also the Finding of the Hidden Light.[22] The Rock is likewise the birthplace of Agni (*ṚV,* II.12.3), and thence he gets his chthonic (*budhnya*) steeds and other treasures (*ṚV,* VII.6.7, and X.8.3). The Tree of Life is rooted in the same Ground (*budhna, ṚV,* I.24.7).[23] The inexhaustible Well (*utsa akṣita, ṚV,* VIII.17.16, elsewhere simply *utsa,* and sometimes *avata*) whence pours forth the River of Life, Sarasvatī, with her seven sister streams, is also the seat of Varuṇa, whose abode is 'in the rivers' welling forth' (*sindhūnām upódaye, ṚV,* VIII.41.2; there too is Agni's track (*utsasya madhye ... padaṁ veḥ,* X.5.1, cf. 'the hidden treasure, as it were the Bird's germ in the Everlasting Rock', *aśmany anante,* I.130.3). If need were to justify the designation of Sarasvatī, or sometimes Aśmanvatī (obviously an essential name of the stream that flows from the Rock, *aśmano hy āpaḥ prabhavanti, ŚB,* IX.1.2.4 = *śṛṇvantu āpaḥ . . . adreḥ, ṚV,* V.41.12), as the River of Life (or in the plural when the seven sister rivers are mentioned), there can be referred to such expressions as 'the Waters drenched (*sarayanta*) the waste-lands' (*dhanvāni*), *ṚV,* IV.17.2—the Grail motif—and more specifically 'In thee, Sarasvatī, angelic, inheres every angelic life, grant unto us progeny' (*tve viśvā sarasvati śritā āyūṁṣi devyām . . . prajāṁ devi dididdhi naḥ, RV,* II.41.17); again, the quality of maternity is constantly attributed to all or any of the 'Rivers'.[24]

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[21] The ownership of cows is the effective possession or realization of the possibilities of one's being, and it is from this point of view that the 'eager men' who under Indra's leadership break through the stony barriers of the imprisoned kine are spoken of as 'cattle-minded', or 'cattle-bent' (*gavyanta,* IV.17.16, *gavyaṅ grāmaḥ,* III.33.11, *gavyatāṅ manasā,* IV.1.15, cf. s.v. *Yajña,* the hundred that become a thousand when the whole course of the sacrifice has been fulfilled).

[22] References for the statements summarized above are too numerous to be cited here in full. The following are typical: *ṚV,* I.56.5, *yan mada indra harṣyāhan vṛtraṁ nir apām aubjo arṇavam;* I.62.3, Bṛhaspati *bhinad adriṁ vidad gāḥ;* I.130.3, *nihitaṁ guhā nidhiṁ verna garbham . . . aśmany anante* ; II.12.3, Indra *aśmanorantar agniṃ jajāna;* II.15.3, Indra *vajreṇa khāni atṛṇan nadīnām;* IV.3.11, *ṛtena adriṁ vyasan bhidanta . . . aṅgirasaḥ;* V.41.12, *śṛṇvantv āpaḥ . . . adreḥ;* X.89.4, *apaḥ . . . sagarasya budhnāt;* X.113.4, Indra *avṛścad adrimava sasyadaḥ sṛjat.*

[23] Inasmuch as the Tree of life is rooted in and the River or Rivers of Life originate in one and the same Ground or Mountain (cf. Soma as *girija*), it follows that, as in other traditions, the source of the Rivers of Life is at the roots of the Tree of Life.

[24] With Sarasvatī as a name of other-worldly significance, cf. the 'dogmatic' Boyne in Irish mythology, which takes its name from Böann, wife of Nechtan (whom Rhys identifies with Neptune, and hence cognate with Varuṇa); this Boyne rises from 'the

The Waters, thought of as enclosed and hidden, that is as they are in themselves and motionless, represent (as in all other traditions, e.g. Genesis) the infinite sum of all the possibilities of manifestation or non-manifestation. 'This is the paradox, that when the Rivers flow (*caranti . . . nadyaḥ*), then are the Waters at a stand' (*tasthur āpaḥ, ṚV,* V.47.5). The enigma is resolved when we take into account the meanings of root *sthā,* to be born, individualised, concrete, existent, or extant (ex-*stans*)[25]; principial motion *there,* is birth, concrete existence, *here.*

It will be familiar that in the *Ṛgveda* the universe (*viśvam, bhuvanāni,* etc.) is thought of as expanded (root *pinv,* e.g. in X.72.7) from a middle point or centre, coincident with the centre of the world-wheel and the single source of Light, but thought of in our texts as a Ground, Rock, or Mountain (the Christian 'Rock of Ages') in the midst of the primordial Ocean, and which would be an island could we think of such an all-pervading Sea as having a plane surface; it is here that all the potentiality of the In-finite (*aditi*) is as it were focused, to flow in act for ever outward. This is the 'birthplace of Order' (*ṛtasya yoni*) and the common Nest (*eka nīḍa*) wherein all the Angels and all creatures have been fledged.

So far as the River of Life flows eddying outwards thence,[26] so far are the possibilities of being realized within with the cosmic orb, so far is the verdure of the 'waste-land' (*dhanva*) renewed, which 'waste-land' or 'desert' represents the latency of worlds not yet in being. 'Where the Sarasvatī is lost' (*sarasvatyā vinaśane, PB,* XXV.10.16) will be the outermost limit of the universe, the felly

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well of the green of the fortress' (evidently a name of the Fountain of Life); it is 'personified' as a queen, 'slowly she moves, and yet her speed exceeds the pace of the swiftest steed', for 'indeed, its waters traverse the whole world in seven years, which is more than the swiftest steed can do' (see Henderson, *Celtic Dragon Myth,* 1911, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi, and Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances,* 2nd edn., p. 187).

[25] For these meanings see my *New Approach to the Vedas,* Note 117 and cf. *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* Ch. VI, text p. 228, 'Appearance (*nimittam*) is characterized by local-position *saṃsthāna*)', etc.

Cf. St. Thomas, in *Opusculum de Pulchro et Bono,* citing Richard of S. Victor, *dicitur enim existens quasi ex alio sistens.*

For the expressions *caranti . . . nadyaḥ* and 'Rivers of Life', cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I, Q. 18, A. 1, 'Waters are called living that have a continuous current', and *Zohar* (Aḥare Moth) on Genesis II.10, 'that river . . . is called Life, because life issues thence to the world'.

[26] 'Eddying', inasmuch as the River of Life is ever at once outpouring and inflowing, never flowing straight away, as explained in *JUB,* I.2. Cf. Jeremias, *Der Antichrist in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 1930, p. 4, 'Der Abendländer denkt linienhaft in die Ferne, darum mechanisch, areligiös, faustisch (this may be seen in the concept of an absolute evolution or progress). . . . Das Morgenland und die Bibel denken nicht linienhaft sondern zeitraumlich, spiralisch, kreislaufig. Das Weltgeschehen geht in Spiralen, die sich bis in die Vollendung fortsetzen.' Inasmuch as the tide of life thus at the same time flows and ebbs, the Rivers of Life are sometimes spoken of as two, e.g. Vipās and Śutudrī in *ṚV,* III.33, cf. X.30.10, *āvarvṛtatīḥ . . . dvidhārā,* 'two eddying floods'.

of the world-wheel. There on the banks of the River of Life, or as it were on Island-continents (*dvīpa*) representing 'places where' the possibilities of being are severally realizable in indefinitely various modes, the Kindreds are 'settled down' (*avasita*).

The occupation of the Light-world by the Kindreds thus implies a crossing over (root *tṛ*) of the River or Sea of Life by the cattle-loving people to a landfall 'here'.[27] References to the First Crossing of the River of Life are plenty in the *Ṛgveda*. For example, 'Here flows Aśmanvatī, hold fast together, stand up (*ut tiṣṭhata*, 'proceed', that is, 'from potentiality to act'), my friends, and cross (*tarata*); let us abandon there the unkindly powers, let us cross over (*ut tarema*, 'disembark') to them that are propitious', *ṚV*, X.53.8, where the crossing is of the Eight Ādityas and the Five Kindreds, cf. III.33, where those that cross the 'most maternal river' (*sindhu, vipāś*) are the cattle-loving Bharatas. In both cases the First Crossing is accomplished in the heavenly chariot (the Biblical 'chariot of fire'), and in the latter the River, obedient to Viśvāmitra's incantation, so bends herself and sinks that the current flows no deeper than the axle-tree, 'Your waves may touch the yoke-pins (*śamyā*), but spare the traces' (III.33.13).[28] On making land, the pioneers take possession by the

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[27] In metaphysical formulation, a 'crossing of water' always implies a change of state and status, for example in the case of voyages to 'other worlds' (notably the Voyage of Bran, also in the Indian story of Maḥbūb, see my 'Khwājā Khadir . . . ' *Ars Islamica*, 1, pp. 174-5, 1934), in the case of Charon and the Styx, and in the notions of 'crossing over Jordan', and 'one more river to cross'. The first Crossing is a going forth towards a home 'here'; the crossing back again, as of the River Vijarā ('ageless'), *Kauṣītaki Up.*, I.3, again effected by the intellect alone, and where now the traveller leaves behind him all the burden of his good or evil deeds (and all his memories), is the prodigal's return to the Father's home 'there'.

The formal aspects of the tradition as to 'crossing water' 'have been admirably dealt with by Brown, *The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water*, Chicago, 1928. *JB*, II.439, where the Rasā makes herself fordable for Indra's envoy, Saramā, may be added to the references discussed.

[28] This implies that the floor (*budhna*, 'ground', *ṚV*, X.135.6) is unwetted; that is, even whilst *en route*, the voyagers are safely supported by a platform resting, like every other 'earth', or the lotus-leaf that symbolizes 'earth', on the surface of the Sea. Cf. *prēṅkha* in *ṚV*, VII.83.3, and *naunagara* ('ark') in *JB*, I.125.

In *ṚV*, VII.18, the River crossed is the in-finite (*aditi*) Paruṣṇī ('turbulent'), or Yamunā (Griffiths remarks naively 'it is not easy to see how the expedition reached so far'). Here again the waters grant an easy passage (*supārā*) to the Aryan party under Indra's guidance. The parallel with Exodus is here especially close, inasmuch as the opposing party is overwhelmed by the returning flood, after the passage of the Aryans.

That Exodus is a creation myth, rather than an historical event, is of course the Qabbalistic point of view. Note that Pharoah is described as 'the great dragon (*tanim*, Babylonian *tiamat*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which has said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself' (Ezekiel, XXIX.3); 'spoiling the Egyptians' corresponds to the Devas taking possession of the kine and other treasures of the Asuras, e.g. *ṚV*, II.24.6; and Moses to Indra, not only as leader of the chosen people, erection of a fire-altar, and from the ploughing that is requisite for this and for their own subsistence are called 'ploughmen' or 'farmers';[29] 'he ferried o'er the folk that might not swim (*asnātṛn apārayat*), and they having come ashore (*utsnāya*) attained to riches (*rayim* = Lat. *rem*), *ṚV*, II.15.5, cf. VII. 60.7.

SETU

The means of passage that links the Light- and Dark-worlds may also be conceived, not as a ship or chariot, but as a bridge or dyke (*setu*), which may be either easy (*suvita*) or hard to cross (*durāvya*, *ṚV*, IX.41.2, the latter designation being the equivalent of 'Brig o'Dread' in Scottish border ballads and Arthurian tradition): the bridge is originally crossed by the 'Wise King', and is 'his own' (*rājā . . . apaś ca vipras tarati svasetuḥ*, *ṚV*, X.61.16), being thus evidently a bridge of light, the pathway of the Sun. It is the Essence in its discriminative mode that separates the worlds (*BU*, IV.4.22 and *CU*, VIII. 4.2).[30] From the *jñāna kāṇḍa* point of view the bridge is a way *on*, or what is the

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but in that he smites the Rock and finds Water for them in the wilderness.

According to the *Zohar* (Shelaḥ Lecha and Vaethhanan) 'Moses was the Sun . . . Moses indeed made a new beginning in the world . . . there was that in Moses which was not in any other man, since his perfection radiated to many thousands and myriads.'

[29] See the sections on *Carṣaṇi* and *Vāpa-maṅgala*.

[30] As it may not be perfectly clear in what sense Essence (*ātman*) can be said to *separate* the worlds, it should be observed that *BU*, IV.4.22, is careful to specify the aspect of the Essence which so functions as *vijñāna-maya*, 'in the mode of discrimination', that is to say as the *mano-maya ātman*, or as the Com. glosses it, *jīvātman*. It is clear that the *ānanda-maya ātman*, or *paramātman*, could only be thought of as uniting the worlds.

The 'Bridge' is often referred to simply as the 'Path' (*panthāḥ*) e.g. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.4.8, 'The strait ancient path outstretched . . . whereby the liberated Comprehensors of the Spiritual-power pass upward unto Paradise', and *Kaṭha Up.*, III.14, 'The sharpened edge of a razor, hard to be traversed, that the Seers call a difficult path', the latter passage corresponding also to ibid., III.2, 'That bridge (*setuḥ*) for sacrificers, the imperishable and ultimate Spiritual-power, the Path (*pāram*) of them that would cross over to the place of No-fear, Nāciketas! it is that that we would master.'

In *ṚV*, X.67.4, where Bṛhaspati is said to drive forth 'the hidden kine standing on the bridge of chaos' (*anṛtasya setau*), the bridge is evidently so called with respect to its 'dark end', whence the procession of light is initiated; *anṛta* characterizing the unordered, indiscriminate, potential, and dark world of the Asuras, *ṛta* the ordered and actual light world of the Devas. It is with respect to its 'light end', and as being the pathway of angelic procession (*devayāna*) that the bridge is *amṛtasya*, 'the bridge of aeviternity', as in *MU*, II.2.5. It will be understood, of course, that here as always, the ultimate station of the Comprehensor (*vidvān*) is 'in the middle place' (*madhye sthāne*, *CU*, III.11.1), the 'bridge', which is also the 'axis of the universe', and 'holds the worlds, apart 'having no longer any meaning or extension for him in whom the light and dark worlds are no longer divided.

same thing of *return* (in the positive sense), for example in *KU*, III.2, rather than of first coming forth; and this means that to walk upon it is the same thing as to continue in the ship of life on the angelic voyage (*devayāna*); hence it is called the 'bridge of aeviternity' (*amṛtasya . . . setuḥ*, *MU*, II.2.5), and it is said that neither day nor night, death nor sorrow, virtue nor vice can pass it, but only such as have the habit of the spiritual power (*brahmacarya*) can pass to and fro at will (*sarveṣu lokeṣu kāmācāro bhavati*, *CU*, VIII.4.3). This bridge is then the Wayfarer's pathway onwards to the Sun and through the Sun to the worlds of Varuṇa, the Fisher King; it corresponds to the vertical of the Cross, the Gnostic *sthauros*, the trunk of the Tree of Life (cf. Jack and the Beanstalk), to the Ray that in early Christian nativities links the Bombino with the Supernal-Sun, or in *Mai U*, VI.30, that one of the Sun's rays that rises aloft, piercing his disk, and extending to the Brahma-world.

It is just in this connection that we find in Grail tradition, viz., in Chretien's *Perceval* (section by Gautier) that the pathway by which Gawain reaches the Grail castle is a wave-washed causeway, which he crosses by night, guided rather by his horse than finding his own way; all of which is appropriate to his character of solar hero, the steed for example having been that of a slain knight who had been engaged upon the same quest, and properly the vehicle of the Sun, by which he proceeds. In Irish tradition it is the 'Bridge of the Cliff' by which Cuchullain passes over from the bright world to the misty *dūn* of Scathach, from whom he learns wisdom and upon whose daughter he begets a son (whom he afterwards meets on earth and slays unawares in single combat, as did Sohrāb Rustum); along a part of the way to the bridge Cuchullain is borne on lion-back, and for another part is guided by a wheel; at last the 'scholars of Scathach' point out the bridge, which is described as rising up and throwing back all who try to cross it; Cuchullain himself only succeeds at a fourth attempt (in connection with a solar hero this must mean at night), when he is 'transfigured' and performs his 'salmon-leap'—all details that can be readily understood, if we recall, for example, that the leap of a salmon is characteristically upstream, and especially against a fall of water, and is a return to its place of origin, and compare all this with the imagery of 'inverse thinking' (*pratyak-cetanā*) as a going 'up-stream' (*pratikūla*, *pratīpa*), cf. *Yoga Sūtra*, 1.29.[31]

Crossing, from the Wayfarer's point of view, is the passage from non-being to full being, hell to heaven, darkness to light, danger to safety; but becuase the place of safety considered only as the heaven of the manifested light is not the Comprehensor's final goal. Naciketas, in *KU*, II.11, is said to have 'wholly renounced' that heavenly goal to which the bridge extends; for his goal is the Supreme Identity, *tad ekam* in *ṚV*, X.129.2, wherein, as being without otherness, there is no distinction of darkness from light, death from aeviternal life, and therefore no yawning gap to be bridged over by a passage way.

[31] Inasmuch as the 'Bridge' appears in tradition oftener as the means of crossing back to the other world than as the means of coming forth, we have not thought it needful to give further references in the text. But another mention of the causeway

VĀPA-MAṄGALA

A ploughing festival, or more strictly speaking 'Feast of Seed-time', in which the king or headman plays the chief part, has been observed in India, and indeed throughout the world, as an indispensable agricultural ritual from time immemorial.[32] For example, in *J.*, I.57, 'The king observed the Feast of Seedtime. On that day they adorn the town like the abode of the angels. . . . At such time the king takes hold of a golden plough (*naṅgala*, cf. *lāṅgala*), the attendant ministers a hundred and seven silver ploughs, the farmers (*kassaka*) the other ploughs. Holding them, they plough this way and that way. The king goes from one side to the other and back again.' It is on this occasion that the miracle takes place of the staying of the sun above the Jambu tree under which the Bodhisattva has been laid by his father. This represents a 'solstice', or more strictly speaking the turning point of the Spring equinox, the beginning of the Year, and at the same time the relation of the Comprehensor to the Supernal-Sun, as in *CU*, III.10.4, where for one who has attained the state of Sādhya (= Muni), of Brahmā, the Sun 'rises in the zenith and sets in the nadir'—and thus, as in the case of the miracle of the Jambu tree, casts no moving shadow.[33] Again in *SN*, text I.172, the farmer (*kasi*, 'ploughman')

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linking *deva* and *asura* worlds should be noted in 'Rāma's bridge', and though our conclusion is differently reached, we certainly agree with Charpentier (Bull. Sch. Or. Studies, VII. 682) that 'There is not the slightest reason for suggesting that it (the *Rāmāyaṇa*) contains the story of the spread of Aryanism towards the South', and that 'the apes are certainly not Dravidians'. If Laṅkā is in the 'South', it is as Nadir with respect to Zenith.

For the Cinvad Bridge, see *SBE*, IV.212, Note 3; and for other material, Scherman, *Materialen zur Geschichte der indischen Visions-literatur*, 1892, p. 105, and Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, 1898, pp. 72-6, 291.

[32] E.G. for China, see *Lī Chī*, IV.1.1.13f., XXI.2.5-7, and XXI.4-5 (*SBE*, vols. XXVII, XXVIII), and also Granet, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine ancienne*, pp. 328-32. In the Chinese rite it is significant (1) that the ploughing is undertaken specific-ally to provide the food required for offering in sacrifice, cf. VII.2.2.7, cited below, (2) that there is a cooperation of male and female principles, the Empress and her ladies making the silk robes to be worn at the sacrifice, (3) that the opening of the gound, like the taking of virginity, is thought of as dangerous, and that it is the Emperor *qua* priest who takes this task upon himself, and (4) that a corresponding ritual with reversed significance was observed at the Autumn equinox.

[33] The Jambu tree prefigures and is virtually the Bodhi-tree; it is singificant in this connection that here too there is an 'awakening'—the Bodhisattva has been laid down by his father upon a bed (*śayana*) surrounded by an enclosing curtain, i.e. he is not 'manifested', but he 'rises up' (*uṭṭhāya*, i.e. proceeding from potentiality to act) to take his seat in *jhāna*. Such a rising up takes place at least four times in the course of the Bodhisattva's life, viz., at birth (*ṭithako . . . paṭhaviyaṁ patiṭṭhaya*, *J.*, 1.53), then on the present occasion of the first *jhāna*, then at the going-forth (*abhinikkhamaṇa*, ibid., I.61, *śayana vuṭṭhaya*), finally when from rest in the *sāla*-grove he proceeds (ibid., I.70, *payasi* = *prayāti*) along a broadway to the Bodhi-tree. The use of root *sthā*, especially in

Bhāradvāja (= the Vedic *ṛṣi* of that name) observes the Feast of Seedtime, and it is upon this occasion that the Buddha also names himself as 'Ploughman' (*kassaka* = *karṣaka*).[34]

For the significance of the ploughing preparatory to the building of the fire-altar and the performance of the horse-sacrifice, cf. *ṚV*, X.101.3-6 and IV.57.8 which may be conveniently cited as arranged with additions in *TS*, IV.2.5 (Keith's version in *H.O.S.*, 19, p. 315), 'The sages yoke the ploughs; . . . here sow in the womb made ready the seed. . . . The plough, propitious . . . plougheth up a cow, a sheep, and a fat blooming maid, a chariot support with a platform. With prosperity may our ploughs plough the ground. . . . The furrow annointed with ghee . . . do thou, O furrow, turn toward us with milk.' The rite is more fully described in *ŚB*, VII.2.2.5, 'it is for the seed that the womb (*yoni*) the furrow (*sītā*) is made', and 7, where it is made very clear that the ploughing, like the whole *yajña* which occupies the 'year', is in imitation of what was done 'in the beginning': 'Ploughing means food (*annaṁ vai kṛṣir-etad-vā*). It was when the Angels set-about-to-reintegrate (*saṁkariṣṭa*) Agni-Prajāpati', i.e. when he had been disintegrated by his act of generation (*sa prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā . . . vyasraṁsata . . . vīryam udakrāmat . . . apadyata*), 'that they first put food into him (*purastād annam adadhuḥ*, where *purastād* is *agre*, in *principio*) and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now when he sets about to accomplish his (Prajāpati's reintegration, first put food into him.'[35] Sixteen furrows are ploughed, defining the special directions; the ploughing is sunwise, avoiding a movement towards the south.

As regards the furrow, *sītā*, it will be recalled that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,

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connection with *śayana*, is technical, cf. Sāyaṇa on *ṚV*, V.19.1, *sthitaṁ padārtha jātam*, and *BU*, II.3.1, where what is *sthita* is also *mūrta*, and in *ṚV*, I.36.13, *ūrddhva tiṣṭha*, I.84.3, *ā tiṣṭha*, III.38.4, *atiṣṭhat*, X.53.8, *uttiṣṭhata*, etc.

[34] The language of the verses in this Sutta is strongly reminiscent of Vedic texts; cf. e.g. *pamocanam* as 'unyoking' with *ṚV*, V.46.1, *vimucam*, III.53.20, *ā vimocanāt*; *mano yottam*, 'intellect the yoke', with I.51.10, *manoyujaḥ*, II.40.3, *manasā yujyamānam*, V.81.1, *yuñjate mana*, and VII.69.2, *manasā yuktaḥ*; and note that the reward is 'aeviternity' (*amata-phala* = *amṛta-phala*).

[35] *ŚB*, VII.1.2.1, and 2.2.7; cf. *PB*, 4.10.1, where the sacrifice is called a *mahā vrata*, and the food consists of what ripens in a year (*saṁvatsaram annaṁ pacyate*), this restores (*adhinot*) him.

'Food' is the *sine qua non* of existence (root *sthā*, Lat. *existare*, as distinguished from *esse*); *annam ad*, 'to eat food', the Biblical 'to find pasture' is technically 'to exist', 'live'. Agni-Prajāpati, the principle and exemplar of all life, must be 'fed' in order that the human sacrificer may likewise eat and live. It is from the same point of view that the Bodhisattva, before the Great Awakening, abandons his fast and takes food, for otherwise there could have been no public manifestation of his person; it will be understood of course that all the life as Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, antecedent to the Great Awakening, belongs to the operation *ab intra*, while the subsequent life as Buddha, 'Awakened', and until the Parinirvāṇa, to the operation *ab extra*. The Son of Man comes 'eating and drinking'; Agni is the 'most greedy of eaters'. Cf. *BU*, I.2.5. 'He (Death) began to eat'.

Ch. LXVI, Janaka's daughter is not in the usual way begotten: 'As I was ploughing the mead, there arose a maid; and since I got her when hallowing the field, she has come to be known as the Furrow (*sītā*).' In this case the act of ploughing has itself a directly sexual significance, and in fact, the use of *kṛṣṭi*, lit. 'that which is ploughed up' to mean 'man', parallels the motion of the sexual act as a ploughing, implied in the notion of woman as a 'field'.[36] Compare also *AV*, XI.5.12, 'Roaring on, thundering, the ruddy-white goer (presumably Agni-Rudra) has introduced into the earth a great virile member; the Vedic student pours seed upon the surface, on the earth; thereby the four quarters live', and also the setting up of the Hāṭakeśvara *liṅgam* in the bowels of the earth as related in the various versions of the Devadāruvana legend.[37]

VIŚA, VIŚPATI

Texts have already been cited in which the first settler or ere-dwellers, and their leaders and rulers are referred to as *viśa* and *viśpati*; the most important of these, *ṚV*, X.55.2, having to do with the collective occupation (*sam-avasāna*) of the Light-world by the Five Kindreds. Such an occupation implies a procedure from darkness to light, interior to exterior operation, potentiality to act, *asuratva* (or *sarpatva*) to *devatva*. The ere-dwellers are immigrants, that have come forth in search of a home to dwell in, *īryur āviśam*, *ṚV*, II.24.6, cf. *AV*, VII.41 (42).1, where the Falcon (Agni[38]) 'man-regarding' (i.e. for the sake of the Kindreds) 'cleaves his way o'er waste and water, crossing all the nether spaces, looking for a home' (*avasāna-darśaḥ*). Agni is not only the forerunner (*pūrvam ārta*, *ṚV*, IV.1.12, and 'path-finder', *passim*) in this expedition, but a chieftain (*viśpati*, *ṚV*, X.4.4 and X.92.1); or it may be Yama (who is in fact a particular aspect of Agni, cf. *ṚV*, I.164.46) who finds a home for and unites the Kindreds, in the first place here in the worlds (*ṚV*, X.14. 2, *yamo no gātuṁ prathamo viveda, na eṣā gavyūtir apabhartavā u*, and 9, *ahobhir adbhir aktubhir vyaktaṁ yamo dadhāty avasānam asmai*, or again X.18.13, *yamaḥ sādanā te minotu*), and secondly there beyond.[39] So too in *ŚB*, VII.1.1.1 and 4, where it is clear that those are first settlers or ere-dwellers (*viśa*) who build a fire-altar on any land, the performance of this rite constituting the legal act of land-taking,[40] Yama is the ruler: 'One settles (*avasyati*) when he builds the *gārhapatya*, and whoever are builders of fire-altars are 'settled' (*avasitāḥ*).... The Patriarchs (*pitaraḥ*) have made this world for him (*akrann imaṃ pitaro lokam asmā*)[41]; Yama is the temporal power (*kṣatra*), and the Patriarchs the settlers (*viśāḥ*).'

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[36] Cf. Bagchi, P.C., *Pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian in Indian*, 1929, pp. 10-15 (associates *liṅga* and *laṅgala* as having both the primitive meaning 'virile member'); Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 99, citing Ebbeling, *Keilinschrifte aus Assur*, p. 319, 'O my lord, the ploughshare hast thou caused to impregnate the earth'; Jeremias, *Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, p. 59 ('In the Babylonian age . . . the planet Jupiter is designated 'Bull of the Sun', and his place in the heavens 'furrow of Heaven' . . . a plough is the attribute of Osiris . . . Nebuchadnezzar calls himself the husbandman (*ikkaru*) of Babylon'); and Sophocles, *Antigone*, 569.

Still more striking is the Sumerian text, 'The astral Ploughman has yoked in the Plain (of Heaven) the seed-sowing Plough', cited by Frankfort in 'Gods and myths in Sargonid seals', *Iraq*, 1, 1934, p. 19, in connection with his Plate III, Fig. h. This seal affords good support to the proposition that Vedic texts could be admirably illustrated not only from the later traditional art of India, such as has been made use of in our illustrations, but also from Sumerian and Babylonian seals; cf. in the same Journal, Plate I, Fig. a, what may be said to represent at one and the same time the slaying of Tiamat, Herakles slaying the Hydra, and Indra slaying Vṛtra.

[37] See my *Yakṣas*, II, pp. 43-5, and references, ibid., p. 43, Note 2.

[38] See Bloomfield in *J.A.O.S.*, XVI, pp. 12-13.

As regards the setting up of the *gārhapatya*, it may be noted that the actual site is determined by casting eastward or forward (and subject to this condition, evidently at random) a yoke—or yoke-pin (*śamyā*), as prescribed in *PB*, XXV.10.4 and 13.2. There is an allusion to this practice in *SN*, text I, p. 76, where we find the expression *sammāpāsam*, 'peg-thrown site'.

YAJÑA

It is that there may be Light that the First Sacrifice is undertaken by the desirous Angels and Five Kindreds: 'when the Five sacrificed to Agni' (*VS*. XII. 23) that was as if to say 'Come forth, for Man (*manu*) is angel-minded, fain to sacrifice', etc. (*ṚV*, X.5.1). It was in fact 'by means of this Session (*sattra*) that Agni came into the state of setting all things in motion' (*sarvasya prāsravaṇam agacchat*), or alternatively, thereby that Prajāpati[42] 'stupified by age (*jīryyā mūra*), threw off his decrepitude (*jarām apāhata*) and came into the state of setting all things in motion', and so too 'by means of this Session that Mitrāvaruṇau obtained these worlds' (*PB*, XXV.9.2; 10.10; 17.2-3). We must assume also that the 'Serpent-Session' (*sarpa-sattra*) formed an essential, and indeed a first stage in the performance of the whole rite, for it was 'thereby that the Serpents gained a firm support in these worlds (*eṣu lokeṣu pratyatiṣṭhan*), thereby that they vanquished Death (the state of mere potentiality, *ante principium*), changing their skins and creeping farther' (*hitvā jīrṇān tvacam ati sarpante*), to be manifested in full act as the Ādityas, for the Ādityas are (a transformation of) the Serpents' (*PB*, XXV.15.2; 4).[43] The First Sacrifice has been referred to above in the singular, it will however be understood that this is in a collective sense, the sacrifice actually consisting of many parts and distinct celebrations. In any case, it is 'by means of this thousand years Session that the All-Emanators (*viśvasṛjaḥ*, i.e. all the powers participating in the act of creation) emanated all the Universe (*viśvam asṛjanta*), *PB*, XXV.18.1-2.

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[39] See the section Yama as Viśpati.

[40] Icelandic *land-nāma*, whence the title of the present essay, with reference to the Icelandic 'Book of the Taking of Land' by the ere-dwellers (*erbyggya*). The landfall of the Scandinavian immigrants in Iceland, like that of the first settlers in America, and that too of the Aryans in India (if we assume the existence of any such ethnic stock), all offer close analogies with the settlement of the worlds 'in the beginning'. This is a normal case of the correspondence of microcosm and macrocosm, cf. *AB*, VIII.2. *amuṣya lokasyāyaṁ loko'nurūpaḥ*, and *AĀ*, III.1.2. In this sense every historical event is a 'repeat of history' and a 'recurrence'.

From the Indonesians' point of view the same myth becomes their own pre-history, the legend of their own immediate origins. Every people makes of its own land a holy land in the likeness of the place of their origin, and names its sites after the names of places in the first homeland; that is in our case, as if desiring to establish a 'kingdom of heaven on earth'. As for the earthly altars, to adapt by changing a single word what has been aptly said by Mus ('Le Buddha paré ... ' *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1928, pp. 252-3), 'On dut les considérer commes de petits foyers, gardant pour ainsi dire un éclat des grandes forces actives concentrées aux sanctuaires privilégiés d'antan'; cf. Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, p. 58.

[41] Corresponding to *ṚV*, X.14.9, *asmā etaṁ pitaro lokam akran*, both passages implying an establishment of worship *here* and that Yama is 'not a God of the dead but of the living'. Note that Vedic 'here' and 'this' refer to the Light-world generally, and not especially or exclusively to *our planet*.

Cf. *ṚV*, VIII.101.14, 'Three races digressed from the way, the others settled (*viviśre*) round the Light (*arkam*) ... in the worlds': II.1.1, citing this text, adds, 'those are settled down (*niviṣṭā*) around the Light, that is around Agni ... even as being yonder Sun', where the application of *viś* to settlement in the Light-world is specific.

The occasion of the First Sacrifice—*janā yad agnim ayajanta pañca, VS*, XII.23—is *agre, in principio*, at the beginning of an aeon, the birthday of the Supernal-Sun, the Springtide of the Cosmic Year, when 'Dawn first shone for Man (*uṣāḥ uvāsa manave, ṚV*, X.11.3), when 'the doors of the worlds to come open for you with their months and years', and 'ancient are all these things' (*ṚV*, II.24.5). Its place is on that farther shore, which is also the rocky source of Sarasvatī-Aśmanvatī, from which the Argonauts go forth to find a home (*āviśam*); when once the cosmic beacon has been lit, 'they left behind the Fire that by their arms was made to flare upon the Rock' (*te bāhubhyāṁ dhamitam agnim aśmani . . . jahuḥ, ṚV*, II.24.7). When landfall is made, the settler's first concern is to establish the like ritual on 'earth', that is on the banks of the River of Life, 'where the Sarasvatī ends' (*sarasvatyā vinaśane*, i.e. where the

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[42] From the Brāhmaṇa point of view at least, Agni and Prajāpati, the Year, are one and the same Demiurge, *anusaṁdhātṛ*.

The same idea is expressed in Christianity when Christ is spoken of as 'mediate cause', as in St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 45, A. 6, *ad* 2, 'the Son receives the power of creation from the Father . . . and of the Son it is said (John I.3) 'Through Him all things were made.'

[43] That the Devas are Asuras and Serpents sacrificially transformed or 'turned about' (*paryāvṛtta*, etc.) is the theme of a separate article, entitled 'Angel and Titan, an essay in Vedic ontology', to appear in the *J.A.O.S.* this year.

That the Serpents 'change their skins' is represented throughout the Indian tradition in the power attributed to 'Nāgas' of assuming a serpentine or 'human' form at will. 'Creeping farther' recalls *vi ca sarpata atas* in *ṚV*, X.14.9, which according to our understanding is said with reference to angelic procession, and the lengthening of days and prolongation of one's life, as in X.18.3 and 6: contrast *avasarpaṇa* in *ŚB*, I.8.1.7, cf. Note No. 15.

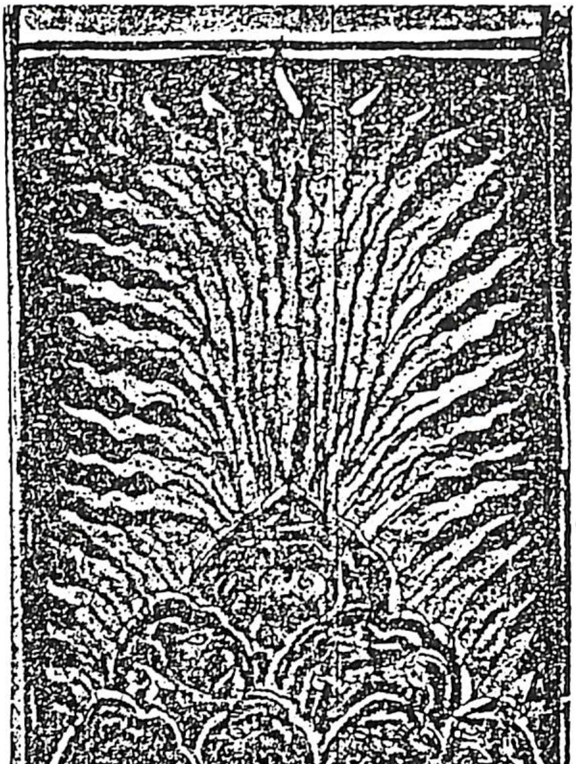

FIG. 3. THE KINDLED FIRE OF THE FIRST SACRIFICE: 'Fire that was made to flare upon the Rock', *ṚV*, II.24.7. From a MS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra* belonging to Mr. N.M. Heeramaneck, New York, see Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, 1934, Fig. 33.

The miniature illustrates one of the Fourteen dreams of Triśalā, see the description of our Fig. 2. For the description of this dream see the *Kalpa Sūtra*, text 46, in which the significant terms *ujjvala* and *madhu-ghṛta* may be noted; and translation, *SBE*, XXII, p. 238.

waters meet the shores of the habitable worlds, cf., *ṚV*, IV.17.2, *dhanvāni sarayanta āpaḥ*); it is 'forty days' journey thence upstream on horseback' to the Source (*śaiśava*), which is in fact the Fountain of Life, and 'so far is Heaven from Earth', *PB*, XXV.10.1; 16.[44]

It needs no argument to prove that the ritual on earth is performed in imitation of the First Sacrifice: 'the observance of the rule thereof is the same as at the creation' (*ŚB*, XIV.1.2.26, and *passim*), and 'in like manner does he, the sacrificer, even now' (*ŚB*, VII.2.2.7).[45] The sacrifice, undertaken merely as *karma*, establishes the sacrificer securely where he is, it forms so to say his legal title to the taken land (*ŚB*, VII.1.1.1; 4), and this significance suffices for an exegesis of the *mantras* regarded strictly as *karma kāṇḍa*, the point of view with which we are here mainly concerned. But is clear also that for 'him who understands' (*ya evaṁ vidvān*) there is implied not merely a taking possession of these worlds, but a symbolic fulfilment of the sacrificer's whole course, a symbolical journeying to the Fountain of Life upstream, 'to find there a full katharsis' (*avabhṛtham abhyavaid ya*),[46] *PB*, XXV.10.18. *Avabhṛta*, in ritual technique, is an 'expiatory bath concluding the ceremony'. In *CU*, III.17, where the whole course of life is interpreted in sacrificial terms, death as the concluding ceremony of the ritual is the *avabhṛtha*. In the same way, an ablution in the Fountain of Life is a death, man's last end; for *avabhṛtha* is also (and more literally) a 'sinking down', as of foam into water, a 'drowning', and in this profounder sense, the going down into the waters of the Fountain of Life is a descent 'into the depths, into the well-spring of the Godhead' (Eckhart). Otherwise expressed, the sacrifice is said to be concluded 'when the *gṛhapati* dies'; and where Agni is understood to be the *gṛhapati*, this will mean that the last end of life is attained when the flame of life is extinguished and despirated (*nirvāta*). That this last death of the soul is a passage out of our mortality into the pleroma (*kṛtsna, pūrṇa*) is implied by the apparently materialistic words of the text (*PB*, XXV.10.18) when it is said that 'there the sacrificer's hundred kine become a thousand' that is to say that once and for all he comes into effective repossession of all the potentialities of his being.

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[44] The *plakṣa prāsravaṇa* is also referred to as a 'pool', *hrada*. In the various accounts of the rejuvenation of Cyavāna (*ṚV*, I.116.10, *PB*, XXV.6.10, *ŚB*, IV.1.5, *JB*, III.120; 125, etc.) the pool in which his youth is renewed by the Aśvins is referred to either as such (*hrada*), or as Waters (*āpaḥ*), or as the 'infancy' (*śaiśava*) of the Sarasvatī, and must be regarded as the same as the source (*prāsravaṇa*) of the Sarasvatī referred to in *PB*, XXV.10.16, and *utsa akṣita* and *sindhūnām upodaya* of *ṚV*, VIII.17.16; VIII.41.8. It would also seem to follow that Cyavāna, 'in decline', should be regarded as a designation of Prajāpati, when 'stupefied by age', *jīryya mūra* (*PB*, XXV. 17. 3). Cf. *PB*, XXV.15.4, *hitvā jīrṇān tvacam* (of which there is a reminiscence in *Bhagavad Gītā*, II.22, *vāsāṁsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya*).

Agni, commonly (as in *ŚB*) and rightly identified with Prajāpati, is similarly subject to inveteration at the end of a world age, cf. *ṚV*, II.4.5, 'Being aged, He forthwith became a youth again' (*jujurvān yo muhur ā yuvā bhūt*), and *AĀ*, II.1.7, where the powers (*vibhūtayaḥ*, sc. *devas*) of the *Puruṣa* are said to endure 'so long as the world of Fire and Earth does not grow old' (*na jīryate*). An ageing of the worlds, and of the manifested principle of life by which they are animated, is necessarily involved in the traditional doctrine of aeonic succession.

Cyavāna, then, may be taken to be an epithet of Agni-Prajāpati at the end of an aeon: cf. *ṚV*, V.74.5, 'Ye (Aśvins) took off from the inveterated Cyavāna (*jujuruṣo cyavānāt*) his skin as it were a robe (*vavrim atkaṁ na muñcathaḥ*), then when ye made him young again (*yuvā . . . punaḥ*) he stirred the Bride's desire' (*ā kāmaṁ ṛṇve vadhvaḥ*). We may say, made him once more that potent *pati* for whom 'the desirous woman goes a seeking in the flood', *JUB*, I.56: and all this corresponds to *ṚV*, VII.101.3, 'Now is He impotent, and now becomes progenitive, He shapes his likeness as He will.' At the dawn of a new age, therefore, the former powers are said to 'fall away' (*cyu*), as in *ṚV*, X.124.4, *agniḥ somo varuṇas te cyavante*, or alternatively, as having fallen away (*cyavāna*), to change their skins, proceeding in renewed youth. Here then, and just as in other traditions, we recognize the concept of a Dying god and ever recurent resurrection; One Principle, outwardly subject to an aeviternal inveteration (*jarā*) but having at the same time in itself an unageing life (*āyuḥ ajaram*, X.51.7) and altogether independent of time (*ajuryam*, X.88.13); mortal and immortal, manifested and unshown, moving and unmoved. Sol Invictus: 'All else that moves comes to rest, only the Waters ever flow, the Sun for ever rises . . . Who with thy Light dispellest Darkness, and with thy Radiance settest all in motion' (*ṚV*, X.37.2; 4), 'He indeed never really rises nor sets, but only inverts himself' (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III.44).

The *hrada* or *śaiśava* of the Sarasvatī, the Fountain of life cited above, is also the same as the *āvatta* of the Nerañjānā, the abode of Kāla Nāgarāja, to which the Buddha's *pātra* floats upstream (*paṭisotam*), a distance of 'eighty "hands" by measure with the speed of a swift horse'; the same as Kāliya's whirlpool of the Yamunā in the Kṛṣṇa *līlā*; and the same as the whirlpool in the Story of Prince Maḥbūb (Chilli, *Folk Tales of Hindustan*).

YAMA AS VIŚPATI

'Yama first found the way for us, this pasture never shall be taken from us' (*ṚV*, X.14.2). The greater part of the wording of the 'funeral hymns' of the *Ṛgveda*—considered apart from their actual application in funeral ceremonial, discussed below—has reference to Yama as pathfinder and gatherer together and ruler of 'men' here in the Light-world; his connection with the Patriarchs is as their guide and leader on the road that leads to the so much desired extension of their 'line', he is the patron of those travellers on the *pitṛyāna*, that is to say of those individual potentialities, whose course is hitherward, and only later hence. In X.14.8, the comer-on is exhorted to 'Put away the curse, seek again thy home, and shining bright, assume a body' (*hitvāya avadyaṁ punar astam ehi, saṁ gacchasva tanvā suvarcāḥ*), where a reincarnation, not in the later and more literal (Buddhist) sense, but of the progenitive principles at the dawn of a new creation is implied. Cf. X.58, surely not 'an address to recall the fleeting intellect (*manas*) of a man at the point of death' (Griffith), but to bring back an intellect at the appointed time *for birth*.[47]

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[45] This is the normal, rather than in any sense a peculiar point of view; cf. for example, 'The Christian Sacrifice (the Mass) . . . is an act of the divine and eternal order the reality and significance of which can only be seen when it is viewed in the context of eternity. It is not confined to, nor limited by, the conditions of time and space, yet since it concerns man who is a creature of time and space as well as an heir of eternity it is immersed in the moments of our time' (Bede Frost, *The Meaning of Mass*, Oxford, 1934, p. 63).

[46] *Avabhraṁśana* must be understood here in the inverted, favourable, upstream sense, not as in *AV*, XIX.39.8.

For Alexander's analogous search for the Fountain of Life in the Land of Darkness, and other Persian analogies see the sources cited in my 'Khwājā Khadir and the Fountain of Life . . . ' in *Ars Islamica*, Part 2, 1934; and for a Chinese parallel, the lost Vale of the Immortals and the Fountain at the River's Source, Hefter and Hall, 'The Chinese Idyll', *China Journal of Sciences and Arts*, XXV, May 1934, pp. 220ff. If the journey upstream be a 'myth', how can the journey downstream, which is presupposed, have been a 'fact'?

Yama's brindled 'Dogs' (no doubt the Sun and Moon, 'four-eyed' inasmuch as they behold the four Quarters) that ward the Path are 'man's' protectors against demoniac powers, the wolf (*vṛka*) and such; as 'man-regarding',[48] these 'Dogs' can be identified with the 'man-regarding spies' of *ṚV*, IX.73. 5-6, who 'turn-back the blind and deaf (for indeed) they that are malformed do not pass over on the Pathway of the Law' (*ṛtasya panthāṁ na taranti duṣkṛtaḥ*). The deformed, unformed, are turned back not merely as such, but are repelled also for the sake of 'men', the principles of the Dark-world being necessarily, from the dualistic point of view of the *karma kāṇḍa*, thought of as hostile (*aśiva, śatru, ārāti*) to those of the Light-world; such indeed is the eternal opposition of Asura and Deva as it is envisaged from the mundane point of view.

What is the significance of this exclusion of the blind and deaf, or otherwise malformed? To be blind and deaf is the same as to be unawakened, unintelligent, and stupid (*abudhyamāna, acetasa, mūra*), devoid of any 'human intellect' (*nṛmanas*) such as Agni's is. This is the condition of *sarpatva*,[49] cf. Ahi-Vṛtra *abudhyam, suṣupāṇam, āśayānam, ṚV*, IV.19.3; and Agni's, as Ahi Budhnya, *ante principium*, cf. *apād aśīrṣā guhamāno antā, ṚV*, IV.1.11, followed by *pra ārta* in the next verse, and *AB*, III.36, where it is stated that Ahi Budhnya is metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*) what Agni Gārhapatya is outwardly (*pratyakṣa*), cf. Ahi Budhnya as the 'old' and Aja Ekapād (the Sun) as the 'new' *gārhapatyā*, *PB*, I.4.11-12. With the injunction to the comer-on, *hitvāya avadyam . . . vi sarpata atas*, etc., in X.14.9, compare *PB*, XXV.15, where the Serpents, 'vanquishing Death (*mṛtyum ajayan*) casting their shrivelled skins (*hitvā jīrṇān tvacam*) and creeping farther (*ati sarpanti*) become Ādityas', and so in his case who imitates their rite, 'he too becomes a shining as of these Ādityas'.[50]

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[47] In the same way X.56, has primarily to do with the procession of Agni and the Patriarchs, with a voyaging in the ship of life within the worlds, 'whether by these or farther shores' (*avariṣu, pareṣu*).

[48] 'Man-regarding', *nṛcakṣa, ṚV*, X.14.11, elsewhere in *ṚV* said of Savitṛ, Agni, Soma, *viśvedevāḥ, pitaraḥ*, etc., always in a favourable sense, cf. Sāyaṇa on X.158.8, *nṛcakṣa* = 'harmful to the foes of men'.

[49] Cf. the popular (traditional) expressions 'blindworm' and 'deaf adder'.

[50] *Visarpaṇa* and *atisarpaṇa* implied in the cited pasages are the opposite of *avasarpaṇa* in *ŚB*, I.8.1.7 = *avaprabhraṁśana* in *AV*, XIX.39.8. Cf. the case of Apālā, on

'In the beginning . . . Death' (*mṛtyu*) not yet essentialized (*ātmanvī*, *BU*, I.2.1)—neither sees nor hears, for he has neither Intellect nor Word nor Eye nor Ear, he is 'incomplete' (*akṛtsna*, *BU*, I.4.17); the yonder Brahman, not subject to mortality (*amarta*), is not-in-any-likeness (*amūrta*), *BU*, I.2.1; II.3.

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whom Indra bestowed a 'solar skin' (*sūrya-tvacam*) in place of the scaly skins that are removed when she is passed through holes in the celestial chariot, which represent the gateway of procession (*ṚV*, VIII. 91, with Sāyaṇa's gloss). Even more significant, in view of the known relationship between Ahi Budhnya, the Chthonic Serpent (cf. *ṚV*, VII. 34.16, *ahim abjāṃ budhne nadīnāṁ rajaḥsu ṣīdan*) and Agni Gārhapatya, the Household fire (cf. *AB*, III. 36) is the finding of Agni 'on a lotus leaf where he had crept up out of the Waters' (*adbhya upōdāsṛptam puṣkaraparṇe*, *ŚB*, VII.3.2.14); the use of *sṛp* here admirably illustrates the unfailing precision of the traditional texts.

Observe also that in Buddhism, the list of those disqualified from admission to the Saṁgha, the 'Aryan' community, includes eunuchs (in *ṚV*, the defeated and excluded powers of darkness are typically *vadhri*, *mūra*, and *stari*) and serpents; thus very evidently preserving the pattern of the original Vedic distinction of *ārya* from *anārya*.

It may be noted further in this connection that Buddhism similarly carries over from the *Ṛgveda* the notion of *arhatta*, 'fitness', 'qualification', or 'proficiency'. The designation *arhat* is applied to Agni in II.3.1; 3 and X.2.2, to Indrāgnī in V.86.5, to Indra in X.99.7, to Rudra in II.33.10, to the Maruts in V.52.5, and to the First Sacrificers in V.7.2, while in X.63.4, it is 'by *arhaṇa*' that the Ādityas are said to 'obtain their aeviternity (*amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ*), the trace of their earlier state remaining in the designation *ahi-māyā*, 'possessing the magic of the serpent'; *māyā* here, as generally, pertaining to the *asuratva* that remains in the *devas*, and by which they operate.

The parallel in Matthew, X.16, *estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae* represents more than a simple figure of speech.

Apropos of our three illustrations, derived from Jaina sources, it may be added that Jainism, no less than Buddhism, preserves the Vedic '*arhat*', see the description of Fig. 2. And if the designation 'Maker of a ford' (*tīrthaṁkara*) does not occur as such in the *Ṛgveda*, the notion involved in any case corresponds to what is an essential function of the *viśpati* who conducts the kindreds across the flowing Waters to the promised lands; cf. also X.30.14, where the prayer is addressed to the Aśvins, 'Make ye a ford' (*kṛtaṁ tīrtham*), and various other passages in which the word *tīrtha* appears. It may be noted, too, that just as Mahāvīra is conceived by one mother and nurtured by another, so in Buddhism, Siddhārtha is born of one who dies immediately, and is nurtured by her sister, these two bearing the significant names Māyā and Prajāpati, which represent in fact the names of the Madonna respectively in eternity, and in aeviternity or time, at 'night' and by 'day'. This dual birth immediately reflects that of the 'two-mothered *dvimātā*) Agni of the *Ṛgveda*, as for example in III.55.4, where 'One mother holds the Calf (Skr. *vatsa* = bambino, just as speaking in the vernacular we sometimes call a child a 'kid'), the other rests' (*kṣeti* = remains *ab intra*, as in III.55.7, and X.51.5); while in V.2.2, we see that of these two mothers, it is the Queen-mother (*mahiṣī*, corresponding to the Buddhist Māyā) that begets the Prince (*kumāra* = Agni), and the 'handmaid' (*peṣī*, corresponding to Prajāpati in the Buddhist legend) that is now holding him. An almost literal parallel to the events of Mahāvīra's nativity occurs in *ṚV*, I.113.1, where 'Night, as having conceived for Savitṛ's quickening (*prasūtā savituḥ savāya*) yields the womb to Dawn' (*yonim āraik*), cf. I.124.8, 'Sister to mightier sister yields the womb'.

In the same way it is said that 'He is impotent (*stariḥ*) on the one hand and virile (*sūtaḥ*) on the other. He shapes his aspect as he wills', *ṚV*, VII.101. 3. That is to say that he is 'impotent' in the dark night of time, in the 'house of darkness' (*tamasi harmye*), and hence the designation of this state as Privation (*aśanāyā*) and Death (*mṛtyu*), *BU*, I.2.1. This state of Privation is necessarily conceived from an empirical point of view (that of the human-animal, *paśu*, 'whose discrimination is merely by hunger and thirst', *aśanā-pipāse eva abhivijñānam, AĀ*, II.3.2)[51] as a condition of pain, as for example in *ṚV*, I.105, where Agni's sufferings as Trita Āptya 'in the Pit' (*kūpe*) are described.[52]

Other correspondences between the Buddha and Agni are demonstrated in my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, 1935. To materials assembled there it may be added that the *Buddhacarita*, I.16 and II.19-20, referring to the death of Māyā-devī after the birth of Siddhārtha, describes her as 'abandoning, as was befitting, her subtle form (*sūkṣmaṁ prakṛtim*) and manifesting her "double" (*svamūrtiḥ*), of the disposition with herself (*sama-prabhāvā*)'. In this less rationalized form, the story corresponds to the Vedic myth of Vivasvat (the Sun) and his wife Saraṇyū, whose son is Yama, and Saraṇyū's 'double' (*savarṇā*) whose son is Manu (Yama and Manu can both be identified with or assimilated to Agni). There can be no question that the legends of Mahāvīra and Buddha are adaptations, or rather, partial rationalizations, of the Vedic legend of Agni, in which the historical element is absent. It is accordingly that we can say that like the stories, the traditional illustrations of the nativities of Mahāvīra and Buddha are virtually illustrations of the nativity of Agni and representations of the Creation 'in the beginning' as described in the *Ṛgveda*.

It may be added, recalling at the same time that the name Viṣṇu is of frequent occurrence in the *Ṛgveda* as a designation of the Sun, that the legend of Kṛṣṇa's nativity once more repeats the essentials of the story as summarized above. Born of Vasudeva and Devakī in the realm of an Asura, Kṛṣṇa is conveyed to Gokula (the Brajamaṇḍala is not this Gokula, but called after it), where he is fostered by Yaśodā, who like Triśalā does not know that the child was not begotten in her own womb: the translation from interior to exterior operation is clearly marked by the miraculous crossing of the river Yamunā, which though in flood, becomes fordable at the touch of Kṛṣṇa's foot, the story thus repeating with only slight variation the Vedic legend of the First Crossing of the River of Life, 'leaving behind the unfriendly powers' (*ṚV*, X.53.8), and it will not be overlooked that the real mother 'remains' (Vedic *kṣeti*) within. The parallels could be developed at great length; most of Kṛṣṇa's heroic feats, for example, are the same as Indra's or Agni's.

[51] The 'estimative understanding' in scholastic definition; appetitive, pragmatic, experimental, scientific knowledge.

[52] It has often been remarked that a doctrine of Hell is unknown to the *Ṛgveda*. In fact, however, the Ṛgvedic Hell is precisely that ante-natal tomb from which the life-desirous principles are thought of as escaping, or into which those who have fallen into metaphysical sin or are enemies of the Aryan Kindreds may be thrust back again. On the other hand, the intermediate state of latency (privation) is a *future* one only from the stand point of those already manifested in any aeon who, being progenitively inclined (*prajā-kāmya*) and occupied with works, have not yet as Comprehensors (*vidvān*) risen above the 'storm of the world-flow'. Wherever the evolution and

But now the Hidden Light is found and freed, there is a Harrowing of Hell, the incomplete are made whole: 'when thou hast made him viable (*śritam*), O Jātavedas,[53] then speed him to the Patriarchs forth (*pra hiṇutāt pitṛbhyaḥ*), bear him to the world of the well-made (*sukṛtām*, opposed to *duṣkṛtaḥ* in IX.73.6, cited above). . . . Agni, re-emanate him (*ava, sṛja punaḥ*) who now that thou has summoned him proceeds with his intrinsic-powers (*yas ta āhūtas carati svadhābhiḥ*); induing life, let him proceed *in statu pupillaris* (*śesaḥ*, Sāyaṇa *śiṣ-yamāṇaḥ*); what wound soever the blackbird, the ant, the snake, or jackal has inflicted, do thou Agni, all-devourer, heal, and Soma too; who bideth with the Brahmins', *ṚV*, X.16.1-6.[54]

On the other hand, the application of the texts in a reverse sense is perfectly legitimate, recurrent death being in its turn a passage to another world, another life though still within the worlds; in *ṚV*, X.58, Yama is evidently the ruler of the dead in this sense. And ambiguity of application is inevitable,[55] if only because an extroversion must imply (wherever the cosmic process is conceived of as cyclic, *kreislaufig*), a corresponding and analogous introversion. It is in just the same way for example, that the revolution of the solar wheel, which form the *karma kāṇḍa* point of view is unto life in the worlds, becomes in *jñāna kāṇḍa* and in Buddhism a revolution unto death, the last death of the soul. There cannot be spiration without a corresponding

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involution of worlds is thought of as an eternal cycle. 'Hell' or restraint is necessarily a past as well as a future state contrasted with that of the worlds themselves, in which the satisfaction of desires is freely pursued.

At the same time, it is only from the mundane (*laukika*) point of view that the state of privation can and must be thought of as one of defect; the privation is more strictly speaking an absence of any limiting condition, a liberty (*adititva*) that is not in any wise (*neti neti*), but potentially in all wise (*viśvatas*, etc.), for 'What is silent (*tūṣṇīm* = *maunam*) is unexpounded (*aniruktam*), and what is unexpounded is everything (*sarvvam*)', *ŚB*, VII.2.2.14, cf. Eckhart, 'This impotence of the essence is its chief potentiality.'

[53] This essential name of Agni, as he who *akhyat devānām . . . janimā*, *ṚV*, IV.2.18, and *viśvā veda janimā*, VI.15.13, is here especially appropriate.

[54] The last reference is to the 'tortures of hell', in the senses aforesaid, cf. for example *ṚV*, IV.19.9 where the 'Maiden's Son' (Agni) is spoken of as 'blind and devoured by ants'. Of Agni as eighth Āditya, Mārtaṇḍa, Agni Vaiśvānara, Agni-Prajāpati, it may assuredly be said that 'he descends into Hell and rises again from the dead', *punaḥ punaḥ jāyamāna*.

[55] An ambiguity that recurs in connection with every symbolic representation of the cosmic cycle. The Tree of Life, for example, is one to be fostered or felled according to our point of view, see texts cited in my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 11-12. And without multiplying Indian instances, it may be pointed out that just as in the case of the funeral hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, so in that of the funeral texts of the solar cult in ancient Egypt, it is very evident that these are worded originally with respect to the divine procession, and only secondarily adapted inversely. This becomes especially obvious when we find the Pharaoh (Teti) called upon to come to the rescue of 'the Sun (Atum) in darkness'—the Vedic *gūḷhaṁ sūryam*, V.40.6, etc.—'to kindle for him the light and to protect him', see J.H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience*, 1934, p. 87.

despiration (*nir-vāṇa*). Most of the texts with which we are concerned have primarily to do with the *pitṛyāna,* the 'Way of the Patriarchs'. It is only those whose voyaging is sooner or later on the *devayāna,* the 'Way of the Angels', that make land again there where the coming forth and going in are not alternate, but one and the same thing; it may be said only of the Comprehensor, as of Agni, that 'He proceedeth foremost, while yet abiding in his Ground' (*anu agrañ carati kṣeti budhnaḥ, ṚV,* III.55.7).

Though Yama's is the dreaded path of death (*ṚV,* I.38.5) and Agni is the very principle of life (*āyu, ekāyu, viśvāyu, passim*), the *Ṛgveda* either identifies Yama with Agni (I.164.46), or calls the latter Yama's darling friend (*kāmya,* X.21.5) or priest (*hotṛ,* X.52,3), and there is a significant aspect in which their functions coincide, viz., as 'gatherer together of the kindreds' (in I.59.1, Agni *janān . . . yayantha,* in X.14.1, Yama is *saṁgamanaṁ janānām*), cf. *ekaṁ bhū,* 'to become one', i.e. 'to die'. The contrasted functions are in fact united in the Golden Germ 'whose likeness is that of life, and likeness that of death' (X.121.2), in the Year 'that separates some beings and unifies others' (*AĀ,* III.2.3). How these two that are the same play into each other's hands can be seen in *ṚV,* I.163.2-3, where the sacrificial horse (given to Death by Agni as priest and sacrificial fire of the Aśvamedha) is given by Yama in turn to Trita, that is to Agni himself *ab intra,* is yoked by Trita, ridden by Indra, and identified with Yama, Varuṇa (*āditya*), and Trita. All these are One for the Comprehensor, absolutely unified (*ekadhā bhūtvā, BU,* V.5.12), that is, dead and buried in the Godhead. We may say then that it is as Yama that the dying man beholds Agni when he reaches the realm of the two kings, Yama and Varuṇa (X.14.17); and that for the Comprehensor (*vidvān*), and for any man that has done well, that one principle that some desire as life and others fear as death can be seen in either aspect as the Friend (*mitra*), the Meeting-place (*saṁgamana*), and Lord of the Settlers (*viśpati*); for him the paths of Agni and of Yama are one and the same *devayāna.*

CONCLUSION

It has been sought to show that the *Ṛgveda* is not concerned with events in time, but with the 'entering in of time from the halls of the outer heaven', that is *agre,* in the beginning, *in principio.* Nor can that entering in of time be thought of as itself an event in time; it is 'first' and a 'beginning' only in logical order of thought. Life is 'crossing over' all the time, 'out of the everywhere into here' and a motion forward to the 'last end' (*puruṣārtha, paraṁ padam*).[56] *Sicut erat in principio, est nunc, et semper erit, in scaeula saeculorum.* These are, of course, Pūrva Mīmāṁsaka points of view; but here they have been independently developed.

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[56] Needless to say that from the *jñāna kāṇḍa* point of view, so familiar in Buddhist formulation, the 'crossing over' to be accomplished by the Comprehensor, or for him by the Angel of his devotion and of whom he partakes (*bhakti* = 'participation'), is not as it was in the beginning hitherward, but hence; for as Eckhart expresses it, 'the last end is the same as the first beginning'.

Some have been impressed by the 'bewildering variety' of Indian mythology, ritual, and art: it would be nearer the truth to speak of its sameness or monotony,[57] for in fact it never departs from the fundamental theme of the Beginning of All Things (*jāta-vidyā*). And this is true in an even wider application, for this story of the first beginning, which also points the way to the last end, has been told in what is essentially one and the same way, although with abundant dialectic variation, throughout the world and from time immemorial, and survives even to-day not only in accepted scriptures, but also in fairy tale and nursery rhyme, and in folk art.

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[57] Monotony of implication (*ekavṛttatva*) or sameness (*samatā*), not without variety of explication (*vivṛttatva*), but comparable to that of water flowing from a perennial source, or that of the recurrent seasons. If we are never wearied by the recital of what is always the same story, this is in the same sense that we are never wearied of the daily rising and setting of the sun: we often *demand* 'novelty' when our attention is distracted, but whenever we regard the realities of life, we recognize that what we really *need* is not a perpetually 'novel' but a constantly 'original' (*ex fonte*) experience.

Notes on the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*

Notes on the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*[1]

FIRST VALLĪ

Arhaṇā bṛhad devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ, ṚV, X.63.4
Ka etam ādityam arhati samayaitum? JUB, 1.6.1
Kas tam madāmadam devaṁ mad-anyo jñātum arhati? KU, II.21

Several crucial passages of *KU,* appear to have been radically misunderstood even by Śaṅkara, and *a fortiori* by modern translators. We must in the first place understand the situation. Death (*mṛtyu, yama*) is throughout the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, as also in *ṚV,* one of the highest names of god. Identified with the Sun, all that is under the Sun is in his power, and all beyond the Sun immortal; He is the Breath of life, at whose departure living beings die (*ŚB,* X.5.1.4, 2.1-4 and 13, 14, etc.). Under the Sun he takes the form of 'repeated death' (*punar mṛtyu*); beyond the Sun he rules in Paradise. Death does not die. It is only by a conquest of the one and union with the other of his aspects that an immortality can be attained,—the comprehensor 'defeats repeated death, death gets him not, Death becomes his Spiritual essence (*ātman*), he becometh the One of the Devas' (*BU,* I.2.7), 'he wins beyond the sun' (*CU,* II.10.5). The solar Orb itself, the disk of the Sun, is the gateway of Death's house, the mansion of Brahman, to which the Wayfarer seeks admission in our Upaniṣad and in so many of the related texts, e.g. *Īśa* 15-16. In our Upaniṣad Death himself is the Guru, and Naciketas the *śrāvaka* and *śiṣya.* We proceed at once to a discussion of particular passages.

I.5: *bahūnām emi prathama . . . emi madhyamaḥ, kim . . . adya kariṣyati?* 'As one of many I go first, and I go midway, and now what will He (Death) do with me?' 'Now', i.e. now that my time has come, now that I have really died and left the body behind me. Three visits to Death are likewise implied by the 'three nights' of I.9 (not necessarily consecutive 'nights'); and these three correspond also to the three questions and three boons and three strides of the text. By *bahūnām* Naciketas recognizes the universality of his experience. His is not, indeed, a particular case: it is the rule that every man dies thrice and is thrice born,—first when he is begotten, second when he is initiated, and thirdly when he departs from this world (*JUB*, III.9). Having now for the third time and 'really' died, Naciketas stands upon the threshold of the new Life into which the sacrificer 'is reborn of the Fire'.[2] This formulation of 'three deaths' makes intelligible what would otherwise be difficult to understand, the words of the 'Voice' in the *TB*, version, 'Thou hast been told, "Betake thee to Death's houses."[3] "Unto Death have I bound thee."[4] Go thou to him when he is not at home' (*pravasantam*). It is in fact only on the third morning that Death appears in person. One does not meet Him face to face until the body has really been consumed.[5] But Death has other 'houses' than that which lies beyond the golden disk, of which the dark night of the womb, often referred to as a 'hell', is one, the 'night' of initiation another, and 'death's dark night' a third. Death 'as he is yonder' (*ŚB*, X.5.2.16-17) is not in the womb, nor does he show himself in person to the initiate, nor even at death; He is not 'present' there, but only 're-presented' by the concept of 'recurrent death' (*punar mṛtyu*); and this, we understand, is what is meant by the saying 'Go when he is not at home.' The Voice, in other words, advises Naciketas to prepare himself by an understanding of what is meant by a crossing over of the recurrent deaths that are appointed to every man here and now.

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[1] See also my 'A study of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*', *IHQ,* XI, 1935, pp. 570-84. Frequent reference will be made to Rawson, *The Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* Oxford, 1934. The following abbreviations are employed: *ṚV, AV, TS, VS, MS,* respectively the *Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda, Taittirīya, Vājasaneyi* and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā: ŚB, AB, JB, JUB, PB, TB,* respectively the *Śatapatha, Aitareya, Jaiminīya, Jaiminīya Upaniṣad, Pañcaviṁśa* and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas; BU, CU, MU, Muṇḍ, Īśā, Tait. Up., KU,* the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Maitrī, Muṇḍaka, Īśāvāsya, Taittirīya,* and *Kaṭha Upaniṣads; BG, Bhagavad Gītā; Sn., Sutta Nipāta; A, D, S,* the *Aṅguttara, Dīgha,* and *Saṁyutta Nikāyas.*

I.8-9 (as represented in the *TB*, version): The matter of the food that Naciketas 'eats' on the three nights may also be considered. The nourishments are respectively Death's 'progeny' (*prajām*), 'sacrificial animals' (*paśūn*), and his 'duties' (*sādhukṛtyān*). These 'foods' should correspond to the three means by which one 'lords it over death' three times in the course of a normal life, as described in *JUB*, III.9f, 'death' being the same thing as 'hunger' (*aśanāyā*, privation). What are Death's 'progeny' or 'children'? In *ŚB*,

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[2] We cannot see in what respect *AĀ*, II.5 is, as Keith insists, 'fundamentally distinct' from *JUB*. If in *AĀ*, it is three 'births' only that are specifically mentioned, it must not be overlooked that any birth implies a previous death, and that in any case this is explicit in the case of the third birth, since it is when the man departs (*praiti*) as a *kṛtakṛtyaḥ*, that is 'dies', having fulfilled his tasks, that he 'is born again' (*punar jāyate*) and becomes immortal (*amṛtaḥ bhavati*). The texts are not identical, but nevertheless perfectly consistent.

Punar jāyate: 'is regenerated', born again for the last time, never to be born again as a mortal individual, but only with and as the Spirit, *aśarīraḥ śarīreṣu*, cf. *KU*, VI.4 *sargeṣu lokeṣu śarīratvāya kalpate* (sc. as a Kāmācārin). *Punar jāyate*: as in *BU*, III.9, 28, *jāta eva na jāyate, ko nvenaṁ janayet punaḥ*? 'He is born indeed, (and yet) he is not born (having become the 'Unborn', *ajaḥ*); for who is there now to beget him again?' (since he is no longer a member of any lineage, see *JUB*, III.14.1, and parallels, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian).

[3] Note the plural, 'houses'.

[4] The 'Voice' substitutes for the Father's *dadāmi, ādām*, which we take to be from *dā*, to bind or tie, as a sacrifice is 'tied' to the post. The concluding words are spoken by the Voice, not quoted as the Father's.

[5] 'While the soul progresses, God remains unseen' (Eckhart).

X.5.2.16 he is 'one as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children'; and clearly, these 'children' are the 'breaths' or 'rays' or 'feet' that reach the heart of every living thing, and with respect to which it is said that when they are withdrawn, the creature dies; just as the many rays of the Sun are its 'sons' (*JUB*, II.9.10),[6] the Sun being the same as Death (*JUB*, III. 10. 10 and *passim*). The eating of Death's 'progeny' is then the same thing as 'coming into being in accordance with the breath; for it is inasmuch as the breath indwells the expended semen that he comes into being' (*sa tato 'nusambhavati prāṇaṁ ca; yadā hy eva retaḥ siktaṁ prāṇa āviśaty atha tat sambhavati*, *JUB*, III.10.5).[7] Thus he overcomes the first death. Now as to the 'sacrificial animals': 'Verily unborn is the man insofar as he does not sacrifice; it is through the sacrifice that he is born' (*JUB*, III.14.8) with reference, of course to the sacrificial initiation which involves a temporary or symbolic death, and a rebirth, as is fully developed in the third book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. And thus by this 'birth from Agni', he overcomes this second and initiatory death (*JUB*, III.16. 6). Finally as to Death's *sādhukṛtyāḥ*: these 'things to be done aright' are the 'works to be done' by the new man born of the initiation,[8] 'what they do right, that rises up as their eating of food' (*yat sādhu kurvanti tad eṣām annādyam utsīdati*, *JUB*, III.14.6). It is by this 'food' that the dead man is sustained and conveyed until he reaches the Sun and stands face to face with Death, the Angel with the Flaming Sword, the Sun, the Truth,—'his breath first ascends'; it explains to the Devas, so much he did right (*iyad asya sādhu kṛtam*), so much evil: then along with the smoke (of the pyre) he ascends. . . . He approaches him who glows yonder (*JB,* I.18), viz., 'the Sun, Death' (*JUB,* III.10.10 and *passim*). In other words, it is by the 'duty done' or 'what has been done right' (*sādhukṛtam*) that the sacrificer is kept in being on the 'night' of the third death, and until he reaches the very gates of the solar Paradise wherein Death is always at home. Past these gates there is no carrying over by means of any 'food', since 'the eating of food' implies in some sort of a formal embodiment: what is beyond the Sun, who is Death, is immortal (*ŚB,* II.3.3.7): and no one becomes immortal with the body (*ŚB,* X.4.3.9; *JUB,* III.38.10). It is by knowledge alone, by such knowledge as Death himself imparts, that the final passage is made; which knowledge of the Brahman is the knowledge of oneself as the Self, as the Spirit (*ātman*). This, as all our texts imply (*JUB,* III.14.5, etc., with the closest possible parallels in the Hermetic, Christian, and Islamic traditions), is a total severance of the Spirit from its psychophysical manifestation, a ceasing to know of oneself by any name or aspect (*nāma-rūpa*), or as anyone or anywhere: for there can be no return to the source except of like to like, and 'That has not come from anywhere nor become anyone' (*KU,* II.18). The question 'Who knows where he is?' (*KU,* II.25) will apply as much to the individual altogether liberated (*atimukta,* etc.) from his individuality as to the Spirit itself, which is only omnipresent precisely because it is not 'anywhere'. As the Buddhist texts so often express it, 'There beyond there is no further extension of thusness' (*nāparam itthatāyati, S,* V.222, etc., etc.).[9]

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[6] 'Under the theory of procession by powers, souls are described as rays' (Plotinus, *Enneads*, VI.4.3).

[7] 'He who dwelleth in the semen is yet other than the semen. . . . He is the Spirit, the Inner, Controller, the Immortal' (*ātmāntaryāmyamṛtaḥ*, *BU*, III.7.23); hence 'Say not "From semen" that a mortal once departed is born again, but from what is alive (in the semen); just as a tree springs up from the seed, no sooner dead than come into being again' (*BU*, III.9.28). This can only be fully understood in the light of *CU*, VI.11-12 where it is made clear that it is not the seed as such that is alive, but that 'undimensioned (*aṇimānam*, see discussion of *KU*, II. 20, below) that is not to be seen' within it, from which the great tree grows up. The same is implied in *AV*, XI.4.14 'When thou, the Breath, givest life, then is he born again'; cf. *Kauṣ. Up.*, III.3 'It is as the Breath (*prāṇa*) that the Provident Spirit (*prajñātman*) grasps and erects the flesh'. And this is also precisely the Christian doctrine, as enunciated by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III.32.1 'The power of the soul, which is in the semen, through the Spirit enclosed therein, fashions the body.'

The comparison *dhānāruha iva . . . pretya sambhavaḥ* of *BU*, III.9.28 is repeated in *KU*, I.6 *sasyam ivājāyate punaḥ*. The point of all these comparisons and allusions is, that it is the Spirit, and not the individual so-and-so, that is perpetually and instantly reborn, although not subjected to the vicissitudes of birth. It is only the psycho-physical vehicles which are animated by the Spirit, and are in this sense incarnations of the Spirit, or more properly speaking manifestations of the Spirit, that are themselves casually determined, and mortal. He only, therefore, who 'knows himself' as the Spirit, and not as the psycho-physical vehicle, is free and immortal: and that 'That art thou' follows immediately upon the passage briefly quoted above from *CU*, VI.12.2. See further my 'The coming to birth of the Spirit', to appear shortly in *Indian Culture*.

[8] For initiation (*dīkṣā*) as a death and a rebirth see *TS*, V.2.4 and VI.1.3, *AB*, I.3 and VI.31, *JUB*, III.7-9, *ŚB*, III.1.2 and III.2.1, etc.

The foregoing discussion of the problem of 'foods', 'houses' and 'nights', considered as one question, is strictly speaking pertinent only to the *TB* version of the story. In the Upaniṣad we are not told, but left to assume, that Death has been 'away'; we are only told in both versions that the guest has 'gone hungry'. And this is a matter of fact; one does not 'eat' either in the womb, or on the eve of a sacrifice, or on one's death bed. On the 'fast day' (*upa-vasatha*) preceding a sacrifice (see *ŚB,* I.1.1.7-11), in one way or another one 'does not eat', and 'should sleep that night in the house of the sacrificial fire or household fire (*āhavanīyāgāre vaitāṁ rātriṁ śayīta gārhapatyāgāre vā*) for he who enters upon the operation approaches the Devas, and lies down amongst those very Devas whom he approaches'. It is such a 'night' as this, spent fasting in the 'house of the Fire' that is referred to by the second 'night' that is to be spent at Death's house. The words of *ŚB,* I.1.1.9, 'Let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten' is singularly suggestive of the situation represented in the *TB* version of our story where, although Naciketas 'does not eat', he is able to tell what it is that he 'has eaten'.[10] In any case we have been able to trace a connection between the three kinds of 'food' in the *TB* version, and the 'three deaths' that are implied by the 'three nights' of both texts. In the same way in *KU,* I.11 *rātrīḥ śayitā,* the reference is not to just any night, but to the Father's 'rest' in the nights of time, in the sense of 'rested on the seventh day'. 'Varuṇa is the night' (*PB,* XXV.10.10); 'the night, the darkness, death' of *AB,* IV.5; the 'night' of *JUB,* III.1.9 *muhyanti diśo na vai tā rātriṁ prajñāyante*; i.e. the Brahman of *MU,* VI.17 *na hyasya . . . diśaḥ kalpante.* Thus in one sense or another all of the (four) 'nights' of our text are 'deaths' rather than 'times', nor is there anything strange in this, in a tradition where seasons, months, fortnights, and days and nights are so often states of being rather than times.

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[9] Cf. *S,* I.119, where Māra seeks in vain for the departed *arhat,* Godhika.

[10] The story of Viśvāmitra and Indra in *AĀ,* II.2.3-4 is virtually identical with that of Naciketas and Death in *KU,* Indra speaks as the Sun; Viśvāmitra pays a triple visit to Indra's 'dear home'. On each occasion Viśvāmitra repeats a hymn, saying 'This is

I.10 and 11: *tvat prasṛṣṭam* and *mat prasṛṣṭaḥ* 'released by Thee' (Naciketas) and 'released by Me' (Auddālaka Āruṇi, Gautama, father of Naciketas). These expressions can only be understood in the light of *ṚV,* X.16.4-5, 'Bear him, O Agni (here the Devourer, Death), give him back again, unto the Patriarchs in the world of the Perfected; induing Life, let the Residue ascend, let him be aggregated in his own form' (*vaha enaṁ sukṛtmun lokam,*[11] *ava sṛja punar agne pitṛbhyaḥ; āyur vasāna upa vetu śeṣaḥ,*[12] *saṁ gacchatāṁ*[13]

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food', meaning evidently, 'This has been my sustenance'. Indra grants a boon (not three: the whole story is condensed), Viśvāmitra choosing 'to know thee, Indra'. Indra describes himself as the Sun, the breath, and this breath is what is really his own sustenance, and Viśvāmitra's. The comprehensor of this becomes immortal. The 'What I am, he is; what he is, I am' of *AĀ,* corresponds to the answer of the postulant for passage through the Sun in *JUB,* III. 14.3-4. In *SĀ,* 1.6 the boons are three, but Viśvāmitra makes the same choice in each case, 'to know thee, Indra'.

[11] See the discussion of *KU,* III.1 *ṛtaṁ pibantau sukṛtasya loke.* Yama's Paradise in *ṚV,* X.16 is more fully described in X.135. 1f., where it is also perhaps 'Order' that 'Yama drinks of with the Devas' (*devaiḥ saṁ pibate yamaḥ*).

[12] *Śeṣaḥ*: cf. *KU,* IV. 3 and V. 4 *kim atra pariśiṣyate?* with *CU,* VIII.4-5 *atiśiṣyate . . . ātman.* We have shown elsewhere that it is by no means accidentally that Śeṣa and Ananta are designations both of the World Serpent and of the Brahman (see my 'Angel and Titan' in *JAOS,* 55, 1935 and 'Janaka and Yājñavalkya' in *IHQ,* XIII, 1937).

[13] In X.14. 8 *hitvāyāvadyaṁ punar astam ehi, saṁ gacchasva tanvā suvarcāḥ* 'Discarding woe-unspeakable, go home again, be aggregated in a form of light'. *Astam i* here, as this expression is regularly used of the setting Sun, as 'going home', i.e. to 'Whence the sun arises and unto which he goeth home' (*yatas codeti sūryo'staṁ yatra ca gacchati, KU,* IV.9). This 'Home', which is man's last end as it was his first beginning, is moreover one of the names of the Gale of the Spirit, 'the one entire Godhood (Vāyu). . . . His very name is 'Home' (*sa haiṣo'stam nāma*). 'Home' they call the 'Seizures' (*grahāḥ*) in the West' (*JUB,* III.1.1-3). Cf. modern 'go to one's last home', 'go West' = to die. The 'West' implies Varuṇa, who indeed is the Seizer of all things (*ŚB,* II.3.2.10 *yathemā varuṇaḥ prajā gṛhṇat;* similarly *MS,* I.10, 12; *TS,* V.2.1.3; *AB,* VII.15, etc.). The Gale is Varuṇa's *ātmā te vāta . . . varuṇa* (*ṚV,* VII. 87. 2) or what comes to the same thing, the breath of Vāc = Aditi (*aham eva vāta iva pravāmi, ṚV,* X.125.8). Hence in the Requiem *ṚV,* X.16.3 *vātam ātmā . . . gacchatu,* and the common expression *vāyogataḥ* = deceased. For Varuṇa as one to be both feared and loved see *ṚV,* VII.86. This 'Home' is the Father's house, from which the Prodigal son departs with his portion,

tanvā.[14] No difficulty remains, if only we do not persuade ourselves that the story of Naciketas is the relation of any 'historical' event. What Naciketas asks is that he may be 'let pass' by Death, may be 'released' unto his father, to the Father whom Death has already and long since, i.e. at the close of a former Aeon, 'let pass' and 'released' unto his 'rest', a rest to be perfected by the son's return and welcome. This is, in other words, and as the name Āruṇi suggests, not a 'human' story[15], but an ever recurrent *genealogia regni Dei*, in which the Father is always coming forth in the Son, and the Son ever returning to the Father: which coming forth and sending forth of the Son is always a giving of

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and to which he returns after eating of the husks; Death is the Keeper of the gate.

Saṁgamana, 'Gatherer together, is one of the names of Yama, e.g. in *ṚV*, X.14.1. It is in this sense also that 'to be unified' (*eko bhū*) and 'to die' are regularly coincident expressions. In the same way Eckhart's separated and united beings', viz., those who are alive to themselves on the one hand, and the 'blessed dead, dead and buried in the Godhead' on the other. 'How often would I have gathered thy children together . . . and ye would not:' (*Math.*, XXIII.37).

[14] Cf. *ṚV*, X.56.1-2 *saṁveśane tanvaś . . . parame janitre . . . divīva jyotiḥ svam. Tanū* is 'form' of such sort as is proper to the Ātman, cf. *KU*, II.23 *vivṛṇute tanūṁ svām. Tanvā* is as much as to say *svarūpeṇa*, 'in thine own proper, or intrinsic form', i.e. in a body of light. With *KU*, II.23 cf. *ṚV*, X.71.4 (*vāg*) *tvasmai tanvaṁ vi sasre.*

The assumption of this 'form' is a 'resurrection from ashes'.This is, in fact the Vedic doctrine of the 'resurrection of the body', more fully stated in *JUB*, III.3.5. 'Now whoever is a Comprehensor of this Spiritual-essence of the Logos (*ukthasyātmanam*, where *uktha= sāman*, identified with the Sun) comes into being in yonder world with limbs and body complete' (*sāṅgas satanus sarvas sambhavati*). This does not mean, of course, that the 'form' or 'body' of light, the 'intrinsic form' (*svarūpa*), which is built up by the sacrificer while still in the body, is itself a physical form or body. On the contrary it is a 'transformation' of the physical body, which no longer exists as a phenomenon (*rūpa*), but nevertheless subsists, with all that is proper to it, as an effect subsists in the cause to which it has been 'reduced', (i.e. 'led back'), more eminently. The regeneration (last *punaḥ sambhava*), in other words, is a rebirth of all that was real in that which died; all of which 'real' is even here and now 'light'.

We cannot now devote space to a comparison of the Indian and Christian doctrines of the resurrection of the body, except to remark that it is likewise Christian doctrine that all resurrection is from ashes, and that all the members of the body are resurrected; all, in fact, that really belongs to 'human nature', properly understood (see St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, Suppl., 78.2 c, 80.1 c, etc.).

[15] Rawson himself concludes that 'probably the names, which are all patronymics, are not meant to be historical' (p. 65). And even if we choose to think of them as 'historical' to the same extent that the sacrifice of Abraham can be thought of as historical, it remains that such sacrifices as those of Naciketas to Death, or dedications such as that of Rohita to Varuṇa, are 'types' of the Eternal Sacrifice of the Universal Man, whom others sacrifice at the same time that the sacrifices himself. If we think of the 'fathers' who appoint their sons to Death as 'cruel', let us not forget that no man can beget a son who does not at the same time hand him, who is also himself, over to Death, or rather, to the triple death referred to above (triple, because in such society as this, initiation is the rule). In this respect, what is true of the Son of God is true of Everyman, and what is true of Everyman is true of the Son of God.

the Son to a 'recurrent generation and death' in the sense of *ṚV,* X.72.9 *prajāyai mṛtyave tvat punaḥ* and *KU,* I.4 *mṛtyave.* The 'many' of *KU,* I.5 is with reference to 'many Agnis': and that Naciketas, the Kumāra, is himself 'an' Agni is further implied by the *vaiśvānara . . . atithiḥ* and the technical expression 'give him his quietus' (*śāntiṁ kurvanti*) of I. 7. Naciketas is at once the Sacrifice and Sacrificial priest; if he needs to be instructed in his office by Death,[16] this corresponds to *ṚV,* X.52.1 where Agni likewise asks to be instructed in his duties. Our hero's name is foreshadowed and perhaps intended in *ṚV,* X.51.4 *etam arthaṁ*[17] *naciketāham agniḥ,* 'I *Agni,* have not recognized (*na ciketa,* Sāyaṇa "have not approved") that task', viz., that of the Priest (*hotrā ahaṁ varuṇa bibhyat,* ibid.) and cosmic Charioteer (*rathin,* ibid., 6); while it is Yama that 'recognizes' Agni (*taṁ tvā yamo aciket,* ibid., 3). In our text, indeed, the relation of Naciketas as 'questioner' to Yama as Guru is precisely that of 'one who does not know but seeks to know' (*acikitvāṁś cikituṣaḥ, AV,* IX.9.7) to one who knows, and in this sense the name is fitting: cf. also in *ṚV,* X.79.4 'No knowledge of the God have I, a mortal' (*nāhaṁ devasya martyaściketa*). Although not all of these are equivalent contexts, it cannot be questioned but that Naciketas is so called as being 'One who does not know', or 'is unwilling'.[18]

In *ṚV,* X.135, we have again to do with a Kumāra, a 'Boy' deceased, whose body has been consumed on the funeral pyre, and who now speaks with Death, and learns from him the meaning of death. The Kumāra says, 'I have looked close on Him (Yama, Death) that careth for the Ancients (i.e. the foregone Patriarchs), on Him who goeth by the evil path,[19] and after this (world) I long again': Yama replying 'Thou mountest (even now), my Child, a new and wheelless chariot, of which the single pole is pointed in all directions, which thyself has made by intellect (*manasākṛnoḥ*), although as yet thou seest it not.' This 'chariot' is not of course a 'physical' vehicle, but 'wheelless' and 'universally oriented' by distinction from the physical body of local motion that has been left behind; in other words, the 'chariot' is the same thing as the 'form' of light, the *tanū* = *svarūpa* of previously cited texts. Sāyaṇa rightly identifies the Kumāra of this Vedic requiem with the Naciketas of our Upaniṣad. The question is asked in the fourth verse, 'Who was the father of the child?'. In X.51.4, cited above, the Father is evidently Varuṇa:[20] in *ŚB,* VI.2.1.1.f. it is explicitly 'Father Prajāpati' who searches for the Kumāra, who evades him, entering into the sacrificial animals, man, horse, bull, ram, and goat: and When Prajāpati discovers these, he sacrifices them 'for his own sake' (*kāmāya*); just as Auddālaka sacrifices animals and finally his own son.

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[16] The applicability of *ṚV,* X.52.3. 'Who is this Priest? Is he Yama's?' to Naciketas may be remarked.

[17] The *bhūry . . . kartvam, . . . artham* of *ṚV,* I.10.2.

[18] It would be impossible to discuss at adequate length here the 'hesitations' of the Messiahs, Agni, Buddha, and Christ, though all are of the same sort.

[19] 'Evil' apparently only because the Kumāra is still *acikitvān,* Naciketas, but in reality 'the broad way that Yama first found out for us, nor shall this pasture even be taken from us' of *ṚV,* X.14.2. Compare Chuang Tzu, 'How do I know that he who dreads to die is not as a child who has lost the way and cannot find his home?'.

[20] The 'Titan Father' (*asura-pitṛ*) of *ṚV,* X.124.3, whom Agni leaves when he proceeds from the non-sacrificial to the sacrificial function, from potentiality to act.

Once this universality and essential timelessness of the story of Naciketas has been realized, the attitude of the 'Father' becomes at once intelligible (or should at least be altogether comprehensible to a Christian, if not to a humanist).[21] If the Father in the *TB* version 'regards' (*parītya*) the Son, as Sāyaṇa adds 'as if in anger' (*kruddheva*) or 'speaks', as Śaṅkara comments in connection with *KU,* I.5 'with angry intent' (*krodhavaśāt*), this agrees with all that we know from the *Ṛgveda* of what seem to be the relations between the Father and the Son, the Father (or both Parents) being again and again referred to as 'unfriendly' (*amitra, aśiva*) in relation to the Son, whichever of the 'twins' Indrāgni may be referred to in a given context.[22] In innumerable texts, Agni is the 'Friend' (*mitra*) and Varuṇa 'Unfriend' (*amitra*) and no real distinction can be drawn between Varuṇa and Yama as 'avengers' ('Vengeance is mine, I will repay, said the Lord'). That this is nevertheless not the final truth of the matter is poignantly expressed in *ṚV,* X.124.3 where Agni, abandoning the Titan Father, usually thought of as 'unkind', confesses 'I, myself "unkind" am abandoning Him that is truly "kind" '. It is a matter of 'approach'; the Father is no longer 'deadly to be touched' by those who 'approach him, making him their friend' (*mitrakṛtyevopāsate, AB,* III.4), for 'as he is approached, such he becomes' (*yathopāsate tad eva bhavati, ŚB,* X.5.2.20, cf. *ṚV,* V.44.6).[23] If the Titan Father is a 'God of Wrath' to be avoided as such, what else but an At-one-ment is foretold in *KU,* 1.10 'Glad shall be thy Father Auddālaka Āruṇi as when of old he was released by me, sweetly shall he rest by night, his wrath dispelled (*vītamanyuḥ*) when he seeth thee from Death's jaws freed' (*mṛtyor mukhāt pramuktam*)?[24] *Manyu* we know well as the

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[21] Hume's paraphrase of the Father's words by 'Oh! go to Hades' is bad enough, but far more shocking Rawson's 'His father, however, angered by the persistence of his priggish son, bursts forth with the equivalent of an angry Englishman's "Go to hell" '. With the 'angry Englishman' we are only too familiar: his introduction here is a profanity.

[22] Similarly in the case of such other solar heroes as Rohita (*AB,* VII. 15) appointed by their father's to be a sacrifice. Cf. the 'evil done by Varuṇa to Prajāpati', *ŚB,* XI.2. 6.7.

[23] *ṚV,* V.44,6 *yādṛg eva dadṛśe tādṛg ucyate* corresponds to St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I.13.1 and 3 *Pronomina vero demonstrative dicuntur de Deo, secundum quod faciunt demonstrationem ad is quod intelligitur,* with III.35.5 c. *Unde nihil prohibet plures tales relations eidem inesse . . . Omnis autem relatio quae ex tempore de Deo dicitur, non ponit in ipso Deo acterno aliquid secundum rem, sed secundum rationem.*

[24] *Mṛtyor mukhāt pramuktam* (cf. *KU,* III.15) = *mat-prasṛṣṭam* in the previous verse: both signifying 'freed', not to return to earth (a sorry reward), but to cross the solar threshold and pass through the golden gate to enter into the Paradise of Yama and of Varuṇa; the 'jaws of Death' being an open door to Life for those who understand. *Mors janua vitae.* My rendering above dispenses with any necessity for emendation of the text.

The Father's welcome of the son may be imagined in the words of *JUB,* III.14.5, 'Wrath' of God, from *ṚV,* X. 83, manifested as the 'bolt' (*vajra*),—'A great terror! An upraised bolt! Which those who comprehend become immortal' in *KU,* 2.[25] There are other scriptures in which the wrath of God must be appeased by the sacrifice of a lamb.

I.16 and II.3: *sṛṅkā.* This word, as everyone knows, does not occur elsewhere; but the rendering by 'chain' or 'garland' appears to be quite satisfactory. Some further discussion of the word may nevertheless prove helpful. Clues are provided by *sṛka,* arrow, and *sraja,* garland, derivatives of *sṛj,* and its modification *sraj,* in their senses of 'loose' or 'let fly', and 'turn, twist, or weave' as a garland. What is common to *sṛka* and *sṛṅkā* depends on what is the most usual meaning of *sṛj,* viz., 'to release'; the arrow being that which is released from the bow, and *sṛṅkā* being 'product' in the sense that *sṛṣṭi* is the act of production.[26] At the same time, although the forms are superficially unlike, *sraja* is synonymous with *sṛṅkā,* and the semantics of both words can be easily understood in connection with the meanings of *sraj,* to 'twist' or 'wind', and similar but less usual values in *sṛj.* Indian necklaces were and still are, in fact, often made of woven gold wire. *Sraja* and *sṛṅkā,* accordingly, both imply a chain, which may be either a chain of gold or jewels, or a garland, of flowers (cf. our 'daisy-chain').

We are now in a position to ask whether the *anekarūpa sṛṅkā* of *KU,* I.16 and *vittamayī sṛṅkā* of II.3 are really one and the same 'chain'. Let us consider the latter first. There can be no doubt what sort of chain it is that Naciketas refuses. It manifestly represents the 'whatever desires in this mortal world are hard to come by' (1. 3), which goods[27] Death offers to Naciketas, if only he will

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'What thou art, I am, and what I am thou art, come in' with its exact equivalent in Rūmī, *Mathnawi,* I.3063, 'since thou art I, come in, O myself'.

[25] *ṚV,* X.83 identifies *manyu* with Varuṇa as well as with the *vajra,* etc. The same is implied in X.73.10 'He (Agni) came forth from the Wrath' (*manyor iyāya*), and by *TS,* V.1.5.9 and 6.1 where 'agni when bound, as Varuṇa, attacks the sacrificer . . . he unloosens him . . . (and thus) distributes the wrath of Varuṇa that is in him. He pours water down; the waters are pacifications; verily by the waters appeased he calms his sharpness'. Compare the whole account of the origination of the 'fire-flash' from the 'darkness' in Behmen, *Three Principles,* XIV.69-75.

[26] Observe that as 'product' nothing is implied as to whether a material or a spiritual, 'property' is intended. The 'product' may be either of phenomenal things, or an entertainment of ideas. *Sṛṅkā,* in other words, may stand either for an extrinsic or an intrinsic wealth'.

[27] Just as *artha,* 'purpose' is also 'object' both as first and final cause, desire and things desired, so *kāma,* 'desire' is also the 'good' defined by Aristotle (Ethic I, cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I.5.1 c) as 'Whatever men desire' *Kāmāḥ* can often be rendered better by 'goods' than by 'desires'. A distinction has then to be made between particular and ultimate goods, or false and true desires, as in *CU,* VIII.3.1-2 and correspondingly St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* II.11.23.7 c and 45.1 ad 1 (distinction of *bonum verum* from *bonum falsum* as of *satyāḥ kāmāḥ* from *satyāḥ kāmāḥ anṛtāpidhānāḥ*). In the last analysis, this is a distinction of all goods considered as particulars from the universal good in which all goods obtain and are obtained (*sarvāpti, Kauṣ. Up.,* III.3, etc.).

refrain from pressing his third boon.[28] *Vittamayī* means made of, or of the nature of, wealth, property, goods, possessions: this is the meaning that is so well brought out in *BU,* I.5.15, 'The Spiritual self (*ātman*) is the hub, goods (*vitta*) the felly (of the world wheel, or of any being).[29] That is why, if anyone is afflicted by a total loss (of property), but himself still lives, they only say 'He has come off with the loss of a felly'. *BU,* I.4.17 furthermore distinguishes a 'human wealth' (*mānuṣaṁ vittam,* or V.1. *mānasaṁ vittam*)[30] from a 'divine wealth' (*daivaṁ vittam*) of the Spiritual-self (*ātman*), the former being what is 'obtained by the eye' (symbol of sense-perception), the latter what is 'heard by the ear' (symbol of intelligence,—*tac chṛṇoti,* 'what he hears' not without a reference to '*śruti*').[31]

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[28] The 'temptation' of Naciketas by Mṛtyu, Yama, in our text corresponds to the temptation of Māra in *J,* I.63 (offer of universal sovereignty) and *J,* I.78 (daughters of Māra), and to *Math.* IV.8.9, 'All these things will I give thee, if . . . ' and to the temptation by the 'Serpent' in Genesis. The Tempter (whether Love or Death, Satan or Serpent) is always one and the same Titan Father whom the proceeding Agni farewells in *ṚV,* X. 12.3-4, and the Tempted always the solar 'Man'. When the Sun of Men and Light of the World says 'Get thee behind me, Satan', this 'behind me' (*mad-paścā*) is a relegation of Varuṇa to his place in the West *AB,* V.2.3.1 'Yama holds the overlordship of the whole extent of earth; he who without asking from Yama a place of it . . . ' corresponds to Luke IV. 6 'for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will give it'. In the case of the first temptation of the Buddha by Māra (*J,* I.63), the Buddha's refusal of the Wheel Jewel (*cakka ratanam*), the recognized symbol of temporal power, is as much as to say 'My kingdom is not of this world'. It is in another sense that the Buddha, like Christ, is both king (*cakravartin*) and Prophet (*isitama, M,* I.386).

The virtually identical character of the three temptations, those of the Buddha, the Christ, and Naciketas lends further support to the view that *KU,* is the story, not so much of a specific 'human sacrifice' as of the dealings of the Universal Man with Death; or if we wish to avoid this conclusion, it is manifest at least that the dealing of Naciketas with Death is a 'type' of the conquest of Death by the Universal Man, in the same sense that the sacrifice of Abraham is 'typal' of the sacrifice of the Son of Man.

[29] Cf. St. Bernard's distinction of *esse* from *proprium.*

[30] *Mānasaṁ vittam* would be 'rational knowledge' as distinguished from 'first principles'; cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* II.11.1.180.1 c 'The appetitive power (i.e. *kāma*) moves one to observe things either with the senses or the intellect sometimes for love of the things seen . . . sometimes for love of the very knowledge that one acquires by observation'. *KU,* I.27 provides an adequate comment: *na vittena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyo, lapsyāmahe vittam adrākṣma cet tvā*? 'Man is not to be contented with goods; can we grasp after goods, who have seen Thee?' ('Not by bread alone',—nor even by 'facts').

[31] This is not a disparagement of the eye as such, but of sensational as distinguished from intellectual recognitions. Its bearing upon the modern tendency to substitute a 'visual' for a 'verbal' education is obvious. By 'visual education' there is meant, of course, a conveyance of factual information in terms of what things *look like*; and not at all the use of visual symbols or a presentation of traditional art where it is a matter not of appearances but of meanings.

In our Upaniṣad, Death is the *guru* and Naciketas the *śrāvaka*; the distinction of *vitta* from *vitta* in *BU* corresponds to that which we propose to recognize as between *sṛṅkā* and *sṛṅkā* in *KU*. There is, however, a distinction also of 'hearing' from 'hearing'. 'He is not to be apprehended by much hearing of scripture' (*na bahunā śrutena . . . labhyaḥ, KU,* II.23): 'One man hath ears, but hath not heard her (*Vāc,* as in *ṚV,* X.125.5; Aditi, as in *KU,* II.7; Sophia); but to another (sc. *ya evaṁ veda*) she unveils herself' *tanvaṁ vi sasre, ṚV,* X.71.4, prototype of *KU,* II. 23 *vivṛṇute tanūṁ svām*). Naciketas is precisely such 'another',—*tvādṛṅ no bhūyāt naciketaḥ praṣṭā, KU,* II.9.

More than this, there can be cited a Vedic text which affords a remarkable parallel to Naciketas' refusal of Death's *vittamayī sṛṅkā*: viz., that of *ṚV,* VIII.47.15, where 'the whole evil dream, whether it be necklace (*niṣka*) or chain of gold (*sraja*)' is consigned to Trita Āptya, who as an *ab intra* aspect of the Sun or Agni, cf. Ahir Budhnya, can easily be identified with Varuṇa (similarly made the recipient of inauspicious things) and with Death; in *ṚV,* I.163.3 the identification of the Solar Stallion with Trita and Yama is explicit, 'Yama art thou, O Stallion; Āditya thou; Trita art thou by interior operation'.

Our *vittamayī sṛṅkā* is then the chain or series of all 'goods', whether material or mental, considered objectively as something over against the Spiritual-self; all 'great possessions' such as those (amongst which may be remarked the moral virtues) for the sake of which the rich man turns away sorrowful,—*Math.* XIX.20f. and *Mark.* X.20f., 'and went away grieved; for he had great possessions . . . 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God (in our Upaniṣad, "Death's house", the Sun). . . . It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of the needle." '[32]

What then is the *anekarūpa sṛṅkā* of *KU,* I.16? Suspicion that this is another *sṛṅkā* is at once aroused by the fact that it is given, like a robe of honour, or insignia, as a free gift from Death to Naciketas, and that nothing whatever in the context suggests that the gift is made by way of bribe or temptation, nor is anything said about a refusal of this gift, nor can we see any reason why Naciketas should have refused this gift, even though that of a golden chain. If 'all is not gold that glitters', it does not follow that all that glitters is nothing but 'filthy lucre'. Gold is the recognized symbol of immortality throughout the Vedic and other traditions;[33] garlands are properly worn by the Devas, 'immortals',[34] we take it, indeed, that Death took the *sṛṅkā* from his own neck

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[32] We substitute 'the' for 'a' needle deliberately. The 'camel' is a type of the body and lower soul (*aisthesis* and *noesis*), the 'needle's eye' is the sun, cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawi,* I.3055-66 and *JUB,* III.14.1-5.

'There is no hope of eternal life by means of wealth' (*amṛtasya tu nāśāsti vittena, BU,* II.4.2). Almost all the 'cultural values' of modern civilization are 'great possessions'.

[33] Explicit in *ŚB,* IX.4.4.8, 'golden means immortal' (with reference to *VS,* XVIII.5, 'Golden-winged bird'); and *TS,* V.1.10.3 'Now Agni is Death and gold is immortality'.

[34] 'There are necklaces (*niṣkāḥ*) in the sacrificer's world' (*AV,* VII.99.1).

That our interpretation of the *anekarūpa sṛṅkā* is the correct one is strongly supported by the wording of a Buddhist text discovered after the foregoing had been written. We find in *M,* I.387 'Just as one might weave a manifold garland (*vicitraṁ* and put it upon that of Naciketas.[35] If we paraphrase *anekarūpa* by *viśvarūpa*, as is quite legitimate, we shall begin to understand what kind of chain this was; since 'omniform' is one of the most characteristic of the designations of the highest principle throughout the Vedic tradition. Omniformity is primarily Tvaṣṭṛ's or Vṛtra's, and secondarily, Indra's, Agni's, and Savitṛ's; it is their idiosyncrasy, their mode of being many whilst still remaining one, like Death in *ŚB*, X.5.2.16. The Spirit (*ātman*, the Sun in *ṚV*, I.115.1; Light of Lights) lends itself to all modalities of being, as water to vessels of all sizes and shapes, each taking what it can receive. In *ṚV*, II.33.9-10, Rudra, described in terms of the solar Indra (*vajrabāhu*, etc.), is multiform (*pururūpaḥ*) and 'radiant with shining golden-gear', and specific reference is made to the 'omniform, reverend necklace' (*niṣkaṁ yajataṁ viśvarūpam*) that he, the Arhat (*arhan*)[36] wears. It can be truly said, that 'omniformity' is the best of the divine 'ornaments' seeing that it is only that all 'good' can be referred to God *per excellentiam*, who were he not both the many (*aneka*) and the one (*eka*) could be thought of as a one amongst the many. As integral multiplicity (*viśvam ekam*, *ṚV*, III.54.8 he is the *imago imagivans* of each and every *imago imaginata*,—'the single form that is the form of very different things' (Eckhart). This is the doctrine of exemplarism, Vedic as well as Christian, but into an exposition of which we cannot enter here,[37] except to note the allusions in our Upaniṣad, V. 9 and 10-13, *rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratirūpo babhūva, ekas tathā sarvabhūtāntarātmā . . . eko bahūnāṁ yo vidadhāti kāmān*, 'One and only Spiritual-essence of all beings, who cometh into being as the counterform of each

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mālām), even so in the Bhagavan (Buddha) there is full many a form (*aneka-vaṇṇo*), yea, many many hundreds of forms (*anekasata-vaṇṇo*). Who can refuse praise (*na vaṇṇam karissati*) where praise is due?' Cf. *anekavarṇam* in *BG*, XI.14.

It may be observed that *vaṇṇo* (Skr. *varṇa*) has a variety of closely connected meanings, e.g. colour, aspect, splendour, beauty, caste, rank, ilk, kind, species, likeness, property (*in re*), quality, reason, cause, and praise, practically all of which meanings are present also in *rūpa*, at the same time that all correspond to 'form, idea, species, eternal reason, cause', etc., as these terms are employed in Scholastic exemplarism. The meaning 'praise' derives from the root meaning of *varṇ*, to 'describe'; and it can be readily understood that a 'description' of these countless 'attributes' is a 'laudation'. The 'innumerable forms' subsisting in a single 'form', or of 'innumerable beauties' in 'beauty' itself (cf. *CU*, IV.15 discussed in my *Source of and a parallel to Dionysius on the Beautiful*, in *Journ. Greater India Soc.*, vol. III, p. 38) are not so many 'possessions', but so many 'perfections'.

[35] Perhaps with the pertinent words of *AV*, X.6.4 'May this gold-woven jewel (*hiraṇya-srag ayaṁ maṇiḥ*), imparting faith and sacrifice (*yajñam*, cf. *yajatam* in *ṚV*, II.33.10) and grandeur (*mahat*), abide in our house as a guest' (*gṛhe vasatu no tithiḥ*, cf. *KU*, 1.9 *avātsīr gṛhe me . . . atithiḥ*). As everyone knows, the Hindu to this day garlands his guest, not indeed with such a garland in effect, a 'crown', as Death can bestow upon his Saints, but in imitation (*anukaraṇa*) thereof, and because 'We should do what the Devas have done'.

[36] *Arhaṇā bṛhad devāso amṛtattvam ānaśuḥ*, *ṚV*, X.63.4; cf. texts cited at the head of this article. Agni and Indra are pre-eminently the Arhats of *ṚV*.

[37] See my Vedic exemplarism, *HJAS*, I.1936, pp. 44-64.

and every form . . . the One of the many,[38] who fulfils their desires'.[39] Death's gift of the *anekarūpa-sṛṅkā* is an assimilation of Naciketas to himself, an acceptation, and as much as to say, as in *JUB,* III.14.5 'Who I am, thou art: Come in'.

I.26: *tava nṛtya-gīte,* 'Thine be the dance and song' acquires an added force if referred to *JB,* II.69-70, where Prajāpati and Death are conducting opposing sacrifices, Prajāpati's 'party' consisting of the chanted lauds, recitative, and ritual acts (in a word, the sacerdotal art) and Death's of 'what was sung to the harp, or "danced", or done by way of vanity' (in a word, secular art). For a fuller discussion see my 'Nature of "folklore" and "Popular art"' in *Q.J. Myth. Soc.*, Bangalore, XXVII.

We need hardly say that Prajāpati and Death are one and the same 'beyond the Falcon', but here considered *ab extra* under two different aspects: just as the Buddha and Māra are one, but considered in this world necessarily as contrasted and mutually conflicting principles. The Progenitor, the Wake, is the Son, or God, the principle of Life, as distinguished from Death, the Sleeper, the Father, or Godhead, the Ender: it is the Supreme Identity of both 'whose likeness is both of Life and Death' (*ṚV,* X.121.2), who 'unifies some and separates others' (*AĀ,* III.2.3) and can be referred to as saying 'I kill and I make alive' (Dent. XXII.39). Light and Darkness, Coolth and Heat (*chāyā-tapau,* III.1, see discussion below) are outwardly contrasted, as the sacerdotal and secular arts are contrasted in *JB.* But this does not mean that the sacerdotal and the secular art are without analogy, such an analogy for example as we shall presently recognize as subsisting between the *anekarūpa* and *vittamayī* 'chains': 'All music is an earthly representation of the music that there is in the rhythm of the ideal world' (Plotinus, *Enneads,* V.9.11). 'Thine be the dance and song' can have one meaning as spoken by Naciketas for whom in his 'simplicity', 'Death' is rather the event (*punar mṛtyu*) than the person (*Mṛtyu*) 'who does not die' (*ŚB*) but another and *paramārthika* significance for the Comprehensor, *ya evaṁ veda.* For if the song and dance are Death's in one way in this world, they are his in another way yonder, 'in Yama's seat, that "God-home" hight, there flutes are blown for him, there is he adorned with songs'. To have renounced the secular art is to have obtained the sacerdotal, in which the secular exists more eminently;[40] just as to have renounced the *vittamayī* chain is also to have obtained the *anekarūpa*. In this sense *tava nṛtya-gīte* is not so much 'Thine be the dance and song' but 'Thine are the dance and song' essentially.

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[38] Rather than 'one amid many' as rendered by Rawson. Cf. *AĀ,* II.3.8(4) 'In it in Unity all the Gods subsist'.

[39] Or 'dispenses their "goods"',—whatever these may be. The Spirit lends itself indifferently to all modalities of being: 'The same am I in all beings; there is none hateful to me nor dear' (*BG,* IX.29). The participation of essence (*ātmānaṁ vibhajya pūrayati imāṅl lokān, MU,* VI. 26) gives to individual potentialities the opportunity to become what they have it in them to become and this 'creation' is a necessary part of the 'plan of redemption', because in the last analysis all pursuit of any good is the pursuit of universal good ('God is called 'good' as being that by which all things are', Dionysius, *De div. Nom.* IV.1; 'It is not for their own sake, but for the sake of the Spiritual-essence that all things are "dear"', i.e. are thought of as 'goods' (*BU,* II.45 and IV.5, followed almost verbatim by *S.,* I.75 = *Udāna* 47). But if the divine essence gives to all things indiscriminately their being, the manner of their being depends upon themselves and is determined by the specific virtue that each thing 'milks' from the divine nature, *Natura naturans,* Creatrix, Virāja in *AV,* VIII.10.22f., or as it can be otherwise expressed, determined by mediate causes (*karma*) according to which 'fate lies in the created causes themselves' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I.116.2).

SECOND VALLĪ

At the close of the first Vallī Naciketas has already made his choice and stated his position. It would be only logical to assume that the following verses, II.1-13, are spoken by Death; Naciketas then interposing with his 'Tell it' (*tad vada* = *brūhi nas tat* in I.29 = *brūhi m'etam* in *Sn,* 346); the remainder of the Vallī, from 15 onwards, consisting of Death's exposition of the Brahma doctrine, which he develops from the imperishable-syllable, Oṁ. This interpretation will involve a reversal of the meaning usually attached to the words *atisrākṣīḥ* and *atyasrākṣīḥ* in II.3 and 11; this is discussed below. For the present we shall assume that *atisrākṣīḥ* in II.3 means, not 'thou hast renounced' but 'thou hast gotten', and shall discuss the application of this meaning in the context of the whole verse.

Observe the construction of the first two lines of each of vv.1-4. There is no question but that in vv.1, 2 and 4 we have to do with two 'very different' (*dūraṁ viparīte viṣūcī*) things; which are, in the first two verses *śreyas*[41] and *preyas* (the 'more glorious' and the 'pleasant' or 'dear') and in the fourth *vidyā* and *avidyā* ('science'; and 'nescience'; i.e. empirical or estimative knowledge); *ca* in verses 2 and 4 is disjunctive and implies contrast. It would be far from unreasonable to expect a similar construction in the third verse. Let us see if it can be recognized there. *Abhidhyāyan*, 'intensely contemplating', corresponds to *saṁparītya*[42] *vivinakti* in verse 2, which Rawson very properly renders by 'discriminates'. *Kāmān* is in any case the object both of *abhidhyāyan* and of *atisrākṣīḥ*. Suppose now that *ca* is here also disjunctive, and that here also there is a contrast drawn between two very different things, viz., *priyān kāmān* and *priya-rūpān*[43] *kāmān*, a distinction parallel to that of *satyāḥ kāmāḥ*

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[40] Cf. St. Bonaventura's *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, Op. 4 in *Opera Omnia*, Florence, 1891.

[41] With *śreyas* (as in *ṚV*, III.38.4 *śreyo vasānaś carati svarociḥ*) here cf. *śrī* and *śremāṇa* in *AB*, VII.15, and *śrī* in *JUB*, I.20.8. Perhaps the fullest explanation of *śrī* (a typically solar and regal property) is that given in *ŚB*, XI.4.3.1.

[42] It is interesting to compare *saṁparītya* here with *parīta* in the *TB* version of the Naciketas story, Rawson, p. 214 line 4 of the text. In both cases the literal sense is 'going round' or 'circumambulating' and the ultimate meaning, 'considering and understanding' (not excluding the literal meaning, however, in TB). Śaṅkara's *kruddha-iva* has been discussed above.

[43] A like pejorative use of *piya-rūpa* may be noted in *A*, II.54 and *M*, II.42.

('true desires') from *satyāḥ kāmā anṛtāpidhānāḥ* ('true desires overlaid by what is false') in *CU,* VIII.3.1-2. where moreover it is said that all these 'true desires' or 'real goods' are to be gotten by going 'there'; where indeed one goes everyday, viz., to the Brahma world in deep sleep, but without finding the hidden treasure, just because of being 'held back by the falsity' (*anṛtena hi pratyūḍhāḥ*),[44] while per contra 'One who goes hence having found already the Spirit (or his own Spiritual-essence) and those 'true desires' (or 'real goods'), becomes a 'Mover-at-will' in every world',[45] *CU,* VIII.1.6. Similarly, 'It is not for desire (*kāmāya*) of beings (as they are in) themselves that beings are dear, but for desire of the Spirit that beings are dear (*priyāṇi*)', *BU,* II. 4. 5.[46]

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[44] And this 'from which one is debarred by falsity' (disorder, or irregularity or lack of form) is precisely the 'house of Death', 'Where Yama, Death, is king, the place of heaven's defence, or arrest' (*yatrāvarodhanaṁ divaḥ, ṚV,* IX. 113.8, i.e. the Sun as in *CU,* VIII.6.5, *ādityaṁ . . . lokadvāraṁ viduṣāṁ prapadanaṁ nirodho 'viduṣām* the 'door' of *Math,* XXV.10 'and the door was shut', and the Egyptian 'sun-door'. It is precisely at this 'Death's door' (*mṛtyu-mukha, KU,* I.11), the *sauraṁ dvāraṁ . . . sūrya-maṇḍalaṁ . . . tena yānti parāṁ gatim* of *MU,* VI, 30, the *hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitam mukham* of *Īśā,* 15 and *MU,* VI. 35, at this Porte or Kingsgate, or 'threshold', that Naciketas, not yet a Comprehensor (*viduḥ, vidvān*) has been waiting for three nights. The Keeper of this Gate is the solar angel with the Flaming Sword ('the opening is all covered over with rays', *JUB,* I.3.6), the Truth (*satyaṁ haiṣā devatā, JUB,*I.5.3), Death (*pūṣann ekarṣe yama sūrya prājāpatya, Īśā,* 16 and *MU,* VI.35); he stands on guard (*apasedhanti tiṣṭhati*) but cannot repel one in whom there is the like Truth (*neśe yad enam apasedhet, JUB,*1.5.3). Nothing could better illustrate the consistency and universality of these formulae than the words of Nicolas of Cusa, *De Vis. Dei,* Ch. IX, 'It is the wall of the Paradise where Thou abidest, which none can enter if he has not overcome the Truth that guards its gate'.

The meaning of the 'three-nights' and of Death's 'absence' has been explained in a previous Note.

[45] The description of the liberated as 'Mover-at-will' (*kāmācārin*), corresponding to 'shall go in and out, and find pasture' in John X.9, is of frequent occurrence in the Upaniṣads, and can be found also in *ṚV,* IX.113.9 *yatrānukāmaṁ caraṇam,* 'where there is motion-at-will', or in other words, independence of local motion. Motion-at-will is a necessary consequence of deification (St. Paul, 'Whoever is joined unto the Lord is one spirit'; I Gal. VI.17; 'that art thou', *CU,* VI.8.9-11) if only because it is the Gale of the Spirit that 'moveth as it will' (*yathā vaśaṁ carati, ṚV,* X.168.4). John III.8 'shall go in and out, and find pasture' corresponds to *TU,* III. 10.5 *imān lokān kāmānnī kāmarūpy anusaṁcaran,* 'goes hither or thither in these worlds eating what food he will and in what shape he will'. The most detailed description of this Motion-at-will, which depends upon an habitual *samādhi* occurs in *A,* I.254f. For the exact equivalent in Chinese doctrine see Chuang Tzu, Ch. XIX (Giles, 1889, p. 231).

[46] St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* II.2.7 'But man is not to be loved for his own sake, but whatever is in man is to be loved for God's sake'; and 1.6.1 ad 1 and 2 'All things, by desiring their own perfection, desire God Himself' (in effect, *In omni bono, summum bonum, sc. Deus, desideratur*). *BU,* II.4.5 and IV.5 *na vā are lokānāṁ kāmāya lokāḥ priyā bhavanty, ātmanastu kāmāya lokāḥ priyā bhavanti* are echoed in *S,* I.75 (*Udāna* 47) where the *attakāmo* is approved, as one who finds in the world 'naught dearer than the Spiritual-essence' (*na . . . piyataram attanā kvaci*).

The texts are innumerable in which to be 'possesst of all desires' and to be 'without desire' are synonymous expressions;[47] no real meaning, indeed, can be attached to either expression alone, since it is only where *all* is already one's own that no *more* can even be thought of or desired (it is in this sense that *man* and *kam* are often interchangeable), and only where there is *nothing wanting* that one *cannot want.*

II.2: *yoga-kṣemāt.* Before proceeding to a discussion of II.11 we shall explain the sense of the second half of II.2. As in the first line of this half-verse the contemplative (*dhīraḥ*) is said to choose between two things, so in the second line we might expect that the sluggard (or 'fool') is said to choose between *two* things. Hume's version, based on the assumption that *yoga-kṣema* means *one* thing, is hardly grammatical English; Rawson makes the same assumption and produces a better version, in which 'prefers the pleasant' is understood to imply 'prefers the pleasant to the glorious'. But what is meant in our text is a choice between 'two very different' habits: it is as between *yoga* and *kṣema* that the sluggard makes his choice, deciding for the latter;[48] That this is the real intention will be immediately realized if we turn to *TS*, V.2.1.7: here a distinction has already been drawn between those who by means of the liturgy win this world, and those who, striding the Viṣṇu strides, win yonder world, and as the text continues, 'and so it is that the minds of some are set on *yoga* (*yoge' nyāsāṁ prajānāṁ manaḥ*)[49] and the minds of others on comfort (*kṣeme' nyāsām*); and accordingly the Wanderer (*yāyāvaraḥ = parivrājakaḥ*) lords it over the man-of-ease (*kṣemyasya īśe*), and so too that the Wanderer sits him down upon (*adhyavasati*)[50] the man-of-ease' (*kṣemyam*). And so in our text the fool prefers the ease of the householder to the hard life of the yogī.[51]

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[47] Equally in *ṚV*, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads, e.g. *ṚV*, IX.113.10-11, *ŚB*, X.5.4.15, *BU*, IV.3.21, and *CU*, VIII.12.6. With *ṚV*, IX.113.10-11 'Where are both desires and the consummation of desires, where the desires of him who desires are possest' (*yatra kāmā nikāmāḥ . . . kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmāḥ*) compare Traherne's 'Whose very wants are endless pleasures, His life in wants and joys is infinite. And both are felt as His Supreme Delight', Witelo *Lib. de intelligentis*, XX 'In quo . . . est unio, delectatio est continua, et vita secundum se delectabilis est in eo', and Dante, *Paradiso*, XXII.64-7. 'There perfect, whole, and ripe is each desire; in it alone is every part, there where it ever was, for it is not in space nor hath it poles'.

[48] Just as in *Sn*, 220, *asamā ubho dūra-vihāra-vuttino, gihi dāraposi, amamo ca subbato*, 'Unlike and widely divergent are the habits of the wedded householder and the holy man without an "I" '.

It is quite ture that in the modern vernacular, *yogakṣema* is 'means of livelihood', 'way of life', or 'habit'. In Pāli, moreover, *khema* is often 'peace' or 'rest' in a good sense (not that of sloth), e.g. *Sn*, 896, *khemābhipassaṁ avivāda-bhūmim*, and *yogakhema* occurs with the same meaning, e.g. *Sn*, 79 *viriyaṁ . . . yogakhemādhivāhanam*', 'energy that bears me onward to peace'. But in our text, the older distinction of a contemplative (anagogically 'active') from an active (anagogically 'idle') life is evidently preserved; *yogakṣemāt + yogāc ca kṣemāc ca.*

[49] 'The mind is verily for men the means either of bondage or release', *MU*, VI.34.

II.11: *kāmasyāpti*, the 'attainment of desire'. Can one conceive of a *summum bonum* otherwise, or think of the Brahman as in any respect deficient or in want? Can one think of one who becomes the Brahman as suffering a privation in any sense whatever? So far from this, *kāmasyāpti* in our text is as much as to say Ātman, for 'In full possession of all acts, all desire (or good) . . . this is my Spirit, within the heart, this very Brahman; he who is assured (*addhā*)[52] of this, that "When I go hence, I shall be altogether Him', for him there is no doubt' (*na viciktsāsti CU,* III. 14.4[53]). Similarly *CU,* VIII.1.6 'He who goes hence, having found here the Spirit and those true goods (*satyān kāmān*), becometh a mover-at-will in every world.' Our *kāmasyāpti* is assuredly a designation of the immortal Ātman, Brahman, 'beyond whom there is nothing more'. The expression *na vicikitsā-asti*, 'no doubt remains' is especially pertinent, in view of *KU,* I.20-1, 'This doubt (*vicikitsā*) there is about the man gone forth . . . even the Devas doubted in this respect of old'[54]; it is

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[50] *Adhivāsa*, 'sitting before a person's house without taking food till he ceases to oppose or refuse a demand (commonly called 'sitting in *dharṇā*')', MW. The homeless wanderer is the master of the master of the house; *kṣemya*, from *kṣi*, 'to dwell', being primarily 'one who has a home' and secondarily 'one who lives in comfort'. It is of great interest to notice that the contemplative life (so often thought of as one of inaction) is here the really active life, and that the life of the householder (usually termed the active life) is here the really idle life. This is one way of seeing 'action in inaction, and inaction in action' (*BG,* IV.18). But not the only way; for it need not be assumed that it is intended that the 'active' life is 'wrong' and the 'contemplative' life 'right' for every man. What is implied is the superiority of the 'contemplative' life *as such* to the 'active' life *as such*; a superiority that is also assumed in Christian doctrine, where it is implicit in the story of Martha and Mary, and explicit in St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* II.11.179-80. It is because the Indian householder is still of this persuasion that he still treats the wandering *sādhu* or *yogin*, the *sannyāsin* or 'truly poor man', as his superior, and would rather serve even those who may be pretenders than run any risk of not serving those who are really what their cloth proclaims them.

It may be added that the relation of the Wanderer to the Householder is ultimately that of Mitra to Varuṇa, and Naciketas to Yama: Naciketas is precisely 'sitting unfed' at Death's door, and truly a *bhikṣu*.

[51] Closely related to the thought of our text is *AB,* VII.15, *pāpo nṛṣadvaro jana, indra ic-carataḥ sakhā, caraiveti, caraiveti . . . sūryasya paśya śremāṇam, yo na tandrāyate caraṁś, caraiveti, caraiveti.*

[52] *Addhā*, 'certain', 'ascertained', as in *ŚB,* II.3.1.29 'Certain is the (audible) incantation, certain the Spirit'.

[53] It is just inasmuch as there is still a doubt (*vicikitsā*) for him, that Naciketas is *na-cikitvān, na-ciketas.*

[54] *KU,* I.20, 21 and 29 *yasmin idaṁ vicikitsanti mṛtyo, yat sāṁparāye mahati brūhi nas tat,* are closely paralleled and no doubt followed by *Sn,* 346 where the question addressed to the Buddha is framed as follows, *chindeva no vicikicchaṁ, brūhi me'tam, parinibbutaṁ vedaya*; and 354 *nibbāyi so? ādu sa-upādi-seso? yathā vimutto, ahu.*

A definite answer occurs in *S,* III.109 'It is an overstatement to say that when the true that the matter in doubt is differently formulated in *KU* ('to be or not to be, after death'), but there is no essential difference, because 'to be or not to be' and 'to be or not to be in a state of privation' amount to the same thing. By way of further comment we can only add that 'We desire a thing while as yet we do not possess it. When we have it, we love it, desire then falling away' (Eckhart, I.82), and ask and answer with Rūmī 'What is love? Thou shalt know when thou becomest Me'[55] (*Mathnawī*, Bk. II, Introduction). There are no distinctions yonder of 'a within and a without' (*BU*, IV.3.21 and 5.13): no distinction, therefore, of what one desires from what one has, nor of what one knows from what one is.

II.11 continued: *stoma-mahad urugāyam* (sc. *padam*), 'The exceeding praised far-going (stride or step).'[56] With *stoma-mahat* compare II.15 *sarve vedā yat . . . āmananti*, 'that which all the Vedas glorify', viz., *yat padam . . . tat te bravīmi* 'that stride . . . of which I am about to tell thee', that is, of course, the third boon (*tṛtīyaṁ varam*) of I.19, the 'last passage' (*sāmparāya*) about which Naciketas asks when he says 'tell me that' (*brūhi nas tat*, I.29).[57] The student can hardly by this time have failed to realize that the 'three boons' correspond to the 'three strides' of Viṣṇu. With the third boon, then, Naciketas is given to understand the meaning of 'the end of the road, which is Viṣṇu's farthest stride' (*adhvanaḥ pāram . . . tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam*, III.9), 'the place of the farthest stride of the wide-stepping Viṣṇu, the far-striding Bull' (*urukramasya viṣṇoḥ . . . atra . . . urugāyasya vṛṣṇaḥ paramaṁ padam, ṚV*, I.154.6). This is

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body of one who has destroyed the foul issues has been cut off, he himself is broken up and destroyed and is no more after death' (*na hoti pāraṁ maraṇam*). It is only for what is *anattā*, that 'there is no hereafter' (*nāparam, S*, III.118).

A systematic collation of parallel passages from the Upaniṣads and the Piṭakas is much to be desired, both from the point of view of those whose interests are exegetical, and that of those whose primary interest is in literary history.

[55] This is the answer to the question of 'Love' as posed in the Middle Ages, *Utrum home anturaliter diligat Deum plus quam semetipsum?*

[56] On the solar character of Viṣṇu in *ṚV*, see Hopkins in *JAOS*, XVI.147.

[57] For the Buddhist parallel (a colloquy between Vangisa and the Buddha) see the citation from *Sn*, 346 in a previous Note.

As the Brahman is here the 'third boon' (*tṛtīyaṁ varam*), so in *Muṇḍ.*, II.2.12 the Brahman is 'most boon' (*variṣṭham*).

Sāmparāya of *KU*, I.29 (= *parāyaṇam* in *Praśna Up.*, I.10) may be compared with *sāmparāya* and *pārāyaṇa* in *Sn*, where the former is used for 'future life' as that about which there may be a wishful thinking, and the latter for 'crossing over' or 'transition' to a true 'beyond' (*Sn*, 1130 *maggo so pāraṁ gamanāya tasmā pārāyaṇam iti*). In *S*, V.217 *maccuparāyano* is 'crossing over death'; the verse in which the term occurs has been misunderstood; in reality it presents an antithesis to the previous verse, and in saying 'He who lives a hundred years, he crosses over death' (*yo pi vassasataṁ jive so' pi maccuparāyano*), repeats the doctrine of *ŚB*, X.2.6.7 'whosoever lives a hundred years, he, indeed, obtains that immortality' (the assumption being that in the full term of life, all that had to be done will have been done, one becomes *kṛtakṛtyaḥ*, or in the often repeated words of the Pāli texts *khīnā jāti, vusitaṁ brahmacariyam, kataṁ karaṇīyam, nāparam, itthatāyāti*).

assuredly the 'last end' (*paramāṁ gatim*) of VI.10, and certainly not what Naciketas can be thought of as refusing, but rather as that of which he would know; for as *ŚB,* I.9.3.10 and 20 expresses it, 'That is the goal, that the support (*etāṁ gatim, etāṁ pratiṣṭhām*), now he moves with (and no longer under) the Sun'.[58]

II.11 continued: *abhayaṁ pāram* = *abhayaṁ titīrṣatāṁ pāram* in III.2, i.e. *svarge loke (yatra) na bhayaṁ kiñcanāsti,* I.12, 'the place of no-fear, reached by those who cross over, in heaven-world (where) there is no fear whatever', and as the text continues 'not there art thou', i.e. Death as Naciketas at first conceives him, *punar mṛtyu.*[59] There can be no doubt about the meaning of 'no-fear'. To have passed beyond fear is to have passed beyond all otherness, to have found the *advaitam:* for 'Assuredly it is only from another (than oneself) that fear arises' (*dvitīyād vai bhayaṁ bhavati, BU,* I.4.2); and 'When verily one finds the support 'no-fear' (*abhayaṁ pratiṣṭhām*) in this unseen, despirated, inexplicable, placeless (*anilayane*[60]) then is he one that has attained to 'no fear' (*TU,* II.7).[61] If the separated Persons (Agni, Sūrya, Indra, Vāyu, and Death himself) perform their functions 'in fear of Him, of Brahman' (*KU,* II.3 and *TU,* II.8.1), this belongs to their separated Personality, and not their being in Him, in Whom, the Imperishable (*akṣara*) 'are all the

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[58] *Asyaivāvṛtam anvavartate.* This is the *raison d'être* of all 'sunwise turns' (*pradakṣiṇit, prasalavy-āvṛt*).

[59] Naciketas, of course, as not yet a Comprehensor, conceives of Death, not 'as he is yonder' but 'as he is many in his children' (*ŚB,* X.5.2.16) and as the cause of natural death (*ŚB,* X.5.2.13). The distinction of *punar mṛtyu* from Mṛtyu himself, of death the 'enemy' from Death the 'friend' is clearly drawn in *BU,* I.2.7 where the conquest of the one is union with the other: with that Death, viz, 'who does not die', 'the Person in yonder Sun' (*ŚB,* X.5.2.3) who, though Naciketas does not yet know it, is that very ultimate Person spoken of in III. 11 'beyond whom there is naught, that is the goal post and last end' (*puruṣān na paraṁ kiñcit, sā kāṣṭhā sā parā gatiḥ*),—the Person of *Īśā,* 16, *asau puruṣaḥ so' ham asmi,* 'Yonder Person, I'.

The same distinction is finely drawn in *ŚB,* X.5.2.17 'Is Death near or far away? Both near and far away; for inasmuch as he is here on earth in the body he is near, and inasmuch as he is That One in yonder world, he is far away'. It is 'as he is here on earth in the body' (as an 'infection', cf. *JUB,* IV.9, etc.) that Naciketas rightly says of the Beyond that 'Thou art not there'.

[60] On the placelessness of God, see the discussion of II. 25.

[61] Further, *AV,* X.8.44 *tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛtyor ātmānaṁ dhīram ajaraṁ yuvānam* ('He who knows that contemplative, incorruptible, ever-youthful spirit, has no fear of death'); *TU,* II.9 *ānandaṁ brahmaṇo vidvān na bibheti kutaścana* ('He who knoweth beatitude in Brahman feareth nothing whatever', cf. 'Perfect love casteth out fear'); *Praśna Up.,* I.10 *etat amṛtam abhayam etat parāyaṇam, etasmān na punar āvartante* ('That sun is the immortal, that the crossing over to where there is 'no-fear', thence there is no coming back again'). The condition of 'no-fear', whether of death or anything whatever, is never referred, nor could it be referred, to any other or less state than that the *summum bonum* and Supreme Identity. The use of the term 'no-fear' in our verse is therefore the strongest possible argument for a reference of the whole to a 'last end' which if Naciketas had 'renounced', he would have been a 'simpleton' indeed.

Devas in one combined' (*AĀ*, II.3.8). Professor Rawson (p. 89) is perfectly right in identifying our *pratiṣṭhā* with that which is attained by Viṣṇu's third stride in *ŚB*, I.9.3.10 and 20.[62] But what is thus attained is not a sub-solar Elysium, still in the power of Death, it is the beatitude of those who have made their final crossing (*sāmparāya*, *KU*, I.29) and have 'entered in by the door' (*per ostium*, John X.1 = *sūrya-dvāreṇa*, *Muṇḍ.*, I.2.11)[63] to the Father, the Immortal Person (John X.7 and 9 and XIV. 6 and *Muṇḍ.*, I.2.11). This 'heaven' into which one enters by the Sun-door is 'beyond the falcon' (*imam upariśyenaṁ svargaṁ lokam*, *JB*, III.270), is the Empyrean 'where no sun shines' (*KU*, V.15), the 'vault apart from sorrow' (*nākaṁ viśokam*)[64] to which one attains, not by the twenty-one syllables[65] of the Sāman chant, but with a twenty-second (*dvā-viṁśena paramād ādityāj jayati*, *CU*, II.10.5), only to be 'known' by 'one who is qualified to pass through the midst of this Sun' (*ka etām ādityam arhaṭi samayaitum? kas tad veda yat pareṇādityam? JUB*, I.6.1 and 4).[66] It is that 'state of glory' which, as St. Thomas says, 'is not under the sun' (*Sum. Theol.*, III Suppl., 91.1 *ad* 1, cf. I.103.5 *ad* 1). If, finally, our 'support' is the 'world's support' (*jagataḥ pratiṣṭhā*) what other support can this be than that of the Brahman, the Breath[67] 'in whom the whole world stirs and is withdrawn' (*KU*, IV.2) the ultimate Brahman, founded on which power the world-all shines resplendent' (*Muṇḍ.*, III, 2.1), or than 'the support that is the possession of the infinite-world that is set in the secret place' (*KU*, I.14)?

II.11 continued: *atyasrākśīḥ*. It does not appear needful to demonstrate at any greater length that II.11 describes a *summum bonum* which Naciketas cannot possibly be thought of as having 'rejected'. It remains to be shown that *atyasrākṣīḥ* here and *atisrākṣīḥ* in II.3 do not mean 'Thou hast rejected'. *Ati* presents no difficulty; it is well known to be an intensive prefix, as in *JUB*, I. 3.5 *atimucyate* 'He is altogether freed'; *ati* has precisely the effect of Latin

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[62] Cf. *MU*, VI.35 *apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya viṣṇave.*

[63] Note *ostium* in John X.I = *mukham* in *Īśā*, 15, *MU*, VI.30 and *KU*, I.11 and III.16; both as 'entrance', 'way in'. For *mukha* as 'entrance' of a city gate, approached by a bridge (*saṁkrama*) cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, Ch. 21. It is in this sense that 'the Mouth receives' (*mukha ādhatte*) the Comprehensor, *JUB*, III. 33.8 (misunderstood by Oertel, *JAOS*, XVI.193).

[64] Hermeneutically, *na-akam*, 'without lack of any desire' (cf. *TS*, V.3.7.1), *na hāsya kaścana kāmo'nāpto bhavati ya evaṁ veda*, *JUB*, III. 33.8,—*kāmasyāpti* in our text, and cf. II.16 *akṣaraṁ jñātvā, yo yad icchati tasya, tat.*

[65] Corresponding to the twenty-one worlds, or states of being, in the cosmos, viz., twelve months, four seasons, three worlds, and the Sun, *AB*, V.1.10.3. 'Now he who glows yonder (the sun) is doubtless Death (Mṛtyu), those (of his) offspring that are here below are mortal (*mriyante*), but those beyond (him), the Devas, are therewith immortal', *ŚB*, II.3.3.7).

[66] *Kastaṁ madāmadaṁ devaṁ madanyo jñātumarhati?* 'Who but I', *KU*, II. 21. All that Death teaches Naciketas, who as his disciple does not yet 'know', is an answer to the question 'What is Death?', and could be summarized thus, by 'Thou shalt know when thou becomest Me'.

[67] The Brahman, Akṣara, similarly represented by the 'Breath' in *AĀ*, II.3.8(5).

super, and does not change the essential value of the roots to which it is attached. *Sṛj* is to 'free', 'let go', or 'emanate', *passim*, and in the latter sense to 'make' (*ŚB*, III.2.4.6 *vīṇām . . . sṛṣṭvā* 'producing a harp', XI.1.6.9 *pāpmānaṁ vā asṛkṣi* 'I have brought forth evil', *BU*, IV.3.10 *sṛjate, sa hi kartā*, 'He produces for himself, he is indeed the creator'), and so also to 'acquire' or 'obtain' (*Manu*, VIII.140, *vṛddhiṁ sṛjet*, 'He may take as interest'), if *sṛj* is to 'release', this is not in the sense 'relinquish', but as one 'sets off' or 'sets agoing' what has been a latent property in or of the subject.[68] *Sṛṣṭi*, often rendered by 'creation' (of the world) is in this sense, *passim*, precisely what St. Thomas describes as the 'emanation of all being from the universal cause, which is God . . . the emanation of all being, from the non-being which is nothing'[69] (*Sum. Theol.*, I. 45.1.1). On the one hand, such an emanation does not deprive the subject of anything (*AV*, X.8.29; *BU*, V.1), on the contrary,

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[68] It is in this sense that one 'releases' news, or that a film is 'released' by a Cinema company. The release is from potentiality to act, and always for the advantage of the subject. The acts of one who 'releases' (*sṛjati*) and that of one who 'discards' (*tyajati*) a thing are very different. A remarkable parallel to *sṛj* in this sense of 'give effect to' or 'reduce to act' can be cited in Witelo, De intelligentis, XVIII, *Exunione potentiae activae cum exemplari, ad quod est ordinata, relinquitur delectatio, in qua est vita cognitiva* the '*kāmasyāptim . . . atyasrākṣīḥ*, of our text corresponding exactly to Witelo's *relinquitur delectatio*, or as Death would have actually said *a te relicta est delectatio.*

[69] Despite St. Thomas' use of emanatio (loc. cit.) the objection has been made that *sṛṣṭi* as 'emanation' implies the existence of a 'materiality' in God. We can only say, in the first place, that it is with the Spirit that the person fills these worlds, dividing himself (*MU*, VI.26), it is by his knowledge of himself that Brahma is this all (*BU*, I. 4.10); the emanation not of 'matter', but of 'children' (*prajāḥ*, *passim*), so that 'He is one as he is in himself, and many as he is in his children', (*ŚB*, X.5.2.16). In most contexts, indeed, it might well be preferable to render *sṛṣṭi* by 'expression', rather than by 'emanation' ('creation' is in any case inappropriate): by 'expression', that is, as this term is employed by Bonaventura to denote what is at the same time a 'conception' and a 'luminous raying'. These are, in fact, images that recur again and again in our texts, where we meet again and again with the phrase *prajā asṛjata*, 'expressed offspring'; with the notion a production by *manas* as father out of *vāc* as mother, cf. also *JUB*, II.9, 10 where the 'rays' of the 'Sun' are called his 'sons'. Bonaventura's 'For all the eternal reasons are eternally conceived in the vestibule (in *vulva* = *yonau*) or womb (*utero* = *jaṭhare*) of the eternal wisdom' (*In Hexaem*, coll. 20, n. 5) parallels many of the most characteristic ontological formulations of the Vedic tradition, and if occurring in an Indian context would be spoken of as 'Tantrik' (cf. my La doctrine tantrique de la 'Bi-Unité divine' in *Études Traditionelles*, XLII, 289-301, 1937). For Bonaventura's 'expressionism' see Bissen, *L'exemplarisme divin selon Saint Bonaventura*, 1929, p. 93.

The problem of a 'materiality' in God does not, in fact, arise. On the one hand, it is obvious that all things are, in some sense, in God, because of his infinity (*anantatva*): in this sense the eternal reasons of all 'material' things must be in him. On the other hand, Sanskrit has no word for 'matter' in the sense of 'concrete reality': for 'that which fills space in such a manner that it can be conceived of and/or sensed, Sanskrit has only *nāma-rūpa*, 'name' (idea, species, substantial form) and 'phenomenon' (perceptual aspect, accidental form), or in other words the 'intelligible' and the

the art remains in the artist and on the other, that which is thus emanated is for the use and advantage of the emanating subject for example, *PB,* VII.6.3 *vācaṁ vyasṛjata* = *BU,* VI.4.2 *striyaṁ sasṛje,* and *ŚB,* IV.6.9.24 where *vācaṁ visṛjeran* is simply the converse of *vācaṁ yamaḥ* 'restraining the voice'.[70] The basic value of *sṛj* is thus to 'reduce from potentiality to act', to 'utter', 'express', 'realise' and 'make effective'. When it is really a question of abandonment, the form *utsṛj* is employed, e.g. *ŚB,* IX.5.1.12 *utsṛjya* (*anṛtam*), *BU,* IV.3.35 *utsarjat* (*śarīram*), and *Nala,* X.29 *utsṛjya* (*bhāryām*); but in *JB,* III. 235 *udasṛjata* (*paśūn*) is merely 'released'. There are not many occurrences of *atisṛj:* the most notable is in *BU,* I.4.6, *brahmaṇo 'tisṛṣṭiḥ, yac chreyaso devān asṛjata* 'This was the Brahman's super-emanation, that he emanated the more glorious divinities', where the intensive force of *ati* is evident, and no other change in the value of *sṛj* is involved; in the corresponding text of *ŚB,* XI.2. 3.3, where there is no '*śreyasaḥ*', *sṛj* alone is used, without prefix. The only other use of *atisṛj* that I know of is in *Kauṣ.Up.*, I.2, *tam atisṛjate,* 'He (the Moon) lets him go freely', i.e. allows him to enter the Moon-door to heaven unhindered; just as we might speak of St. Peter admitting a soul to heaven, or of an examiner 'passing' a student; nobody renounces anything, unless, indeed, we think of the examiner as 'renouncing' his right to 'flunk' the student, which no more lies within his competence than it lies within the power of the Sun to hold back one who gives the right answer (*neśe yad enam apasedhet, JUB,* I.5.3). The doubly intensified *abhi-ati-sṛj* employed in *AV,* X.5.15 = XVI.1.5, is also 'to let pass', of *abhy-ati-mucyate* in *JUB,* I.30.4. It can be said, accordingly, that to make of *atisrākṣīḥ* and *atyasrākṣīḥ* in our Upaniṣad 'Thou hast renounced' is to force and distort the normal meanings of *sṛj,* whether with or without the intensive prefix *ati.* Nor shall we find anything in our text that compels us to force or distort the essential values of *sṛj* in this way. If Śaṅkara himself does so, it is for the same reasons that he altogether

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'sensible'. 'As far as there are "name and phenomenon" so far this universe extends' (*ŚB,* XI.2.3.3); it is by means of these that the Brahman is manifested, and the world a theophany (ibid., 5). It is true that Sanskrit *mātrā* (measure) and *(nir) māṇa* (measured out) are the etymological equivalents of matter and 'material', and that these terms denote whatever belongs to the realm of continuous quantity; but what is thus 'measured out' (by the Sun, cf. Blake's 'Ancient of Day') is not the physicist's matter', even in its most mental form, but the possibilities of manifestation that inhere in the Spirit,—'inhere', in the sense that time inheres in eternity, eloquence in silence, or measureable space in the space that cannot be traversed. *Mātrā* is much nearer to the Scholastic 'species' as characterized by 'number' than to *materia* thought of as mass. It may be added that the Platonic and Neo-Platonic concept of 'measure' (*metron*) accords with the Indian: the 'unmeasured' is that which has not yet been defined, or future; the 'measured' is the defined or finite content of the ordered cosmos; the 'immeasurable' is the infinite, which is the source alike of the indefinite and the finite, and remains unaffected by the definition of what of it is definable.

[70] Even in *ŚB,* I.3.9.23 *atha vrataṁ visṛjate,* 'Then he *ceases* from the operation' (sacrifice), *visṛjate* does not mean 'rejects', but only 'finishes with' in the same sense that a man 'finishes with' the Mass when the office has been completed.

changes the meaning of *KU,* VI. 4; concerned as he is only with Return (*nivṛtti, nibhava abhava*) Śaṅkara deliberately ignores the divine procession (*pravṛtti, prabhava, vibhava*),[71] the *akṣara* is not merely for him the 'Unwasting' but rather the 'Unflowing', or 'Non-proceeding Pleroma', *pūrṇam apravartin, CU,* III.12.9.[72] It is from the same point of view that Eckhart says that 'In the birth of the Son all creatures went forth life and being, hence all things are lively imaged in the Son. Now when the soul returns again within, she loses the Son . . . the soul has got to die to all the activity connoted by the divine nature if she is to enter the divine essence where God is altogether idle' I.275-6).[73] This is the 'last step' (*paramaṁ padam*), indeed in the sense that henceforth one must 'walk without feet', as Rūmī words it; but no more for the Vedānta than for Eckhart the whole story. To be unified with Death (which is the same thing as to have 'conquered recurrent death') is to participate in all of Death's activities as well as in his 'idleness'. Varuṇa's 'still waters' are not merely motionless, but also the Fountain of Life and ever-flowing source of the Rivers of Life (*sindhūnām upodaye, ṚV,* VIII.41.2); their 'stillness' or immutability consists in this, that in flowing forth, they are not diminished, 'This is the lovely paradox, O men, that while the rivers flow, the waters are at rest' (*caranti yannadyas tasthur āpaḥ, ṚV,* V.47.5). The Self (*ātman*) 'apart from any glimmer of a distinctive "this" or "such" or thus' Śaṅkara, *Svātmanirūpaṇa,* 112, cf. *S,* I.140 and *M.,* II.39 *nāparam itthatāyāti* is also the quickening Self and Sun of all things (*ṚV,* I.115.1), into which it enters 'on wings of gladness and felicity' (*Taitt. Up.*, II.5, cf. my Two Vedāntic hymns, *BSOS,* VIII, p. 96, Note 3). If the Son returns to the Father, the Father is always becoming the Son.[74] The transcendence of suchness is not a privation, but an 'all-obtaining' (*sarvāpti*) the fulfilment of all desires and the realization of all potentialities, from which 'all' we cannot exclude those of formal manifestation. 'Whoever is joined unto God is one spirit', as St. Paul expresses it; and the Spirit bloweth as it will, *carati yathāvaśam* (*ṚV,* X. 168.4).

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[71] *Vibhava* is wrongly understood by the translators of Pāli texts; *vibhū* is the same as *Vijan,* 'to be distributively born', as in *AV,* X.8.13 *Vibhava* is 'omnipresence', a universal as distinct from an individual 'becoming', or 'birth'.

[72] Perhaps the best explantion of the well-known term Akṣara (= Brahman) is that to be found in *JUB,* I.43.8 'Whom do you revere'? The Akṣara. How do you mean, 'Akṣara'? It is 'Akṣara inasmuch as though it flows (*kṣarat*) is not exhausted (*na kṣīyate*)'. The Brahman is the inexhaustible Fons Vitae, the 'inexhaustible well' (*avatam . . . anupakṣitam, ṚV,* X.101.5), Plenum (*pūrṇam*), of *AV,* X.8.29 and *BU,* I.5).

[73] This in answer to the question, 'How can there be death in him who says of himself that he is the life?'. 'Idle' is *avrata, apravartin;* it is as *vrātya, cakra vartin, rathin* that he proceeds, and this is Eckhart's 'divine activity'. The point of the cited text is that to know Him as 'eternal rest, eternal work', one must have crossed over from the working to the rest: whoever's knowledge is of Mitra only knows not Varuṇa, but whoever returns to Varuṇa through Mitra possesses Mitrāvaruṇau both.

[74] Hence the designation of Agni as Tanūnapāt, 'own grandson', and in analogous human custom, the transmission of names from grand-father to grandson.

It is with this will that the Comprehensor's will is one, when he says in *ṚV,* V. 46.1 'Like a knowing horse, I yoke myself to the pole (of the car and that I draw that ferries o'er and giveth aid, nor do I choose between a being loosed therefrom and a coming back again. May he, the waywise leader, guide me straight.' Śrī Kṛṣṇa says of himself, 'There is naught in the Three Worlds, O Pārtha, that remains for me to do (*kartavyam*)[75] nor aught ungotten that I yet might get, and yet I am in act' (*varta eva ca karmaṇi, BG,* III. 22). It is neither by 'activity alone', nor yet by 'inactivity' that Kṛṣṇa can be imitated: 'He who seeth inaction in action, and action in inaction, is wholly in act' *kṛtsna-karma-kṛt, BG,* IV.18 = *kṛtakṛtyaḥ, AĀ,* II.5 and *MU,* II.I; and *S,* I.140, *katamkaraṇīyam . . . abbhaññasi*). In the same way it can be said, and is in fact said by the *āptakāmam, ātmakāmam akāmam,* of *BU,* IV.3.21, that 'He whose desire, or love, is the Spirit, both hath his desire and is without desire, he findeth fulfilment of desire in not desiring.'

It has been sufficiently shown that the things that Naciketas is supposed to have abandoned are not those things which are abandoned by a Comprehensor. It is not, in fact, 'things' that one abandons, but only false appearances; just as one rejects the notion 'rope' when a snake has been diagnosed,[76] so one rejects any other appearance to which the mind has attached itself,[77] and comes into a possession of a truer knowledge, and in the last analysis of Truth itself; one renounces the reflection[78] (*imago imaginata*) as soon as one perceives its source (*imago imaginans*).[79]

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[75] More fully in *BG,* III.17-18, *kāryaṁ na vidyate,* and *nāsti kartavyam* because in him there is no potentiality (*kṛtyā*) that has not however ben reduced to act (*kṛtam*): and *naiva tasya kṛtenārtho nākṛtena* because *sarva saṁsiddhārthaḥ* and like Varuṇa in *ṚV,* I.25.11 *abhi paśyati, kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* = I.164.20 *anyo abhi cākaśīti.*

On the other hand, when the Deity is thought of *inprincipio,* and as proceeding, *akṛtārtha* as in *MU,* II.6, there are always 'those things which God must will of necessity' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I.45.2 c), i.e. *per necessitatem infallibilitatis* (and not coaction is, cf. *BG,* III, 18b *na cāsya sarva-bhūteṣu kaścidartha-vyapāśrayaḥ*). Hence in *ṚV,* I.165. 9 *yāni kariṣyā kṛṇuhi*; IV.18.2 *bahūni me akṛt kartvāni*; VIII.102.8 *ābhuvat tvaṣṭā rūpeva takṣyā* (i.e. from that 'world' from which the worlds are hewn, X.81.4), balanced by *S,* I.180 *na me vanasmin karaṇīyam, atthi,* spoken by the Buddha by whom all has been done that should be done. The Devayāna, in other words, is the way of procedure from potentiality to act, from action *per accidens* to action *per essentiam.*

[76] It is worthy of note that the example of the rope and the snake is employed by Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrhonism,* I. 227, 228) precisely as in the Vedānta to illustrate the unreliability of all conceptions of reality based on sense-perception. At the same time (ibid., I.19) Sextus points out that the Sceptics, of whom it was said that 'they abolish phenomena' do nothing of the sort; they accept the actuality of phenomena, but 'we question whether the underlying object is such as it appears, and our doubt does not concern the appearance itself but the account given of that appearance'; this also appears to be the Vedāntic position, *māyāvāda.* This is certainly also the Christian position: Augustine, *De immo, animae,* c. 12. n. 19 'Things are true insofar as they have being'; St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I.14.9 'Things we see around us have distinct being outside the (individual) seer'; but this *being* is not what we see, rather, ibid., I.13.12 and 2, 'Our intellect cannot comprehend simple subsisting forms, as they really *are* in themselves', and I.13.7 'Realities existing in nature are outside the order of sensible and intelligible existence'; Augustine, *Conf.* XI. 'Our knowledge compare with Thine is ignorance' (cf. *avidyā*). When Augustine also says (*Soliloq. lib.* II. c. 5. n. 8) 'What

II.14: Naciketas urges Death to proceed to the answering of his question, Naciketas himself describing That of which he would learn, in terms of the negative theology. In the first line, we agree with Rawson's 'Apart from duty and non-duty', though perhaps should prefer 'Apart from what is or is not "in order" '. It is precisely from the plane of 'conduct' that the liberated Comprehensor, the knower of Brahman, is enlarged: cf. *CU,* VIII.4.1 where neither the well-done nor ill-done (*na sukṛtaṁ na duṣkṛtam*) can cross the Bridge of the Spirit that holds these worlds apart; *MU,* VI.18, *vidvān puṇyapāpe vihāya,* 'The Comprehensor, putting away both merit and evil' (also in *Muṇḍ.*, III.1.3); *Kauṣ. Up.*, I.4, 'This one, separated from the well-done and separated from the ill-done, as a comprehensor of the Brahman, verily goes forth unto Brahman'; *BG,* V.15 'The Lord accepts neither the evil nor the well-done of anyone' (cf. *JUB,* I.5.1-2); *M,* I.135 'If you understand the parable of the raft, you must discard *dhamma*, and *a fortiori adhamma*'; John III. 9 'Whoever is born of God, cannot sin'; Galatians V.18 'If you are led by the Spirit, you are not under the law'; Eckhart, 'There neither vice nor virtue ever

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seems to me to be true is that which is', he is not saying that any appearance is 'true' or that the senses of reason together can do any more than entertain opinion about the being of things as they are in themselves. 'Creation is the emanation of being', which 'being' is God (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.45.1); to know their being, or ultimate reality or truth would be then to know them as they are in God, to know God, for which, as the Upaniṣads so often insist, the senses and the mind are inadequate.

It may be that the Greek Sceptics did not believe in the possibility of a true knowledge 'science' as distinguished from 'opinion', be this as it may, the Sceptics' position as cited above is indistinguishable from that of the Upaniṣads. We are far from assuming an 'Indian influence' and in any case are not immediately interested in problems of literary history, but only in the truths expressed. It may, however, be observed in the present connection that what is said of relief in painting in the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṁkara*, XIII.17 and *Laṅkāvatāra, Sūtra*, Nanjio's edn., p. 91, appears with almost verbal identity in Sextus (*Pyrrhonism*, I.120) and in Hermes (*Lib.* XI.ii, 17a).

[77] And which is therefore a matter of 'fond belief', and to be distinguished from 'faith', the nature of which 'consists in knowledge alone' (St. Thomas. *Sum. Theol.*, II. 11.47.13 *ad* 2).

[78] 'For production (*genesis, janma*) is the image of being in nature (*hūle*, the 'wood' of *ṚV,* X.31.7 and 81.4 = Brahman in *TB,* II.8.9.6; *prakṛti*), and the thing produced (*gignomenon, jātam*) is an imitation of what is' (*mimemia tou notes ātmanaḥ pratimā, ŚB,* I.6.13), Plutarch, *Moralia,* 372, F.

[79] The converse position is admirably illustrated by Aesop's story of the Dog and the Shadow, where the dog, crossing a bridge, and having a piece of meat in its mouth, sees the reflection in water, and jumps in after it, thus losing the reality in pursuit of the appearance. Incidentally, we wish to recommend to those who interpret *ṚV,* 'naturalistically', Plutarch's remarks on the Greeks who fail to distinguish between 'Apollo and the sun', ibid., 400, D.

entered in.' In the second line *kṛtākṛtāt* state the same position, and may be compared with *Taitt. Up.*, II. 9 where the Comprehensor 'is not vexed by the thought "Why have I not done (*nākaravam*) the good? Why have I done (*akaravam*) the evil?" '. At the same time the metaphysical technicality of the formula must not be overlooked. The 'to be done' (*kṛtya, ṚV,* X.85.28; etc., *kariṣyam,* I.165.9, VII. 20.1, *karaṇīyam M,* II.39) which has 'not yet been done' (*akṛtam*) contrasts with that which 'has been done' (*kṛtam*)[80] or 'perfected' (*sukṛtam*) by the 'one who has done what there was to be done' (*kṛtakṛtyaḥ, AĀ,* II.5, *MU,* II.1)., 'who has done the whole task' (*kṛtsna-karma-kṛt BG,* IV.18), as potentiality (= not being as evil) with act (= being as good) Naciketas is asking to be told of That in which there is no distinction of potentiality from act, nature from essence. In connection with the third line, we cannot accept Professor Rawson's distinction of 'timeless' from 'eternal'. It is true that 'There are two forms of Brahman,[81] Time (*kāla*) and the Timeless' (*akāla*). *MU,* VI.15, and that 'it is at the fiat of the Imperishable' (Brahman, *BU,* III. 8.9) that Sun and Moon, Heaven and Earth, and our times are separated. But this does not mean that any time of ours applies to him whose knowledge of all things is *sub-specie aeternitatis;* it is a principle from which our time proceeds that is in him; as Augustine so well says (Conf. XI.13) we cannot ask what God was doing 'before' he made the world, because time and the world are aspects of the same thing, and cannot be thought of apart.[82] It is a part of our ignorance (*avidyā,* cf. Ulrich of Strasburg *ignorantia divisiva est errantium*) that past and future, cause and effect are apparently divided from one another; no finite being has ever experienced a 'now' otherwise than as 'a short period of time'; what Naciketas asks is about a now without duration, 'where every when is focused'.

II.13: *vivṛtaṁ sadma naciketasaṁ manye,* literally 'I consider Naciketas an opened house', or as Rawson rightly renders 'An open house, I think, is Naciketas', except that this overlooks the nuance 'open*ed*'. The meaning is that Naciketas has once and for all broken open the house of life, and will never again be shut up in a 'house', i.e. body-and-soul. Exactly the same is expressed in *Sn,* 19 *vivaṭā kuṭi,* 'opened hut', an expression which briefly summarizes what is stated at greater length in the well-known words of the

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[80] *Kṛtam,* also the highest throw in dice, employed as a symbol of perfection, cf. *CU,* IV.1.6 *yathā kṛtāya saṁyanti . . . , AB,* VII.15 *kṛtam . . . saṁpadyate,* cf. Jeremy Taylor's expression, 'the last throw for eternity'. *Kṛtam* is that perfection to which all *kṛti* tends, hence *AV,* V.9.8 *ut kṛtam, ut kṛtyam,* 'Up with thee, act. Up with thee, potentiality:', and *Īśā,* 16 *kṛtaṁ smara,* 'Be reminded of perfection'.

[81] In this connection what does professor Rawson (p. 135) mean by 'his' (Śaṅkara's) two forms of Brahman? Does he think that Śaṅkara *invented* the doctrine of a single essence and two natures? Not to mention that this doctrine recurs again and again in *ṚV,* one might ask whether Śaṅkara was the *author* of *BU,* II.3, whether this was not already for him, *śruti?*

[82] *Non enim erat 'tunc', ubi non erat 'tempus'.* Cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads,* p. 201, 'space and time are derived from the subject. It is itself accordingly not in space and does not belong to time'.

Buddha 'Never again shalt thou, O builder of houses, make a house for me: broken are all thy beams, thy ridge-pole shattered (*J*, I.76)[83]. For 'house' as 'body', cf. *Manu*, VI.76, 77.[84]

II. 15: *padam*, 'step', With this word Death begins his exposition of the Brahman; it represents the 'third boon' of I.19 and looks forward to Viṣṇu's third step in III.9. The word is especially appropriate here, because it is precisely this 'end of the road, Viṣṇu's farthest stride' or 'highest abode', where there is a 'well of honey' (*ṚV*, I.154.4) that is reached when the threshold of Death's house, of the Sun-gate and World-door, is crossed, as can be seen by a collation of *MU*, VI. 39 'unto Viṣṇu' with *Īśā*, 15 and *BU*, VI.15 'unto vision'. A correlation of the 'three boons' with the 'three strides' of Viṣṇu is maintained throughout our text, and must always be borne in mind.

II. 23: The last two lines are admittedly difficult; we render literally 'By him whom He chooses, by him He may be grasped; this one's spiritual essence unveils its proper form' (*tanūṁ svām = svarūpam*). For the phrasing compare *ṚV*, X.71.4 *tasmai tanvaṁ vi sasre*, 'to him unveils her form'. It hardly appears that any doctrine of 'Grace' is necessarily involved: compare *ŚB*, II.3.3.8, *sa yasya kāmayate, tasya prāṇam ādāyodeti, sa mriyate*, 'He takes unto himself the Breath of whomsoever He desires and he dies', that whomsoever He loves, He takes unto himself'. The Spirit, indeed, moves always 'as it will' (*yathā vaśam*, *ṚV*, X.168.4, etc.; but this is in accordance with its own nature, and is a matter of 'infallible necessity', and belongs to 'those things which god must will of necessity' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.45.2 c). Whoever approaches Him as like, to like, He cannot repel, He cannot but 'choose'; as in *JUB*, I.5.3 *neśe yad enam apasedhet.*

II.20: *aṇor aṇīyān mahato mahīyān* 'less than infinitesimal, greater than great'; with numerous parallels elsewhere in the Upaniṣads (*CU*, VI.8.6, VI. 12.2; *Muṇḍ.*, II.2.2 etc). Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.* IX.2-3, 'Now God is called

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[83] Cf. *S*, I.8 (I.2.9 *taggha me kuṭika natthi, kacci natthi kulāvakā*, etc. In *SN*, 372, etc., *loke vivaṭacchado* may mean the same as *vivaṭa kuḷi* or may have particularly reference to the breaking open of the roof.

[84] The idea of an 'empty house' in *MU*, VI.10 'As there are none to touch fair women who enter into an empty house (*śūnyāgāre*), so the truly poor man (*sannyāsin*) does not touch the objects of the senses' is a different one, although not unrelated. *MU*, VI.10 corresponds to *S*, I.107 where the Buddha refers to himself as dwelling in an 'empty house' or 'bare cell' (*suññāgāra-gato mahā muni*).

Muṇḍ., III.2.4 *eṣa ātmā viśate brahma-dhāma*, 'This Spiritual essence enters into the Brahma-home' is not stated explicitly by *KU*, II.13, though it is the logical and immediate consequence of the breaking apart of all mundane habitation. It is in fact through the 'roof-plate' of the broken house (apex of the heart, foramen of the skull, sun-door of the cosmos) that one enters into the Brahma-home; what *Muṇḍ.*, III.2.4 implies that there is an open door, an 'open house' of another and supra-mundane order, 'open' to him whose psycho-physical habitation has once and for all been 'broken open'. There may be in *SN*, 372 *vivaṭacchado* as direct reference to this breaking out of the roof: for the sun-door is actually *raśmibhiḥ saṁchannam* (*JUB*, I. 3.6), and Buddha is said to have 'opened the doors of immortality' (*S*, I.138, etc.).

Great in his peculiar Greatness which giveth of itself to all things that are great and is poured upon all magnitude from outside and stretches far beyond it. . . . This Greatness is infinite, without quantity, and without number . . . and Smallness, or Rarity, is attributed to God's nature because he is outside all solidity and distance and penetrates all things without let or hindrance. . . . This Smallness is without quantity or quality, it is irrepressible, infinite, unlimited, and while comprehending all things, is itself incomprehensible.'[85]

II.25: 'Who knows truly where he is?' (*ka itthā yatra veda saḥ*): like *ṚV,* X. 168.3 *kuta ā babhūva,* 'Whence has He come to be?', with its answer in *KU,* II. 18 *na kutaścit na babhūva kaścit,* 'Neither hath He become from any "where", nor hath He become "anyone".' Professor Rawson's suggestion of an 'agnostic interpolation' (!) is ridiculous, and indeed profane.[86] One might in the same way ask 'Who knows what He is?' and answer with Erivgena that 'God himself does not know "what" He is, because He is not any "what" '. In the same way God himself does not know 'where' He is, because He is not any 'where'. As Eckhart says, 'His only idiosyncrasy is being.' All this does not contradict the 'knowability of the Supreme Being implied in previous verses of *KU,* and elsewhere; all that it implies is that He cannot be known, but only known of, as thus or thus; whatever can be thought or said of Him, 'No, no' (*neti, neti*).

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[85] We take this opportunity to remark Dionysius, even more perhpas than Eckhart, represents for a European an almost indispensable preparation for any serious approach to the Upaniṣads.

[86] In *TS,* V.4.3.4 is 'In what quarter is Rudra, or in what?' an 'agnostic interpolation'? Agnostic: yes, but only as Eckhart uses the word Agnosia, and in the sense of the Docta ignorantia of Nicholas of Cusa, and '*The Cloud of Unknowing*'. The answer to *TS* would be as for Brahman in *MU,* VI.17. 'The quarters do not exist for him', or as for the Gale in *JUB,* III.1.9 'The quarters are confused; they are not discerned at night. . . . They enter into Him' (*muhyanti diśo na vai tā rātriṁ prajñāyante . . . tā etam evāpiyanti*), in other words, as they are in Him, are *mūradevāḥ.* It is only 'by day' that He can be said to enter into *them.* Mitrāvaruṇa, as Mitra sees the 'infinite' by day, and as Varuṇa the 'infinite' by night (*ṚV,* V.62.8). 'Direction' has not meaning 'at night' in the same sense that 'infinite cannot be traversed'. The answer taken for granted by *KU,* II.25 d is then that 'No one knows', 'No one', that is, who still is 'anyone'. *Itthā,* again, is not so much 'truly' or 'surely' as it is 'thus', and therefore with the interrogative, 'how?' *Itthā* is probably to be taken, then, with *yatra,* the question being 'who knows what or where He is'; the answer being that 'He is neither in any wise nor anywhere', or as it is so often expressed in the Buddhist texts, *nāparam itthatāyāti,* 'There is no further extension of being in any wise', or in the words of Erivgena, 'God himself does not know "what" He is, because He is not any "what" ', or Dante's 'It is not in space nor hath it poles' (*Paradiso,* XXII.67).

Professor Rawson's 'agnostic interpolation' recalls those scholars who used to see a satire in the 'Frog Hymn' of *ṚV.*

'Questions' such as those of our text form an integral part of the scriptural 'style', and are to be understood as if asked in *brahmodya*; the answers can usually be found elsewhere, or are in any case known to those to whom the question is supposed to be addressed: for example *KU,* IV.3 and 4 *kim atra pariśiṣyate*? with *CU,* VIII.1.4-5 *atiśiṣyate . . . ātman.*

From amongst the innumerable Christian formulations of the negative theology, space permits a citation here only of St. Thomas, 'Every relation which is predicated of God from time (or place) does not put something real in the eternal god, but only something according to our way of thinking. . . . Therefore if anyone in seeing God conceives something in his mind, this is not god, but one of God's effects' (*Sum. Theol.*, III. 35, 5 c and 92.1 ad 4), Eckhart 'To know God really you must know Him as the Unknown', and Nicolas of Cusa 'Deus cum non possit nisi negative, extra intellectualem regionem, attingi' (*De fil. Dei*, p. 121). One only can know Him, who as Rūmī says, 'cannot recognize *himself*', only one 'whose place is the Placeless, and trace the Traceless' (Ode XXXI in Nicholson, *Shams-i-Tabrīz*). Very pertinent also is Rūmī's 'I play the tune of negation: Death will reveal the mystery' (*Mathnawī*, VI.722).

THIRD VALLĪ

III.1: *ṛta*, 'cosmic order, Greek *kosmos*, Latin *ordo*—As the Sun is Truth (*satyam*, passim), so the Universe is Order: *iyaṁ vā ṛtam asau* (*āditya*) *satyam*, *TS*, V.1.5.9. *Ṛta* is the order of the universe, manifested under the Sun, and seen by whoever it may be that sees through and with the solar 'Eye', the 'Eye of Mitrāvaruṇau' (*ṚV*, V.51.1, VII.61.1 and 63.1). *JUB*, III. 36.5 identifies *ṛtam* with *brahman* (*om ity etad evākṣaram ṛtam*); whose self-intention is therefore the act of 'creation', as in *BU*, I.4.10 'In the beginning, this-cosmos was Brahman (*brahma vā idam agra āsīt*). That knew itself, and said "I am Brahman." Therewith that became the All.' What Mitrāvaruṇau, *apara* and *para* Brahman, thus 'know' or 'see' is the 'World picture (*jagac-citram*) painted by the Spiritual-essence (*ātman*) on the canvas of itself, in which it takes a great delight' (Śaṅkara, *Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 95): the 'speculum aeternum', eternal mirror, in which God sees himself and all things, and in which those Contemplatives[87] who also gaze perceive likewise all things more clearly than in any other way, and so also see 'themselves' more truly than 'as they are in themselves' (Augustine and Boneventura);[88] for as *BU*, I.4.10 continues, 'Whoever of the Devas is awakened (*pratyabodhyata*)[89] thereunto, he indeed has become it, and so too in the case of Prophets and that of men . . . Yea, here and now (*etar-hi*), whoever knows that "I am

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[87] *Kaścid dhīraḥ* of *KU*, IV.1, 'Whatever Contemplative', not 'a certain sage' as Rawson renders.

[88] 'Speculum aternum mentes se videntium ducit in cognitionem omnium creatorum, sicut dicit Augustinus (*De civ. Dei.*, XII.29) quod rectius ibi cognuscunt quam alibi . . . Unde melius videbo me in Deo quam in me ipso' (St Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 35, a. unic, q. 1, fund 3 and *In Hexaem.*, col. 12, n. 9, cited in Bissen, *L'Exemplarisme Divin selon Saint Bonaventura*, 1929, pp. 39, 44).

[89] *KU*, VI.4 *iha ced aśakad boddhum; JUB*, IV.19.4 *pratibodha-viditaṁ matam*, cf. 'Buddha'.

Brahman", enters into that "this", he becomes "This all" (*sa idaṁ sarvaṁ bhavati*), nor can any Deva hinder him from thus becoming.'[90]

With these conceptions of the 'world-picture' that the twain 'drink in' (*pibantau*, from *pā* in the sense 'feast upon with the eyes, ears, etc., cited by *MW* from *Manu*) compare Genesis I. 31 'And God saw everything that he had made, and behold it was very good.' It is in 'Order' that this 'goodness' consists: what God beheld was 'the admirable beauty of the universe (which) is made up of all things. In which even what is called evil, well-ordered and in its place, is the eminent commendation of what is good' (Augustine, *Enchir.* 10.11), what God saw is 'the most beautiful Order given to things by God, in which the universe consists' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.25.6 ad 3); 'the universal form of this complex' Dante, *Paradiso*, XXXIII, 90).

Ṛtam . . . parame parārdhe in our verse corresponds to *ṛtasya pade* in *ṚV*, X. 177.2 d, 'That which the Winged-one conceives by intellect, that which the Gandharva utters in the womb, that flashing, luminous noumenon the Redesmen are intent upon' (*tāṁ dyotamānāṁ svaryaṁ manīṣāṁ ṛtasya pade kavayo ni pānti*). *Pānti* here, from *pā* 'to protect', is nearer in value to *pibantau* from *pā* 'to drink' than might at first appear; for 'to observe, notice, attend to, follow', cf. 'heed', are recognized meanings of this other *pā* (MW), and the interpretation in *JUB*, III.36.5, where the verse is discussed, is evidently correct,—'it is inasmuch as they "reflect upon" that they are said to "protect"' (*yad . . . mīmāṁsante . . . tad . . . nipānti*); or as we might put it, *ṛta-dyumnaṁ manīṣāṁ nipānti*, 'entertain the luminous idea of Order', which 'entertainment' is also a 'maintenance'.[91] The distinction of *pānti*, 'they reflect upon' and *pibantau*, 'they imbibe', in the very usual sense of 'drink in mentally', is far from absolute.

A full discussion of *ṛta* would be impossible here. But we cannot too strongly emphasize that his word is only properly translateable by its etymological equivalent, 'Order.' As 'order', and therefore also 'right' and 'rite', *ṛtam* is distinguishable from the 'true' (*satyam*) as an application is distinguished from the principle in which it subsists more eminently. *Ṛta* is the 'right' (not only in a moral sense, but in the broader sense of 'correct'), *ṛtāvan* 'in order' and 'regular', *anṛta* whatever is 'inordinate' or 'irregular' or 'informal'. The coming into being of the Kosmos is the production of 'Order' out of 'Chaos' (*kha*,[92] as in *ṚV*, II.28.5 *ṛdhyāma te varuṇa khām ṛtasya*), and this is specifically the Aryan operation (*vrata*) as distinguished from the inoperation of the Asuras,—'These Comprehensors, Men-of-order, Redesmen (*vidvāṁsaḥ . . . ṛtāvānaḥ . . . kavayaḥ*) possest themselves of the Misers' ultimate treasure that was hidden in the case (*nidhiṁ paṇīnāṁ guhā hitam*), and having taken note of the disorders *anṛta*, sc. of the 'miserly' Asuras), returned (from their foray), and took their stand upon the mighty Path' (*ṚV*, II.24.6-7), 'shaped all this dusty-world, measuring out the homes that erst had been unmeasured' (*ṚV.* X.56.5), 'Ye, Mitrāvaruṇau, Redesmen, fosterers of order, ye in whose hand is (=who maintain) order, have in 'order' realized your great design' *ṛtena mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhāv ṛtaspṛśā kratuṁ*[93] *bṛhantam āśāthe kavī*, *ṚV*, I.2.8-9).[94]

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[90] *JUB*, I.5.3 'The (solar Janus) is not able to drive him away; for he invokes the Truth'; *neśe* in *JUB*, corresponding to *na . . . iśate* in *BU*.

[91] In *ṚV*, I.2.8 cited below. *ṛta-spṛśā*; has this value quite literally, *spṛś* 'to touch, handle, take hold of' (MW) corresponding to 'maintain', literally 'hold in hand'.

With *ni pānti*, cf. *ṚV*, I.1.8. where Agni is *gopām ṛtasya*; and VIII.26.21 where Vāyu, the Gale of the Spirit, is *ṛtas-pati*. In the latter context, Vāyu as Tvaṣṭṛ's 'son-in-law' = husband of Sūrya = Sūrya, *ātmā jagatas tasthuṣaś ca*, *ṚV*, I.115.1.

[92] For some of the connotations of *kha* see my '*Kha* and other words denoting "Zero" in connection with the metaphysics of space' in *BSOS*, VII, 1934, pp. 487-97. Thence originate *sukha* and *duḥkha* (as remarked by Buddhaghoṣa, *VM*, 461).

III.1 continued: On the other hand, it is most unlikely that *sukṛtasya loke* means 'in the righteous world'. *Muṇḍ.*, I.2.6-10 ridicules those who think that 'this that has been earned by their merit and what has been well-done (*puṇyaḥ, sukṛtaḥ*) is the Brahma-world . . . the fools who delight in *that* (world won by merit) as their 'better'[95] (*śreyasaḥ*, cf. *KU*, II.2) . . . having come into

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[93] *Kratu*, 'design', 'purpose', or 'counsel' (as *OT, passim*, 'the counsel of the Lord', *consilium sine dubitatione*). In *KU*, II.11 *krator anantyam.* But in *KU*, II.20 *akratu*, 'purposeless', 'uncalculating', without an individual will, cf. *ṚV*, V.46.1 *na . . . vasmi*, 'not as I will, but as Thou willest'.

[94] *Concreato fu ordine e construtto alle sustanzie*, Dante, *Paradiso*, XXIX. 31 (the *sustanzie* being, as is clear from the following lines, *sattva, rajas,* and *tamas*).

[95] The Empyrean Brahma world is more truly 'not made' (*akṛta*, 'uncreated') than 'well made' (*sukṛta*), unless we understand by 'well made', 'self-made' (*svakṛta*), in accordance with *Taitt. Up.*, II.7. Śaṅkara must have had this text in mind; but his further interpretation of *ṛta* as *karma-phala* is impossible in a context dealing with the *parama parārdha*, where there are certainly no 'rewards' and to which there is no admission by 'merit' (*puṇya*) but only by 'qualification' (*arhaṇa*) *ṚV*, X.63.4.

Here may be noticed *KU*, II.24 and Rawson's annotations. Let us observe, in the first race that the Upaniṣads, the *jñāna kāṇḍa*, are gnostic treatises by hypothesis, and not ethical treatises; their concern is with the art of knowing God, or in other words with the contemplative life. We cannot expect to find any considerable part of these texts devoted to the exposition of prudence. The most that can be expected in these contexts is a full recognition of the indispensable dispositive value of 'means', and this is just what we find in *KU*, II.24 and the corresponding *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.2.3 (which Rawson very properly cites, p. 115) cf. *BG*, II.44; it is very clear, however, that the ethical means, however indispensable, are not ends in themselves, but *means to* an end beyond themselves. This is also the Christian doctrine; prudence is essential to the active life, but accidental to the contemplative life (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II.11.180. 2 'The moral virtues do not belong to the contemplative life essentially. . . . On the other hand, the moral virtues belong to the contemplative life dispositively'. ('Theirs is said to be the contemplative life who are chiefly intent on the contemplation of truth. . . . The contemplative life, as regards the essence of the action pertains to the intellect', and must be distinguished from the mere observation of things by the senses or the intellect and from the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, ibid., 180.1,—the last observation showing very clearly that neither 'science' nor 'philosophy' in the modern senses of the words pertains to the contemplative life, but to the active life.) It is not, therefore, any defect in the Upaniṣads that they are not expositive of ethics;

being (*bhūtvā*) at the summit of contingent being (*nākasya pṛṣṭhe = bhavāgre*),[96] remain in this world or a worse.' Similarly *JUB*, I.3.1-3, where there is no admission to the Sun 'by what thou hast done ill or well' (*idaṁ pāpam akar . . . yo vai puṇyakṛt syāt*); cf. *ṚV*, VIII.70.3 'None attaineth him by works or sacrifices' (*nakiṣṭaṁ karmaṇā naśat . . . na yajñair*), *BG*, V. 8 'By no means ought a harnessed man, a knower of the principle, consider that "I am the doer of anything"' (*naiva kiñcit karomīti yukto manyeta tattvavit*) and in accordance with this both *JUB*, I.3.3 'Thou (God) art the doer thereof' (*tvaṁ vai tasya kartā'si*), and Tauler, *Following of Christ*, 16, 17 'By their works they cannot go in again. . . . If any man is to come to God, he must be empty of all works and let God work alone.'[97]

III.1 continued: *parame parārdhe = parame vyoman*, 'in uttermost empyrean' (*ṚV*, X.129.7). Cf. *ṚV*, I.164.10 and *Praśna*, I.11 *pañcapādam pitaraṁ . . . diva . . . pare ardhe purīṣiṇam . . . anya u pare* (*ardhe*) *vicakṣaṇam* 'Five-footed Father in the farther half of heaven[98] (beyond the Sun), the Far-seer (Sun) in the lower half', where again it is a question of two aspects of deity, *para* and *apara* Brahman, Varuṇa and Mitra, etc., of whom the one sees by means of the other as being his 'Eye' (*ṚV*, X.88.13 b; *AV*, X.7.33, Buddhist *cakkhuṁ loke*, etc.); and of the distinction of an Empyrean from an Elysium. It is the former, the Empyrean, that is referred to in *KU*, V.15, 'There no sun shines, nor moon, nor any star', cf. Apoc. XXI.23 'And the city had no need of the sun.' It is, moreover, precisely to this 'farther half' that Brahman, after emanating

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those 'who are especially intent on external actions' are expected to obey the laws of ritual and conduct (*karma* in both senses) which are laid down in the Dharmaśāstras, in which the fiirst principles with which alone the Upaniṣads are concerned are applied to specific contingencies; which obedience is also and at the same time an indispensable preparation or qualification for the contemplative life, as asserted in our texts, *KU*, II.24 and *Muṇḍ.*, III.2.3., *BU*, IV.4.9.

[96] *Nākasya pṛṣṭhe* is not 'at the back of Heaven', in the sense of on the farther side of Heaven, 'but just on this side of Heaven'; in the same way that in *AV*, X.7.38 *krānta salilasya pṛṣṭhe* is 'proceeding on the face of the waters'. The Heavens above and the Waters below are thought of as having their backs turned towards us.

In the same way the Nākasads or 'Vault-sitters' are on this side of yonder Sun, while the Pañcacūḍāḥ are on the other side of the Sun (*ŚB*, VIII.6 .1.14, cf. *TS*, V.3.7); a clear distinction of the highest station of the cosmic Devas from the supra-cosmic Gandharvaloka, and thus of what is obtainable by sacrifice alone, and what by gnosis (with or without an actual performance of the rite), cf. the similar distinction of the mundane Devas from the supra-mundane Gandharvas in *ŚB*, III.2.4. The highest station of the mundane Devas is an Elysium, that of the Gandharvas the Empyrean. That in *TS*, V.3.7.2 the Pañcacūḍās are called 'Apsarases' 'who wait upon the Sacrificer in yonder world' is consistent with the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī (*ŚB*, XI.5.1), his final reunion with Urvaśī in the Gandharva-loka being evidently 'in high heaven' (*bṛhad divā*, *ṚV*, V.41.19).

[97] 'The works of a man who is led by the Holy Ghost, are the works of the Holy Ghost rather than his own' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II.1.93.6 ad. 1).

[98] 'The image (*pratimā*) of the Year which men revere (*upāsate*) in Thee, O Night', *TS*, V.7.2.1: 'Mitra is the Day, Varuṇa the Night', *PB*, XXV. 10.10.

the lower and the higher cosmic deities, retires *atha brahmaiva parārdham agacchad*),—i.e. 'rested on the seventh day', and thence that he 'descended from heaven' or more literally 'went down again by means of name and aspect, or phenomenon' (*pratyavaid rūpeṇa caiva nāmnā ca,* whereby[99] the Devas, originally mortal, became immortal (*ŚB,* XI.2.3.1-6). In the citation of *ṚV,* I.164.10 above, we retained *pañcapādam* because this epithet of the 'Father' (cf. *ṚV,* X. 82.1 Viśvakarmā, 'Father of the Eye', i.e. of the Sun) lends itself to a further demonstration of the Father's nature; *pañcapādaṁ pitaram* corresponding, for example, to the *akṣaraṁ pañcavidham* of *AĀ,* II. 3. 8, and to the 'fivefold Prajāpati, Year and Gale' of *ŚB,* VI.1.2.17f. the five forms or selves being those of the seasons or quarters; with which Śaṅkara's gloss on *Praśna,* I.11 is in full agreement, the 'five feet' being explained as the 'five seasons', which are the 'feet' of the Annual-self of the Sun, by which feet (or rays) his procession is effected (*padair . . . āvartate*). Similarly in *MU,* II.6, where Prajāpati, 'dividing himself fivefold', proceeds accordingly; the whole context 'He, indeed, being of unaccomplished purpose because of his remaining within this heart of ours, considered, "Let me enjoy, or experience, objects" (*sa vāeṣo' smād hṛdantarād akṛtārtho 'manyatārthān aśnānīti*), wherefore breaking open these openings (the doorways of the sense perceptions), and now arisen, by means of his five rays eats of the objects of the senses' (*ataḥ khānīmāni bhitvoditaḥ pañcabhī raśmibhir viṣayān atti*) throws a vivid light not merely on the present passage, but also upon *KU,* IV.1 and 6.

III.1. concluded: *chāyā-tapau,* 'shadow and glowing or light': 'so different', as Rawson says, although one and the same, are the immanent and transcendent 'selves', the taster and the looker on, God and Godhead, Mitra and Varuṇa, *apara* and *para* Brahman. Cf. *KU,* VI. 5 where again the Brahman is to be seen 'in the Brahma world', in his highest aspect, as *chāyā-tapau.* Similarly Böhme, *Three Principles,* XIV.76 'And the deep of the darkness is as great as the habitation of the light; and they stand not one distant from the other, but together in one another, and neither of them hath beginning nor end.' 'Mitra is the day, Varuṇa the night' (*PB,* XXV.10.10); 'Mitra and Varuṇa are a conjoint pair' (*ŚB,* IX.5.1.54). Considered together, it can be said of the Supreme Identity that 'His shadow is life and his shadow death' (*ṚV,* X.121.2), for he is indeed the Year that 'separates (gives distinct being to) some and unifies (slays) others' (*AĀ,* III.2.3); 'I kill and I make alive' (Deut. XXXII.39). Considered apart Agni or the Sun are both 'shadow' as

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[99] In the *te brahmaṇāpuḥ amṛtam* of the text, the instrumental value of *brahmaṇā* is significant, and should be retained in translation. Needless to say that it is Agni or the Sun that the Brahman comes back into the cosmos, and that to say that the cosmic Devas 'obtain immortality by means of the Brahman' (manifested by name and aspect) is the same as to say with *ṚV,* I.31.7 'Thou, Agni (*vicarṣaṇe* in V.6 like *vicakṣaṇam* in I.164.10, *vipaśyati* in III.62.9, and Vipassi as former Buddha in *D,* II. 35) does appoint the mortal unto highest immortality', or with IV.53.2 'Thou, Savitṛ erst for the Devas, whom we worship, brought forth their immortality, highest of all participations; and furthermore by way of gift to men didst open up the sequence of thier lives'.

'likeness' (*ṚV*, V.44.6 and *GB*, I.3) and 'shadow' as 'shelter from the heat' (*ṚV*, VI. 16.38), 'for in his shadow is all this universe' (*ŚB*, VIII.7.3.13), cf. Isaiah XXV.4 and XXXII.2 and Lamentations IV.20. In other words it is the sheltering Light that is the 'shadow', and the Darkness that is the 'burning heat'. At the same time, from the point of view of the absolutely negative theology it can also be said that the Akṣara (Brahman) that it is 'without either shadow or darkness, without a within or without' (*BU*, III. 8.8); 'He is, by that alone is he apprehended' (*KU*, VI.12), like Damascene, *De fid. orth.* I, 'He who is the principal of all names applied to God.'[100]

III.2: The symbol of the Bridge (*setu*) is of the highest significance in the Vedic as well as in other traditions; this is the Cinvat bridge of the Avesta and the 'Brig of Dread' in folklore. The theme demands a detailed exposition elsewhere. Here we shall remark (1) that the Bridge identified with Brahman in our text is elsewhere identified with the Ātman, e.g. *CU*, VIII.4.1 (*ya ātmā sa setuḥ*),[101] *BU*, IV.4.22 (*aja ātmā . . . eṣa setuḥ*), *Muṇḍ.*, II.2.5 *tam evaikaṁ jānatha ātmānam* (*amṛtasyaiṣa setuḥ*), cf. *ṚV*, X.61.16 (Sun, or Soma) *vipras . . . svasetuḥ*, and John XIV.6 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life', and (2) that the word *setu* itself, according to its derivation from *sī* to 'bind', as though with cords, is most significant, not only when it means a 'bond' or 'fetter', as in *ṚV*, IX.73.4, but also in its more usual sense of 'bridge'. For the Bridge of the Spirit is literally a 'tie' that links together Heaven and Earth, the sun to the heart; the solar Spirit is the Pontifex; the symbolism of the Bridge coincides with that of the 'Thread-spirit' (*sūtrātman*), and its peculiar aptitude must have been even more apparent when bridges were usually made of rope, and not as they are now solid constructions of stone or steel, than it is to-day. Whoever has seen a rope-bridge, extended like a spider's thread (which we say advisedly, because the related symbolism of the solar Spider is also involved) from shore to shore of a raging Himalayan torrent, can well appreciate the words of *KU*, III.14 b 'Strait as a razor's edge, hard to be passed over (*duratyayā*, cf. *ṚV*, VII.65.3 *setū duratyetū . . . mitrāvaruṇā*), a difficult path'!

III.3-4: The Chariot is here, as usual, the body, or rather body and all that we usually mean by 'soul'. Rawson, in a useful discussion (p. 216) scarcely brings out the consistency of the various 'parables'. We propose to consider only one point, in its bearing on the *Milindapañho* version. In *KU*, the Ātman, as Rawson rightly expresses it, is the 'lord of the chariot', i.e. the master who drives about in it, knowing and willing its course, though he delegates the actual operation of the vehicle to an assistant or coachman (the distinction of *rathin* from *sārathin* being that of passenger from driver), in *AĀ*, II.3.8 we have the very usual formulation according to which the Breath of Spirit 'takes up its stand upon' (*prāṇo 'dhitiṣṭhati*) its vehicle, which is accordingly its 'stand' (*adhiṣṭhānam, CU*, VIII.12.1), cf. *BG*, XV. 9 *adhiṣṭhāya*, cited in a Note above; in *MU,* II.6 the Ātman is the 'instigator' (*pracodayitṛ*) who sets up the body in possession of conscious, and this is again the 'taking of a stand' (*avasthānam*) or hypostasis. In each case the distinction of the Ātman from the *buddhi, manas, indriyāṇi,* etc., is emphatic, and the same as that of the Knower of the field from the field itself in *BG,* XIII. If the steeds, the senses, are sometimes unruly (*KU,* III.5) we have the situation described in *BG,* VI.6, 'Then indeed the Ātman has to behave as an enemy, at war with what is Not-the-ātman' (*anātmanas tu śatrutve vartetātmaiva śatruvat*), the Spirit wars with the flesh. The *Milindapañho* does not, with the word *anattā,* deny the Ātman, but merely asserts, in accordance with so many other of the Pāli texts, that *this* (chariot), *like* this (commonly called 'Nāgasena'), 'is not the Spirit', or 'is not my spirit', 'not ātman' (*na me so attā,* 'This is not my spirit', *passim*). The Buddha, as Mrs. Rhys Davids has recently remarked (*JRAS,* 1937, p. 259), took the existence of the Ātman for granted. We should add that in *KU,* III, 9, the correspondence of *vijñāna* with the *buddhi* of III.3 is to be noted; and furthermore, in the second line, the construction of the first is repeated, so that we have *manaḥ pragrahavān naraḥ,* where *manaḥ-pragraha-* corresponds to *vijñānasārathiḥ* and *-vān naraḥ* to *yas tu* in the first line, and accordingly, 'the man who has mind as reins', not 'the man who has mind well-reined' if this means, as it seems to mean, 'who curbs his own mind', for that is the business, not of the *nara* but of the *buddhi.* The steeds will not be unruly, if controlled by *vijñāna* (*buddhi*) curbing the senses, not directly, but by means of the *manas.*[102] It is the man without *vijñāna* (discrimination), the man whose *manas* (reason) has not been harnessed, whose steeds are unruly, who does not reach the goal, as stated in *KU,* III.7, of which III.9 states the converse. The man's fault in 7 consists in not having attached the reins to the bit, and given them into the hands of his coachman; his merit in 9, in having done just this. Whatever happens, the Ātman will not be affected; but when the vehicle is unmade at death, and the Spirit ascends, the 'man' So-and-so, he who thought in terms of 'I' and 'mine', will not be 'in it', will not have 'found himself', or 'known who he is'; there will be nothing left of him, of So-and-so, but his *karma,* or in other words tendencies, to be inherited by others. The point may seem to be a fine one, but it seems to us important to preserve, as in the text itself, the hierarchy of the powers, and not to confuse the 'man', of whom the senses are a part, with that one of his powers, of which it is the business to control the senses. Such a confusion would imply a participation of the senses themselves in their own government—a truly 'democratic', situation, and like all conceptions of 'self-government' in the sense of 'government of the people by the people', an impossible thing, since it is impossible for any power to function simultaneously in one and the same relation both actively and passively.

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[100] For a fuller discussion see my Chāyā, in *JAOS*, 55, 1935.

[101] Cf. *viprā viprasya bṛhato vipaścitaḥ* (*savituḥ*) in *ṚV*, V.81.1 and *tvaṁ hyagne agninā vipro . . . samidhyase* in VIII.43.14.

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[102] Verse 9 is very nearly a paraphrase of *ṚV,* V.81.1 *yuñjate mana uta yuñjate dhiyaḥ viprā viprasaya bṛhato vipaścitaḥ* (*savituḥ*) where *dhiyaḥ,* 'contemplations' (*dhyānāni*) corresponds to the *buddhi* and *vijñāna* of our text, and *yo yuṅkte dhiyaḥ* to the *dhīraḥ,* 'contemplative' of *KU,* IV.1. We take this opportunity to remark that the customary renderings of *dhī* and *dhiraḥ* as 'thought' and 'wise' are most inadequate, it is not by 'thinking' that the vision of God is attained, but in 'contemplation'. 'Thinking, as the modern philosopher thinks, pertains to the active life, and is far from what is meant by *dhī.* Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I. 34. 1 and 2, "When the intellect attains to the form of truth (i.e. *svarūpaṁ sampadyate,* when there is *adequatio rei et intellectus,* in *samādhi*), it does not *think,* but perfectly *contemplates* the truth", and Richard of St. Victor, *De Contempl.* I.4, distinguishing between contemplation, meditation, and cogitation ("contemplation is the soul's clear and free dwelling upon the object of its gale; meditation is the survey of the mind while occupied in searching for the truth; and cogitation is the mind's glance which is prone to wander").'

III.10-11: Most of Rawson's difficulties arise from his belief in an 'evolution' of Indian thought, and consequent preoccupation with literary history. He reaches nevertheless the right conclusion as regards *avyakta*, the 'Unmanifested', in the light of *BG,* VIII.18-21 (cf. II.25, 28 and VII. 24), when he says, p. 139, that 'the *avyakta* is the supreme Person's own nature'. For the Supreme Identity is precisely the identity of a manifested *essence* and an unmanifested *nature,* 'being and non-being' (*sadasat*), and in this sense 'beyond' both: The Supreme Identity, in other words, is *vyaktāvyakta*, 'Shown and Unshown'; just as *Prajāpati* is repeatedly spoken of as *niruktānirukta,* and as in *ṚV,* X.129.2 the Supreme Identity is 'at once spirated and despirated' (*ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekam*).[103] That the *avyakta* of our text is not the Sāṁkhyan *pradhāna* (primary matter, the 'lower *prakṛti*' of *BG*, VII.5, nature divided from essence) appears immediately from the treatment of the 'two *avyaktas*' in *BG,* II.28 and VIII.18-21; of which one (the Sāṁkhyan *avyakta* = *pradhāna*) is that from which, and the other that *to* which all beings proceed; just as there are two *amātrās*, one the not-yet-measured out (*nirmāta*) from which 'chaos' all things are measured out, and the other the immeasurable; the *vyakta* lying in between the two *avyaktas*, just as *mātrā* (etymologically 'matter', but more precisely, the realm of number) lies between the two *amātrās* . . . Nothing in the bearing of *KU,* III.11 would be changed if we substituted *vyaktaḥ param avyaktam:* what Rawson fails to realize is that the *ātmā mahān* is precisely that *vyakta* beyond which lies the *avyakta,* the Unshown, or better, Unshowable. Now this *ātman*, this *mahat,* is precisely the Lord of the Chariot, the *rathin* of *KU,* III.3: in other words, the Supernal-Sun, the solar Ātman of *ṚV,* I.115.1, correctly identified by Śaṅkara (and Deussen) with Hiraṇyagarbha;[104] that Sun, viz., whose disk is the gateway of Death's house the way into the Person who is 'beyond' both the Light of the Sun

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[103] Eckhart, 'Equally spirated, despirated, where these two abysms hang, there is the Supreme Being' (*Dädiu zwei apgründe in einer glicheit swebent gegeistet un engegeistet da ist ein höher wesen,* Pfeiffer, p. 517).

[104] Rawson's argument against the equation *ātmā mahān* = *hiraṇyagarbha* is so weak that he has to support it by at least two false assumptions, (1) that the doctrine of the two forms of Brahman is specifically Śaṅkara's, who therefore drags in the Hiraṇyagarbha to support 'his doctrine', and (2) that Śaṅkara understands by *ātmā mahān* the 'individual self ' (it is, of course, the composite *ratha*, the *savijñāna kāya,* that is the individual self or 'I', the *rathin,* whose vehicle it is, being the Universal Self or Spirit).

(*vyakta*) and the Divine Darkness (*avyakta*) 'where no Sun shines' (*KU*, V.15), and 'beyond which there is nothing whatsoever; that is the pillar (*kāṣṭhā*), that the last step' (*KU*, III.11 and IV.9, cf. *BG*, VII.7). *Ātmā mahān* is almost a cliché for the 'Sun', the manifested (*āvis*) God as distinguished from the unmanifested (*guhā*) Godhead, Mitra as distinguished from Varuṇa, *apara* from *para* Brahman. *Mahān aja ātmā* is the Sun in *BU*, IV.4.22, the Lord and Master of the All. And if, as will presently appear, in connection with *KU*, V. 13 *eko vaśi*, this Sun is also Death himself, this too is in accordance with the designation of Death as *mahātmā* in I.16.[105] So too in *KU*, II.22 *mahāntaṁ vibhum ātmānam* 'the great and omnipresent Self' in Rawson's version is in the same way none but the Sun, 'the Self of all that moves or is at rest' of *ṚV*, I.115.1. The whole logic of the enunciated hierarchy depends upon an intelligible sequence on the one hand of what is cosmic (*artha, manas, buddhi*) and on the other of *ātmā mahān, avyakta, puruṣa*: *ātmā mahān*, and *mahat* of the following verse are the sun, the 'manifested' (*vyakta*; what is beyond the Sun, 'unmanifested' (*avyakta*): and beyond the unmanifested', the Person, the Supreme Identity of *vyaktāvyakta, sadasat*, Mitrāvaruṇau, *apara* and *para* Brahman, 'That One both spirant and despirated' of *ṚV*, X.129.2. This priority of the Person to the Sun is stated more briefly already in *ṚV*, X.90. 2-3 where the 'Lord of immortality, uprisen on food' is the Sun, and 'great as His greatness may be (*etāvān asya mahimā*), superior unto him is the Person' *ato jyāyāṁś ca puruṣaḥ*).

III.11: *kāṣṭhā*, 'post' or 'pillar', Rawson's 'end', and my 'goal-post', above.[106] The meaning of the word can be more fully developed, so as to show how it stands in the present context for 'last end'. *Kāṣṭhā* occurred in a significant relation in *JUB*, I.20 where, as usual, Heaven and Earth are 'pillared apart (*viṣkabdhau*) by a third principle, which is variously designated, and here by the 'atmosphere' (*antarikṣa*), hermeneutically 'inter-axle' (*antary-akṣa*), and thus 'as two wheels are propped apart by the axle-tree (*akṣeṇa*), or as two tree-plank (*palāśe*) by a post (*kāṣṭhena*)'.[107] The 'atmosphere' is '*ya evāyaṁ pavata*, i.e. the Gale of the Spirit, Vāyu: it is, in fact the Spirit (*ātman*) that both holds apart these worlds and connects them, as a bridge connects the banks of a river (*ṚV*, X.61.16, *BU*, IV.4.22, *CU*, VIII.4.4. etc), cf. *ṚV*, X.85.12, where the axle-tree of the cosmic chariot is the 'distributive breath' (*vyāna*). The two wheels of the cosmic chariot are Heaven and Earth, or Sun and Moon, the axle their mover (*ṚV*, I.30.19, V.29.4, X.85.18, X.89.4, etc.). A full discussion of the various aspects of the Axis of the Universe, *skambha* = Greek *stauros*, cannot be undertaken here; this 'axis' or 'pillar' is the 'end' because it passes through the navel or centre of all planes of being, towards which, therefore, all paths converge. The word *palāśe* rendered above by 'two tree-planks', i.e. two planes or platforms of *palāśa* wood, representing Heaven and Earth, may be noted, however, as of considerable interest, because in *ṚV*, X.135. 1 it is precisely 'in the fair *palāśa* tree' (*vṛkṣe su-palāśe*) that Yama's Paradise is located; this 'Tree of Life' beyond the Sun being analogous to the 'Tree of Life', or rather 'of the knowledge of good and evil' of which the trunk connects the earthly and heavenly poles.

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[105] In *JUB*, III.1-3 (= *CU*, IV. 3 with some variations) the 'greatness' (*mahiman*) of the Spirit (*ātman*), the Spiritual-essence of Devas and of mortals (*ātmā devānām uta martyānām*, cf. *ṚV*, I.115.1), the Sun completely risen (i.e. the Sun that no more rises or sets, cf. *CU*, III.11, Sol, Invictus), the Shepherd of the Universe, and Seizer (*grahaḥ*) and Devourer (*babhasaḥ* in *CU*, preferable to *rapasaḥ* in *JUB* of the four powers (Agni, Āditya, Candramas, Diśaḥ, considered as functional Persons who come forth and return) consists this, that 'not being eaten himself, he devours whatever eats' (*yad adantam*, in *JUB*, preferable to *yad anannam* in *CU*). It is just in this way that Death in *KU*, I.16 is *mahātmā*, and by the same token the Sun, as elsewhere, *passim*. The identity of Love and Death represented in the equation of Kāmadeva-Māra in Buddhist texts, goes back to the oldest sources.

[106] *Kāṣṭhā* here as 'goal', as in *ṚV*, VII.93.3 and IX.21.7 (Grassmann, Ziel der Rennbahn), cf. *kāṣṭhā-bhṛt* in *ŚB* as 'leading to a mark or aim'. *Kāṣṭhā* in the derivative sense of 'way', found several times in *ṚV*, (the 'post' giving its name to the 'course') is not impertinent to *kāṣṭhā* as 'goal post' also, because the Axis of the Universe is, although the end of the way in any given world, is also the 'way up and down the world' considered in the plural, the trunk of the Tree, with its branches, in this sense, corresponding to 'Jacob's ladder' with its rungs.

FOURTH VALLĪ

IV.1: *khāni vyatṛṇat . . . āvṛtta-cakṣur*, see above on III.1 and the discussion in *IHQ*, XI, 1935. *Khāni vyatṛṇat* is fully elucidated by *MU*, II.6 where Prajāpati, desiring to partake of his purposes (*arthān*),[108] 'breaks open these doorways

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[107] Better, perhaps 'as two *palāśas* (i.e. root and branches) are separated by the trunk'.

[108] Cf. *KU*, III. 10 where the 'objects' (*arthāḥ*) are prior to the sense-powers themselves (*indriyebhyaḥ paraḥ*). The word *artha* corresponds exactly to Late Latin *intentio*, of which the meaning is in the first place 'object' as 'purpose' foreseen, and in the second place 'object' as that which is actually seen (*intentio visibilis*). The 'object' as foreseen is evidently prior to the being in act of the organ by means of which it is actually or accidentally seen. But more than this is implied in ourtexts. Observe that what is being discussed here is not 'the eye's intrinsic faculty' according to which 'I' see by a physical light reflected from the 'object', but the manner in which God (Svayambhū in *KU*, IV.1 = *yo bhūtebhir vyapaśyata* in *KU*, IV.6, Prajāpati in *MU*, II.6) sees in me. What my eye sees is a simple aspect of which I have no knowledge, but only a sensation; but what God sees in me is the idea of the object by which he both knows it and gives it being. Insofar as 'I' see an already existing object, is being does not depend on 'me'; but insofar as my vision coincides with His, *esse est percipi*. Insofar as I see empirically, what I see is accidental; insofar as I see with (*anupaś*) His ray (*raśmi*), for the sake of which the eye is really opened ('subtract the mind, and the eye is opened to no purpose', Eckhart) I see the thing as it is in Him, rather than as it is in itself.

Our texts, inasmuch as they are dealing with His manner of seeing, employ the traditional (Neo-Platonic as well as Indian, etc.) interpretation of perception as taking (of perception), and now arisen, by means of his five rays eats of the objects of the senses' (*khānīmāni bhittvoditaḥ pañcabhir raśmibhir*[109] *viṣayān atti*).[110] It is God himself that 'opens the gates of the senses' (which senses are not themselves the gates, but make use of them) in order that He himself, who is the only knower and seer, may see out through them, coincidentally with ourselves who see out *with* them only, insofar as we observe only empirically, with the 'eye of flesh' (*māṁsa-cakṣuṣā*). To the extent that we see intellectually, with the 'angelic eye' (*divya-cakṣuṣā*), we see what He sees. And to the extent that we see with an 'inverted eye' (*āvṛtta-cakṣuṣā*),[111] i.e. with the 'eye of gnosis'

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place by means of a projected through the 'eye', in which light the 'object' itself inheres: the 'eye' in this case being as it were the lens of a projector, which sees what is projected upon the screen (the 'wall' of Plato's 'cave') by the image-bearing light that passes through it. We see, then, as God sees, to the extent that we see not with the 'eye of flesh' (*māṁsa-cakṣus*), but with the 'angelic eye' (*divya-cakṣus*), 'which sees in the eternal mirror, where it sees both all things and itself better than anywhere else'. On the other hand, as is evident, to see God himself, and not merely some of those things which He sees the eye must be inverted (*āvṛtta-cakṣus*), so as not to look outward with the ray, but inward at its source, the *fons lucis,* and Light of lights (*jyotiṣāṁ jyotis*); and this inverted eye is the 'eye of gnosis' (*jñānacakṣus*).

[109] *Pañca raśmayaḥ* here = *pañca jñānāni* in *KU,* VI.10, and *pañcendriyāṇi* or *pañca prāṇāḥ* commonly elsewhere.

Pañca jñānāni in *KU,* VI.10 recalls *BG,* XIV.11 'When the gnostic light arises from the doorways in the body, then may it be known that one is more in being' (*sarvadvāreṣu dehe'smin prakāśa upajāyate, jñānaṁ yadā, tadā vidyād vivṛddhaṁ sattvam ity uta,* where *dvāra* = *kha*).

[110] 'A parcel of myself, even the Lord, when he taketh up his stand on hearing, vision, etc., himself enjoys the objects of the senses' (*mamaivāṁśo . . . īśvaraḥ . . . śrotraṁ cakṣuḥ adhiṣṭhāya . . . viṣayān upasevate, BG,* XV.7-9).

The situation is paralleled in the rite of the 'opening of the eyes' of an image, wherewith the image is brought to life. Only when this analogous rite has been performed can one think of the Deity as looking out through the image, and of the image therefore as a connection made between the worshipper and the Deity whose image it is. It is significant that the Chinese expression for the 'opening of the eyes' of an image, *k'ai kuang,* often rendering by 'to light up the eyes' (and rather awkwardly by Takacs as 'punsing the eyes', viz. painting the eyeballs') is literally 'to open a ray', or 'open up the pathway for a ray' *kuang* being the equivalent of Sanskrit *raśmi,* while *k'ai* can mean to 'cleave' or 'cut' in the sense of 'cutting a path', Latin *secare viam,* while *k'ai* in combination with the character for 'eye' means 'to open the eyes; to gain experience'. It is precisely an opening of the doorways of the senses in order that the immanent Spirit may look out of these opened windows that is meant by *khāni vyatṛṇat* in *KU,* IV. 1. It must also be borne in mind that in traditional optics, knowledge of an object is acquired, not by light reflected by the object seen (which produces only a reflex image in the retina, and not an understanding), but by the light of the intellect which is directed to the object through the eye; in just this way, for example, Eckhart distinguishes a seeing *with* the eye from a seeing *through* the eye.

[111] Ruysbroeck's 'in-staring' (*instaernde, Book of Supreme Truth,* Ch. XIV)—'But those who turn outwards and find consolation in outward things, do not feel this, and if I should say much more of it, yet they would not understand'.

(*jñāna-cakṣuṣā*), along the ray to its source, we see Him, and can truly say with Eckhart (Pfeiffer, XCVI) that 'that eye, with which I see God inwardly, is the same eye wherewith God sees in me;' which 'seeing in me' is just what is denoted by *KU,* IV.6 b, the whole verse reading 'him[112] born of old of the glowing, who erst was born of the waters, him stationed indwelling the cavern (of the heart), who looked about in beings,—this, verily is "That" ',[113] without any emendation of the text.

One sees how utterly absurd are those modern, Indian or European, interpretations of IV. 1 which assume that it is meant that 'God injured the senses' (Rawson, p. 149, Note 1) and agree with Rawson that this is an unacceptable interpretation. We see, however, no reason to believe that this was what Śaṅkara meant by *vyatṛṇat = hiṁsitavān hananaṁ kṛtavān ity arthaḥ,* since it is not the sense-*powers* that are pierced (*kha* is never a power' but always a 'space' or 'opening', as in *AĀ,* II.3.3 *khāni sa ākāśaḥ*) but the *gates* of the senses that are, as *MU,* II.6 expresses it, 'broken open'. With all the words meaning to 'pierce', or 'cleave', or 'break open', which are used with *khāni* in the various *parallel* passages may be compared Latin *secare* in the expression *secare viam,* 'to cut away', which certainly does not mean to injure that which is to use the way. It is through the open gateways of the senses that the Inner Being, God himself, looks forth; and this assuredly does not imply any disparagement of the 'world picture' that he thus 'depicts for himself and delights in' (Śaṅkara, *Svātmanirūpaṇa,* 96, cf. Genesis, I.31 'and saw that it was very good').

IV. 5: *na tato vijugupṣate*: without rejecting Rawson's various explanations, we suggest that the general sense is 'thereafter need not fear', and the more particular sense 'no longer needs to guard himself from evil doing' (*JUB,* IV. 25.4 *pāpāt karmoṇo jugupṣeta,* but with a negative),—parallel, therefore, to I John III.9 'Whoever is born of God, cannot sin' and Gal., V.18 'If you are led by the Spirit you are not under the law'.

IV.7: Rawson introduces a great confusion by failing again to distinguish between the divine nature (*prakṛti*) that is one with essence from the separated nature (*prakṛti*) of the Sāṁkhya, i.e. the lower from the higher nature of *BG*, VII.5 (*aparā* and *parā prakṛti*, corresponding to *apara* and *para brahman*),[114] by a failure to distinguish, in other words, Aditi as Magna Mater from Aditi as Mother Earth, or in Eckhart's terms, 'Mary ghostly' from 'Mary in the flesh'. The Essence (m.) and Nature (f.) of verses 6 and 7, both referred to as *guhāṁ praviśya*, are the *kṛṣṇaprutau . . . sakṣitā ubhā . . . mātarā* of *ṚV*, I. 140.3, *parikṣitā pitarā* of III.7.1 and the 'conjoint principle' of St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.27.2, whence the Son proceeds 'by way of generation and parturition'. The Aditi of verse 7 is, of course, the Vāc of *ṚV*, VIII.100.10-11 and X.125: *guhāṁ praviśya tiṣṭhantīm*, corresponding to the question *kva svid asyāḥ paramaṁ jagāma* of VIII.100.10, *devatāmayī*[115] to *devīm*, ibid., 11, *yā*

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[112] We take the accusatives in IV. 6 to be in apposition to those of IV.5 which are governed by *ya . . . veda.*

[113] 'That', as usual, Brahman and here specifically as the Svayambhū of IV. 'Who looked about in beings', or 'looked out through beings', cf. *AV,* XIII.2.9 'The son of Aditi beheld all beings' (*vyakhyad aditeḥ putro bhuvanāni viśvā*), *AĀ,* II.4.3 'The Spirit, born, thoroughly considered beings' (*sa jāta bhūtāni abhivyaikṣat*), and *BU,* I.4.1 'Scrutinising, he beheld naught other than himself' (*so 'nuvīkṣya nānyadātmano' paśyat*). It is moreover, to this way of seeing that we should aspire,—it is the 'sameness of vision' that the unified spirit enjoys when it 'beholds itself stationed in all beings, and all beings in itself' (*sarvabhūtastham ātmānaṁ sarvabhūtāni cātmani īkṣate, BG,* VI. 29). 'His sight for ours—what a goodly recompence' (Rūmī, *Mathnawī,* I.922).

It is of course as the Supernal-Sun and by means of his rays that the Self-existent sees all things; and we take it that it is precisely as the 'Seer' that Ikṣvāku (*ṚV,* X.60.4) denotes the solar Self-existent the ancestor of Rohita (*AB,* VII.15) Bhagīratha (*JUB,* IV.6.1), Bṛhadratha (*MU*) and of that other *ādiccabandhu,* the Buddha (*Sn,* 991).

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[114] *BG*, VII. 4 describes the Sāṁkhyan 'nature': VII.5-6 continues 'This is my lower (*aparā*) nature, therefrom distinguish (*atas . . . viddhi*) my transcendental nature (*prakṛtim . . . parām*), living-being whereby this moving world is kept in being *dhāryate jagat* possest of (*upadhārya* holding, bearing, etc.' and qualifying *aham*,—not as usually rendered, an imperative, cf. *Pāṇini*, III.1.38) this, the wombs (*etad yonīni*) of all beings I am the coming-forth (*prabhavaḥ*) and the dissolution of the whole moving-world. As the text implies, these two Natures *aparā* and *parā* are one Nature in the same sense that the *apara* and *para brahman* are one Brahman. It is just as in Christian formulation, where there is one essence and two natures; but nature and essence are one in Him.

Aditi: Natura naturans, creatrix, Deus. Merely to say that Varuṇa's *para* Brahman's 'world is the waters' to recognize that the 'nature' of the Godhead is one of universal possibility, is to speak of a maternity as well as a paternity *in divinis*; and we find, accordingly, that the Brahman is repeatedly referred to as a 'womb', e.g. *BG*, XIV.3 *mama yonir mahad brahma . . . sambhavaḥ sarvabhūtānāṁ tato bhavati*; *Muṇḍ.*, I.1.6 and III.1.3 *akṣaram . . . bhūtayonim . . . puruṣaṁ brahmayonim; Brahma Sūtra*, I.4.7.27 *yoniś ca hi gīyate.*

Incidentally, it may be remarked that the 'two wombs' (*yonīni*, pl. for du.) of *BG*, VII.6 whether as 'two natures' (*prakṛti*, f.) or as essential and separated natures (*puruṣa*, m. and *prakṛti*, f.) correspond to Varuṇa's *kukṣī* in *AV*, IV 16. 3, *samudrau . . . jaṭhare* in *TS*, III. 2. 2, *sarasvatyau . . . kukṣyau* in XIII.35, *hiraṇyamayau . . . kukṣyau* in *JUB*, I.56, *dve yonī JUB*, IV.27, *JB*, I.17 and *GB*, I.33 (*dve yonī ekaṁ mithunam*) etc; and considered in their identity, to the single womb or belly in texts such as *ṚV*, III.29.1 where Agni is born *asurasya jaṭharāt*, and those in which Prajāpati is spoken of as *garbhin*, 'pregnant'. A full collation of all the parallels would require far greater space than can be devoted to it here.

[115] Neither the *devatāmayī* of *KU*, nor Śaṅkara's *sarva-devātmikā* can be translated by 'soul of the gods'. *Devatāmayī* is simply 'divine', just as *dārumayī* would be 'wooden'. *Sarva-devātmikā* is 'whose nature is to be all the gods',—just as in *AĀ*, II.3.8 'all the gods are unified in the *akṣara* (Brahman)', cf. Eckhart, I.469 'All the Persons being clapt into their nature vanish into the dim silence of their interior being'. *Sarva-devātmikā* merely restates *ṚV*, I.89.10 *viśve devā aditiḥ*. We can say that 'her's is' but scarcely that 'she is' *ātmā devānām*: it is her Breath (*prāṇa*), the Gale (*vāta, vāyu*), her Child (*garbha*), the Sun (*āditya, sūrya*) that is *ātmā devānām* *ṚV*, X.168.4, *JUB*, III.2.4 and 14, etc. Hiraṇyagarbha therefore *ātmadā*, like Agni, *ṚV*, X.121.2, I.149.3. Aditi is the *viśve devāḥ*, but apart from her spirative procession by which she gives them life, and which is her motherhood, without distinction of spiration from generation *in divinis*,

prāṇena sambhavati to *aham eva vāta iva pravāmi,* in X.125.8, and *yā bhūtebhir vyajāyata* to *aditir jātam aditir janitvam* in I.89.10. As Edgerton has observed, 'Everything contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions is not new to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least very clearly foreshadowed, in the older Vedic texts'. (*JAOS,* 36, p. 197); cf. Bloomfield, '*mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions. . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times'.

IV. 8: *dive dive,* 'daily': with reference to the 36000 daily *agnyarkāḥ* of *ŚB,* X. 5.3.3, viz. the 'contemplative fires' (*dhyeyā agnayaḥ,* Sāyaṇa) that are to be kindled within you on everyday of the hundred years of a complete life.

IV.9: The 'home' (*astam*) has been discussed above in connection with I.10 and 11. The Sun, of course, 'never really rises nor sets' (*AB,* III.44) for the Comprehensor, it is rather Day and Night that rise and set (*pramlocantī, anumlocantī, ŚB,* VIII.6.1.18), 'Day and Night together are Death, they do not affect the divinity Āditya (Sol Invictus), for they are only the occasion whereby this divinity 'goes forth' and again 'goes home'' (*anv astam eti,* Vādhulasūtra, see *Acta Orientalia,* pp. 26-7). 'He indeed neither rises nor sets (*udeti na nimlocati*), and for the Comprehensor of this, it is evermore high noon' (*CU,* III.11.3).[116]

The first two *and* the fourth lines of *KU,* IV.9 are from *AV,* X.8.16 (not as Rawson has it, the first two only from *AV,* X.18.6). In *AV,* the third line reads 'that same I deem the best' (*jyeṣṭham,* i.e. the Brahman of the first verse of the hymn, who is referred to as the Breath in *BU,* 1.5.23). The third line in *KU,* is identical in value with *AV,* X.7.38 *tasmin* (in the Brahman-Yakṣa) *chrayante ya u ke ca devāḥ,* and close in wording to *AV,* X.8.6 *tatra* (in Brahman) *sarvam idam arpitam*: and thus as in *ṚV,* I. 35. 6 *āṇiṁ na rathyam,* (Dante's *il punto dello stelo al cui la prima rota va dintormo*) *amṛtā adhi tasthuḥ* 'As 't were upon the axle-point of the chariot-of-light depend the immortal (Devas)' Professor Rawson's remarks to the effect that the ancient Vedic gods are but shadows of themselves in the Upaniṣads, 'all their reality consisting in the One from whom they derive their being', are altogether without foundation in fact; the individual Devas are no more and no less 'shadows' in the Upaniṣads than they are in *ṚV, AV,* and Brāhmaṇas, where their dependence upon the 'One' is as plainly stated as it is in any later text.

IV.10: *iha,* contrasted with *amutra,* means as usual, 'here', 'in this world', 'now'; in the last two lines, the meaning is that though things appear to be

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they have no independent being, but are all one in her unmanifested, *guhāṁ praviśya: ab intra.* as in *ṚV,* VIII.48.2. 'When thou (Somo) art entered in, thou becomest Aditi' (*antaś ca prāgā aditiḥ bhavāsi*).

See also my Angel and Titan, Note 38 in *JAOS,* 55, p. 405 and La doctrine tantrique de la 'Bi-Unité divine, in *Etudes Traditionelles,* 42, 1938, 289-301.

[116] Rūmī *Mathnawī,* II.1107-8 'The rising-place of the sun is the pitch-coloured tower of heaven: *my* sun is beyond all rising places. His "rising-place" is only in relation to His motos; His essence neither rose nor set'.

diverse here (cf. verse 14), he who sees them in their unity, and does not run after them in their apparent difference, escapes recurrent death. The first two lines enunciate the well-known doctrine of the correspondence of all states of being: 'as above, so below'. It is only because of this analogy, taken for granted alike in Vedic, Neo-Platonic, and Christian doctrines of exemplarism,[117] that an adequate symbolism is possible, so that a person 'by the mortal aspires to the immortal' (*AĀ*, II.3.2), and Death can say 'By contingent things I have obtained the eternal' (*KU,* II.10). By an 'adequate symbolism', we mean, of course a natural and inevitable as distinguished from a conventional symbolism: no better example can be cited than that of the sun, employed as an image of God in the Vedic and all other traditions, of which usage Dante remarks that 'No object of sense in the whole world is more worthy to be made a type of God than the sun' (*Convito,* III.12).[118]

IV.11: *manasaivedam āptavyam* is apparently in flat contradiction to *KU,* VI. 12, *na manasā prāptum* and many similar texts.[119] Śaṅkara's explanation of the mind as a means, i.e. an *upāya* in the sense of *Muṇḍ*. III.2.3, covers at least a part of the ground. The same problem is presented, however, by *KU,* VI.9 *manasā abhikḷpto ya etad viduḥ,* and enhanced by the fact that it so often affirmed that it is not by the formation of mental concepts that the Brahman can be truly known, as for example in *Kena,* IV.4-5, where 'that which in the lighting flashes forth, and at which one can only gasp' is contrasted with 'that which comes to mind and by which one continually remembers,[120] viz., 'concept' (*saṁkalpa*).

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[117] See my Vedic Exemplarism, in *HJAS,* I. 1936, pp. 44-64.

[118] Our modern exponents of what they call 'natural religions' and 'solar myths' are afflicted, of course, with that same myopia that Plutarch ridicules in the Greeks when he says that 'the (physical) sun has made all to be ignorant of Apollo by using the power of sense-perception (*aesthesis*) to turn aside the power of the intellect (*dianoia*) from the being to the phenomenon' (*Moralia,* 400 D).

[119] Cf. *Kena,* I.6 'That which thinks not with a mind (cf. *BU,* IV.3.28), but by which, they say, the mind is thought, know that as Brahman, not what men worship here' (*idam upāsate*). 'What men worship here' is of their own imagining, to which He lends himself, *yathopāsate, tad eva bhavati, ŚB,* X.5.2.20; which is not, of course, a denial of the value of such conceptual and iconolatrous 'worship' for the Wayfarer: on the contrary, 'In that one worships (*upāsate*) Him as one to be made a friend of, that is his form as the Friend', *AB,* III.4. The iconoclasm of *Kena,* I.6 simply affirms with Eckhart that 'To know God really you must know him as the Unknown', with St. Thomas that 'Every relation which is predicated of God does not put something real in the eternal God, but only something according to our way of thinking' (*Sum. Theol.*, III.35.5), with Augustine that 'God evades every form of our intellect' (*De vid. Dea,* Ep. cxlvii), and with Dionysius that 'Negations about God are true; but affirmations are vague' (*De coel. hier.* II).

[120] Memory is, of course, a temporal, not an eteranl virtue. As Plotinus asks, 'What subjects of remembrance can there be for souls whose lot is to remain unchanged? . . . In other words, they have seen God, and do not remember? Ah, no: it is that they see god still and always, and that as long as they see, they cannot tell themselves they have had the vision; such reminiscence is for souls that have lost it' (*Enneads,* IV.4.6).

As to this, it may be observed in the first place that *abhi* adds a force to *kḷp* of the sort that 'Super' might add to 'conceive', just as *abhi-jñāna* is 'supernatural knowledge' as distinguished from *jñāna* as 'knowledge' though *jñāna* alone, as 'gnosis' may have a like value. What is of all of more significance, however, is the question of what sort of mind it is by which he can be obtained; for as *Maitrī*, VI.34 makes evident, 'the mind is two-fold, clean and unclean: unclean when connected with desires, and clean when unconnected with desires'; and in the same way *KU*, II. 24 *nāśānta-mānaso . . . enam āpnuyāt*, 'One whose mind is not at rest cannot obtain Him' implies the converse 'One whose mind is at rest (*śānta-mānasaḥ*) may obtain Him'. 'At rest' means something more than simply peaceful; the sacrificial victim is 'at rest' when it 'has been given its quietus' (*śamyate*); and let us also remember that it is always assumed that the victim is a willing victim. It is then for the mind to cleanse itself (by contemplative practices, for the most part), to put itself to death. 'The contemplative here and now attains the station (*padam*) of the "mind at rest" (*manaḥ-śānti*) . . . having brought the mind to a standstill, when he proceeds to dementation, (*amanī-bhāva*) that is the last step (*paramaṁ padam*); the mind is to be arrested in the heart until its undoing is reached, this is gnosis,[121] this liberation, and all else' (*Maitrī*, VI. 34). It is thus that one obtains Him 'by the mind'.

FIFTH VALLĪ

V.8: *tad u nātyeti kaścana*, 'beyond it none soever goes': cf. *M*, II.40 'the ultimate (*paramo*) beyond which there is no further leading (*paṇīta-taram)*, Eckhart, 'On reaching God, all progress ends', and Anselm, Et quidem credimus te esse aliquid quo nihil majus cogitari potest (*Proslog.* c. 2).

V.11: *ekas tathā sarvabhūtāntarātmā na lipyate loka-duḥkhena bāhyaḥ* 'So the one immanent Spirit in all beings is untouched by the grief of the world, being outside it.' The same is often expressed in terms of the lotus, growing in water, but unwetted thereby (*CU*, IV.14.3 and *MU*, III.2). Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.*, II.10 (quoting S. Hioretheus), 'It is the Being that pervades all beings at once though not affected by them.'

V.12: *ekaṁ rūpaṁ bahudhā yaḥ karoti* 'Who maketh his one form to be manifold' Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.*, II.11 'that single Existence of his is said to become manifold through bringing forth many existences from itself while yet remaining One in the act of self-multiplication', and Plotinus, *Enneads*, IV.4. 1 'The unity of the Power is such as to allow of its being multiple to another principle, to which it is all things.'

Parallels throughout our texts are innumerable, for example *ṚV*, I.146.5 *purutrā . . . abhavat*; VI. 47.18 *pururūpa īyate*; VIII. 58.2 *ekaṁ vā idaṁ vi babhūva sarvam*; III.54.8 *viśvam ekam* (the 'integral Multiplicity' of Plotinus and 'Indivisible Plurality' of Dionysius). The *KU*, text recurs in *MU*, VI.26. The implications could only be fully developed by an extended treatment of the Exemplarist doctrine involved of that of the Divine procession as the radiation of a Light.[122]

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[121] 'This knowledge dements the mind' (Eckhart, I.370).

The complete statement implied by the *saṁ ca vi ca eti* of *VS,* XXXII.8 is explicit in *S,* II.212 *eko'pi bahudhā homi, bahudhā pi hutvā eko homi* in *A,* I.254 this power of being one and becoming many, and of being many and becoming one is connected with the possession of *samādhi* as an unbroken habit; it is one of many powers, amongst which are those of walking on the water, and of motion-at-will in various senses. The bearing of this upon the problem of the Divine unity in variety and variety in unity will be apparent if we recall that 'procession (considered as a local motion) implies duality' (*krama = dvita, Taittirīya Prātiśākhya,* XXI.16) and that 'there is no (such) procession in *samādhi*' (*kramo nāsti samāhite, Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* II.117).

Rawson's difficulty (p. 178, last paragraph) is unreal. Śaṅkara rightly says that the Ātman is 'unmodified' (*avikṛta*) whatever the forms it assumes and this is true, because these visible forms are not its 'modifications', but its 'possibilities of manifestation' reduced to act.

V.12: *eko vaśī* here and *sarvasya vaśī* in *BU,* IV.4.22 applies equally to the Sun and to Death, so constantly identified. *Sarvabhūtāntarātmā* 'the Spirit indwelling all beings', as in *KU,* V.11 and *ṚV,* I.115.1 *sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuṣaḥ,* 'the Sun, the Spirit of all that moves or is at rest'. *Vaśa* denotes the sun in *ṚV,* VIII.46.33, X.171.4, etc. In *BU,* IV.4.22 *mahān aja ātmā . . . sarvasyeśānaḥ* are definitely solar terms, while *sarvasyādhipatiḥ* recalls *TS,* V.2.3 *yāvatī vai pṛthivī tasya yama ādhipatyaṁ parīyāya.* Vaśi recalls the Buddhist Māra Vasavati. For the general identification of the Sun with Death *ŚB,* II.3.3.7 and VI.2.2.5 'He who glows yonder is doubtless Death', and X.5.2.3 'Death is the Person in the orb' will suffice.

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[122] We have discussed Professor Rawson's Patripassianism elsewhere. Here we shall only add that to deny that there is (and affirm that there ought not to be) any principle apart from suffering is to deny the basic Christian doctrine (Hindu also and Buddhist) that 'man's last end is one of beatitude'. The problem is very clearly treated by Śaṅkara on *Brahma Sūtra,* II.3.45-7: the Supreme Self cannot be thought of as feeling the pain of individual selves, because this pain depends upon the Agnosia (*avidyā*) according to which the individual self literally sympathises with its own psycho-physical affections or with those of others, in this way identifying itself with what-is-not-the-self (*anātman,* Buddhist *anattā*). The Supreme Self does not suffer, because it does not thus ignorantly identify Itself with any of the accidents to which its various psycho-physical vehicles are subject: It distinguishes Itself from what is not Itself. It is precisely this un-sympathetic and un-sentimental nature of the Supreme Self that gives *value* to such dicta as 'That art thou'. The scriptural texts admit both a distinction and an absence of distinction (*bhedābheda*); but becuase we are already only too conscious of distinction (*bheda*) and misunderstand its nature (which is that of illumination from light, and not of illuminated things from light), the emphasis of the texts is laid upon the indoctrination of non-distinction (*abheda*),—'Their intention is to teach non-difference only, because it is by the realisation of self-identity with Brahman (*brahmātmatva-pratipattau*) that man's last end (*puruṣārtha*) is won'.

Rawson's remarks, pp. 181-2 are confused. The Brahman is not the 'inner soul of our individual souls'[123] but as Śaṅkara would express it, *is* our inner being; 'One as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children' as said of Death in *ŚB,* X. 5.2.16. Granted that what many modern scholars understand by the Māyāvāda is an 'illusion doctrine' implying the pure non-entity of the outer world, we can agree that this would 'make nonsense of the Vedas'. To put it as briefly as possible, *natura naturata* is not, however *māyā*, but *māyā-maya*; and even if *māyā* be taken as *asat*, 'non-being', this 'non-being' is also the maternal possibility of being and the source of being (*asataḥ sad ajāyata, ṚV,* X.72.3 = *TU,* II.7), in the same way that in Christian doctrine the world *ex nihilo* fits without it following that the world *nihil est.*[124] How little Śaṅkara denies the reality of the external world (however unreal our knowledge of it may be, as illustrated by the parable of the rope and the snake) is sufficiently obvious from his endorsement of *Brahma Sūtra,* II.2.28 *nābhāva upalabdhe,* Thibaut's rendering of the commentary reading 'The "non-existence" of external things "cannot be maintained" because we are conscious of external things', etc. The *bhedābheda* relation of distinction without difference (Eckhart's 'used but not confused') is expressly accepted by Śaṅkara in the commentary on II.3.43 *aṁśo nānāvyapadeśād anyathā cāpi,* '(the individual spirit) is a part (of the Lord) inasmuch as it is not taught that they are different, and also the contrary': by which he understands that the individual and the Lord are related as sparks to fire (*jīva īśvarasyāṁśo bhavitum arhati, yathāgner visphuliṅgaḥ*), in which heat is the same (notwithstanding that the sparks are distinguishable from the fire), and he concludes that 'From these two doctrines of difference and non-difference (*bhedābhedāv-āgamābhyām*) the meaning of "participation" (*aṁśattva*) follows.' He explains, of course, that by 'part' is not meant a 'piece', but 'a part, as it were' (as in *BG,* XV.7). The

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Cf. *KU,* VI.2-3 'A great fear (*mahad bhayam*). . . . Through fear of Him' are we to suppose that 'He' also fears? and if so, what? It is precisely the 'Welt-schmerz' of vol. 11 that is the 'great fear': *dukkhaṁ assa* (*lokassa*) *mahabbhayam, Sn,* 1033. The goal to which Naciketas is directed is an *abhayaṁ pāram.*

[123] Unless, of course, we properly distinguish 'inner soul' = spirit from 'our individual soul' = psyche. As Philo says, 'The word "soul" is used in two senses, with reference either to the soul as a whole or to its dominant (*hegemonikon* = *antaryāmin*) part, which latter is, properly speaking, the soul of the soul (*psyche psychês*)' (*Quis rerum divinarum Heres,* 55), this 'dominant' being the 'Spirit of God' (*pnêuma theîon*), (*De specialibus legibus,* IV. 123). But like most Western scholars, Rawson renders *ātman* by 'soul' in a quite indiscriminate way.

[124] As he is in himself, *ab intra,* God is *sadasat,* 'being and non-being' (*ṚV,* X.5.7, *Muṇḍ.,* II.2.I. *Praśna Up.,* II. 5-6). As also in St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I.45.1, *oportet considerare . . . emanationem* (=*sargam*) *totius entis a causa universali, quae est Deus. Et hanc quidem emanationem designamus nomine creationis . . . ita creatio, quae est emanatio totius esse, est ex non ente, quod est nihil.* ('We must consider the emanation of all being from the universal cause, which is God. And this said emanation we call 'creation'. So that creation, which is the emanation of all being, is from the non-being, which is nothing'.)

theme would admit of a long development, but all that need be pointed out here is that Śaṅkara by no means denies, but explicitly endorses, *bhedābheda* doctrine.

V.14: *kim u bhāti vibhāti vā*, 'Does it shine, or does it shine forth?' The question raises the whole problem of 'uncreated' and 'created' light, and could only be fully elucidated in the light of the whole doctrine of light, which is the common property of Indian, Islamic, and Christian theology. The question is asked in Brahmodya style and answered in the following verse. The question itself must first be understood. *Bhāti* presents no difficulty. *Vibhāti* is *bhāti* combined with *vi*, the particle having its usual distributive value; the forms are parallel to those of *bhū* and *vibhū*, 'to be', and 'to be distributively' or 'be forth', and so indeed are the meanings, since in this doctrine *lux et ens convertuntur.*[125] *Vibhāti* is not 'reflects', for which we should expect either *ābhāti*,[126] or the *anubhāti* of the following verse in which, however, there is a nuance suggesting a participation rather than a mechanical reflection.[127] The rather naive question of whether 'it' ('the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world', John I.9) is itself illuminated by some other source of light is not raised at all. What is propounded has to do with the distinction of light from illumination as this is drawn by Bonaventura, who 'distinguishes between the light (*lux*) and its raying (*lumen, "Lichtausstrahlung"*), without always maintaining a sharp distinction between the two notions.'[128] What is asked, whether the Light of the Spirit (which shines when all other lights have gone out, *BU*, IV.3.6, like *KU*, V.15), whether the Light of lights (*jyotiṣāṁ jyotir, ṚV*, I.113.1 and *BG*, XIII.17) is a simple and hidden or also an omniform and manifested light.[129] The answer of *KU,* V.15 is that there is no *light* that shines there (cf. *GB,* XV.6 and *Rev,* XXI.23, appropriately cited by Rawson), but only the uncreated (*akṛta* as in *CU,* VIII.13) Light of the Spirit (*BU,* IV.3.6:[130] 'Him-shining the world-all-after-shines (*tam eva bhāntam anubhāti sarvam*)[131] by his shining this all shines forth' *tasya bhāsā sarvam idaṁ vibhāti*[132] (*bhāti ca vibhāti ca*);[133] i.e. 'shines' as He is yonder, in himself, in the darkness, and 'shines forth' here, as he is in us, as light.[134]

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[125] Our question is, then, virtually the same as that of *ŚB*, X.5.2.16 'Is Death one or many', with its answer 'One and many, one as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children', as also in *BG*, XIII.16 'Both undivided, and also divided in beings' (*avibhaktaṁ ca bhūteṣu vibhaktam*, where *avibhaktam* corresponds to *bhāti* and *vibhaktam* to *vibhāti* in our text).

See also my 'Beauté, Lumière et Son' in *Études Traditionelles*, Feb. 1937 and 'The source of, and a parallel to Rionysius on the Beautiful' in *Journ. Greater India Soc.*, III, 36-42, and 'Vedic Exemplarism', *HJAS*, I.1936, pp. 58-60.

[126] Cf. my 'Ābhāsa' in *JAOS*, 52, 1932, pp. 208-12.

[127] Cf. Witelo, *Lib de intelligentis*, VI 'Light (*lux* = *jyotis*) is the primordial substance; whence it follows that all other substances participate in the nature of light.'

[128] Baeumker, *Witelo*, Münster, 1908, p. 396. Bonaventura, in fact, distinguishes three modalities of light: Sicut lux potest tripliciter consideradi, scilicet in se et in transparenti et in extremitate perspicui terminati: primo modo est lux, secondo modo *lumen*, tertio modo *hypostasis coloris*' (I *Sent.* d. 17, p. 1 a unic. q.1). In this division *lux* corresponds to *jyotis* or *bhāsa*, *lumen* to *raśmi* and *vibhāsa*, and *hypostasis coloris* to *ābhāsa*; or in other words, *lux* to *svarūpa*, *lumen* to *viśvarūpa*, and *hypostasis coloris* to *pratirūpa* or *anurūpa*.

[129] As 'hidden', of course, the Light of the Spirit does not 'shine forth', but is 'obscured': *KU*, III.12 *gūḍho tmā na prakāśate*. Hence the perpetual quest of the 'hidden sun' *gūḷhaṁ sūryam, ṚV, passim*). On the other hand, in proportion as it is 'found' or 'known' it reveals itself, and shines with its own Light (*svaprakāśa*), becoming more and more manifest (*āvistarām*), *tasya ya ātmānam āvistarāṁ vedāśnute havir bhūyaḥ*.

SIXTH VALLĪ

VI. 9: *hṛdā manīṣā manasābhikḷptaḥ,* 'super-conceived by the heart, by thought, by the mind', cf. *ṚV,* I.61.2 *hṛdā manasā manīṣā,* and X.177.1-2 *hṛdā paśyanti manasā . . . manīṣām . . . ni pānti.*

VI. 4: *tataḥ sargeṣu lokeṣu śarīratvāya kalpate,* 'Then in the emanated worlds, he is fitted for embodiment' (the *sarveṣu kāleṣu* of one Ms. merely substitutes time for space); corresponding to *KU,* III.17 *anantyāya kalpate,* 'is fitted for infinity, or endlessness', and *Manu* I. 98 *brahmabhūyāya kalpate* 'is fitted for becoming Brahman'. We have discussed this passage at some length elsewhere in a wider context.[135] It is easy to see from what point of view Śaṅkara should have wished to evade the plain meaning of the words. We agree with Rawson that it would be 'better frankly to emend the text and supply a negative' than to twist its meaning. In fact, however, no emendation whatever is necessary. For what or who is it but the Brahman, Ātman, that is 'embodied in the emanated words'? What but the *śarīrātman, aśarīraḥ śarīreṣu?* Who but the Ātman, who but Agni, is the rider in the chariot of which the wheels are

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[130] The 'Dark Ray' or 'Radiant Darkness' of Dionysius, . . . 'binding by excess of light'.

[131] *Anubhāti:* for example *CU,* IV. 9.2 *brahmavid iva . . . bhāsi* ('Thou shinest as though a Knower of the Brahman' and *TU,* III.10.6 *suvarṇa-jyotīḥ ya evaṁ veda* ('Thereof the Comprehensor shines with golden light'). Cf. Witelo, *Lib. de intelligentis.* VIII.1 *Unumquodque quantum habet de luce, tantum retinet ease divini. Unaquaeque substantia habens magis de luce quam alia dicitur nobilior ipsa* ('Insofar as anything has "light", to that extent it contains divine essence. Whatever substance has more light than another is therefore called "more noble".')

We little realize to what extent the technicalities of the traditional doctrine of light ('The perfection of all things in the cosmic order is light', Witelo, l.c.) survives in current speech. When we speak of a 'clear complexion' or 'sparkling wit' or of a 'bright lad' or a 'shining example', we are speaking superstitiously, i.e. without understanding the proper significance of these expressions.

[132] Note *bhāsā,* instrumental; like *brahmaṇā* in *S,* I.236 and *prāṇena* in *JUB,* IV.14.1. *Sarvam idam,* the subject of *vibhāti,* is '*sūryādi*', 'the sun, etc.' (Sāyaṇa).

[133] Dante's *splendore . . . risplendendo, Paradiso,* XXIX.14, 15.

[134] Eckhart's 'Eye wherewith God sees in me'. *Sarvabhūtair vibhāti, Muṇḍ.,* III.1.4 = *bhūtebhir vyapaśyata, KU,* IV.6.

[135] 'The coming to birth of the Spirit', to appear in *Indian Culture.*

Heaven and Earth and the axle-tree the Axis of the Universe? If Śaṅkara balks, it is as Agni balks at the task of becoming the Devas' charioteer in *ṚV,* X.51, as the Buddha balks at the turning the Wheel, and as Christ says 'May this cup be taken from me'! He would become the Brahman, but only in one nature, not in the double nature predicated of the Brahman in *BU,* II.3 and as implied throughout *ṚV*; he would be the Ātman that shines but not the Ātman that shines forth (forgetting his own *bhāti ca vibhāti ca* cited above); of the Supreme Identity of Being and Non-being (*sadasat, passim*) he would be only *asat.* Śaṅkara's goal is that of a Pratyeka Buddha. In Christian terms, he would be united to the Father, through the Son, but not with the Supreme Identity of Father and Son. But as is explicit in our Upaniṣad, III.10-11, while one must have gone beyond the Manifested (Sun) to reach the Unmanifested (Darkness), the Person and last end lies beyond the Unmanifested; one has not reached the end of the road until one knows Him both as Manifested and Unmanifested (*vyaktāvyaktaḥ*). 'That One is equally spirated, despirated' (*ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekam, ṚV,* X.129.2), not only despirated. That One is not only Infinite (*ananta,* in the sense 'without beginning or end') but also Indefinite (*ananta,* in the sense of *BU,* IV.1.5 'What is its endlessness? Just the quarters of heaven'). That One is both the silent and the vocal Brahman (*śabdāśabda*); *madāmada, starīr uttvad sūtaḥ,*— not only indifferent but also exhilarated, not only impotent, but also progenitive. In a word, one essence and two natures.

'Know that he on whom the worlds, the mind, and all the powers are woven is the One Ātman. . . . Where the vectors meet, like spokes in the hub of the wheel (i.e. in the centre, in the heart) therein he moves, multifariously born' (*tam eva ekaṁ jānatha ātmānam . . . antaś carate bahudhā jāyamānaḥ, Muṇḍ.,* II. 2.5-6).[136] We must not, however, misunderstand the nature of this 'motion' and 'birth'; it is as Unmoved Mover that he *carati bahudhā jayamanaḥ,* as in *KU,* II.21 'Seated, he travels afar; recumbent, he goeth everywhere', and *Īśā,* 4 'Standing, he foregoeth them that run'. It is by means of his rays, or 'feet' as they are sometimes called, that he travels (*carati svarociḥ ṚV,* III.38.4): the solar omnipresence is a vision, and not a local motion. . . . 'The Sun is the Eye . . . truth is the Eye; it is with the Eye that the Person ranges the dimensioned' (*cakṣuṣā hy ayaṁ mātrāś carati, MU,* VI.6). The 'embodiment' for which the Wake is prepared, even here and now if he is Wake, is not an incarnation under the Sun as so-and-so, but such as the Universal Man, the Eternal Avatar takes part in, not by any necessity of ends to be gained, but because it is the nature of the Light not only to be the Hidden Light but also one that shines. All that our verse affirms, then, is that the Wake are fitted for a state of Universal Being, as distinct from that of the private being which is the mark of those who are still asleep. Whoever participates in the Being of the Sun is a Mover-at-will in every world. We do not see why anyone should have wish to explain this away.[137]

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[136] In the same way Prajāpati 'wanders in the (Golden) Germ, and whilst remaining within, unseen, is multifariously born abroad (*prajāpatiś carati garbhe-antar-adṛśyamāno bahudhā vi jāyate, AV,* X.8.13).

VI.11: *parbhavāpyayau,* also *Māṇḍ.,* 6 where 'He (Brahman, Ātman, in 'deep sleep') is the *prabhavāpyayau* of beings', and alternatively *miterapīti* in *Muṇḍ.,* 11. Deussen's 'schöpfung und vergang' and Hume's 'origin and end' are much nearer to the meaning than is Rawson's 'acquired and lost'.[138] Rawson's rejection of Hume's and Deussen's versions 'as involving much later ideas which are foreign to the *Kaṭha* introduces in any case a confusion of literary history with the history of ideas,—which have no history. In the present case, however, it is a question of ideas which are not merely implicit in 'older' texts, but explicit there.

As *prabhū,* literally to 'forth-become' or 'come forth' ('hervorragen', Grassman) and *prabhava,* 'forth-becoming', 'manifestation' ('sich hervorthuen',[139] Grassmann) are to be found in *ṚV,* and we know too that 'a fourth (*pādaḥ*) of him is all beings, a fourth of him becomes (*abhavat*) here' (X.90. 3-4)[140], no difficulty is presented by the rendering of *prabhava* as 'origin', or rather, 'origination'. This is further supported by the substitution of *miti* for *prabhava* in *Māṇḍ.* 11, since the act of being which we call 'creation' is described throughout *ṚV,* and later as one of 'measurement'.[141]

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[137] Cf. *Īśā,* 12-13 condemning equally the goals of 'coming to be' and 'not coming to be', the truth being that the Person is neither of these in the sense that he is not also the other. Śaṅkara's position can only be defended if we understand that his polemic, like Eckhart's, is directed not against the divine activity and immanence as such, but against the pantheistic view that the whole of the divine nature finds expression in this activity, leaving nothing over. This is probably his true position; but one that is not explicit in the present context. See also the discussion of *KU,* II.11, above.

[138] The problem of an 'acquisition and loss' of Yoga is not raised by our text. 'The difficulty some have found' (Rawson, p. 199) in conceiving such an idea may nevertheless be noticed. 'Yogī' (like 'Ṣūfī') is strictly speaking the designation of one who has reached the end of the road, and for whom no fall or loss is possible (at this point also the notion of an 'acquisition' loses its meaning,—'When I enter there', as Rūmī says, 'no one will ask me whence I came'). On the other hand, those are also called Yogīs who are still on their way (just as some are called Ṣūfīs who are really only *mutaṣawwuf*), and in this case, 'yoga' being considered as a method, or technique, one can speak, as in *BG,* VI.37, of a 'wandering from yoga and failure to attain perfection in yoga'. This is what is implied by the common expression 'to lose one's *dhyāna*'. How deeply these ideas are embedded in the racial experience can be judged from the use of the expression *dhyān karo* even in schools, when students are called to attend to their work.

[139] To 'distinguish', 'signalise' (Flügel); cf. Eckhart, I.394, 'Creation is his love of clear discrimination'.

[140] Related to this is *AĀ,* II.2.2 *eṣa vai padam eṣa hīmāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni pādi.*

[141] In *KU,* V. 8 also, *kāmaṁ kāmaṁ puruṣo nirmimāṇaḥ,* cf. *BU,* IV.3.9 *asya lokasya mātrām . . . svayaṁ nirmāya,* and *Māṇḍ.,* 11 *minoti ha vā idaṁ sarvaṁ, BU,* IV.3.9 *vihatya . . . nirmāya* corresponds (in reversed order) to the *mity-apīti* of *Māṇḍ.,* 11 and *prabhavāpyaya* elsewhere; but it should not be overlooked that while the reference of *vihatya* ('striking off ') and *apīti* ('coming into' sc. one's own, whence the hermeneia

Apy-aya, from *api-i*, to 'approach' or 'mingle with', 'come into', 'combine with' (whether sexually, as in *ṚV,* II.43.2, or otherwise), or 'flow into' (as rivers into the sea), and hence also to 'die' in the sense of 'die and go to heaven', as in *ṚV,* I.162.20 *apiyantam* 'as thou diest' and at the same time 'as thou interest' into immortality).[142] The locus classicus for *apyaya* is *ŚB,* X.5.14 where we find a hermeneia (*nirukta*) of *svapna* 'sleep' as *svāpyaya* 'entering in of one's own', viz., the 'breaths that are 'one's' own (*svāḥ*)'[143] These are, of course, 'the divine immortal breaths' of *BU,* I.5.17, where they are said to 'enter into him'[144] (*enam . . . āviśanti*), just as in *ŚB, enam . . . apiyanti.* Again in *CU,* VI.8.1. we find 'When a person here sleeps (*svapiti*), as it is called, then, my dear, he has attained (*sampanno bhavati*), he becomes "one who has come into his own" (*svam-apītaḥ*). So they say of one who sleeps that "He has come into his own".' It is, then, more than sufficiently evident that the meanings that Rawson rejects as 'late' are already explicit in texts which he himself accepts as much older than the *Kaṭha.* We render accordingly, *tāṁ paramāṁ gatiṁ yogam iti manyante sthirām indriya-dhāraṇām . . . yogo hi prabhavāpyayau,* 'The which (last step), "Yoga" to wit, they understand to be the "firm hold of the senses". . . . Yoga is both the coming forth and the entering in.' The senses are the steeds: *yoga* is expert driving (cf. *BG,* II. 50 'Yoga is skill in action'), start and finish of the race. Yoga is the true art alike of living and of dying; *contemplatio ars vivendi et moriendi.*

VI.13: '"He is", thus only can be apprehended; when he is apprehended as "He is", his essential nature shines out clearly (*prasīdati*)', cf. Damscene,

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svapiti, 'sleeps') is to one and the same act of being, the words themselves are not synonymous, but refer to the same act under different aspects. The same applies in the case of *prabhava* and *miti*: the act of 'coming forth' is an act of 'measurement'.

[142] Similarly in *CU,* IV.3.1 'When Agni blows out (intransitive), he just enters into the Gale of the Spirit' (*yadā vā agnir udvāyati, vāyum evāpyeti*), and *JUB,* III.1.7 *sa etam (vāyum) evāpyeti.*

[143] Eggeling renders *svāpyāya* by 'being taken possession of by one's own people', as if *apy-aya* had been *āpyāya.* The results of this too free translation is a false assimilation of the present text to that of XI.2.3.6, cited above, where the Devas, originally mortal 'take possession of immortality by means of the Brahman' ('by means of ', because 'Himself the bridge', 'I am the Way'). The 'entering in' (*apyaya*) of the immortal principles is an activity on their part: the taking possession' (*āpyāya*) an activity on the recipient's part. These activities are coincident; unification is the 'coming into one's own' of the one and the other that are 'unified'; to find Him and to find oneself is the same, as is explicit in *JUB,* IV.14.1, where the Brahman says 'with the breath of my mouth *ye shall obtain* (*upāpnavātha*) yourselves, and shall obtain me'. Whichever way we look at it, it is a matter of 'coming into one's own': nevertheless, these 'ways of looking at it' should not be confused in a translation.

[144] 'Into him', viz., the Comprehensor (*evaṁvit*), when he has made the full-bequest (*sampratti* = *sampradānam, Kauṣ. Up.,* II.15), and as he departs from this world, enters into his son (*putram āviśati*) with mortal breaths, or powers, at the same time that the immortal breaths or powers into *him* (*enam . . . āviśanti*). The text is important, because of the clear distinction made as between metempsychosis and transmigration, and of both from 'reincarnation'.

De Fid. orthod. I, '"He who is" is the principal of all names applied to God; for comprehending all in itself, it contains existence itself as an infinite and indeterminate sea of substance; and Eckhart, "God's only idiosyncrasy is being". Cf. also *ŚB,* II.3.2.1 "In him that exists". *Prasīdati* here recalls *prasādāt* in *KU,* II.20, "by the shewing forth of ", or "by the clear light of", rather than "by the grace of ".'

THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN

The Darker Side of Dawn

INTRODUCTION

Students of theology and mythology are well aware that the concept of deity presents itself to us under a double aspect; on the one hand as gracious, on the other as awful. He evokes both love and fear. He is both a light and a darkness, a revelation and a mystery. In the latter and awful aspect, clouds and darkness are round about him. The Light is Life, the Darkness Death. The one corresponds to our concept of Good, the other to our concept of Evil, within the recognized definitions of good as 'that which all creatures desire', and of evil as 'that which all creatures would avoid'. A majority of religions in their esoteric formulation treat these contrasted aspects in outward operation as distinct and opposed forces, divine and satanic, celestial and is often so represented, upon the stage or in art. Yet the Solar hero and the Dragon, at war on the open stage, are blood brothers in the green room. From the Christian point of view, the fallen Angels[1] are 'fallen in grace, but not in nature'; and from the Islamic, Iblis is restored at the end of time; in other words Satan becomes again Lucifer. The same deity, Zeus for example in Greek mythology, may be worshipped and represented both in anthropomorphic and in snake forms. Serpent worship and its iconography, despite their outwardly 'primitive' appearance, have profound metaphysical foundations.

Metaphysical religion envisages a 'Supreme Identity' (in the *Ṛgveda, tad ekam,* 'that one') in which the outwardly opposing forces are one impartible principle; the lion and the lamb lying down together. The contrasted powers are separated only the very nature of reason, which sees things apart as subject and object, affirmation and negation, act and potentiality, Heaven and Earth. Contemplative practice alike in East and West seeks to approach divinity in both aspects, avoiding a one-sided vision of the Unity; willing to know Him both as being and non-being, life and death, God and Godhead. The contemplation in caligine, for example, is directed to the dark side of deity; and corresponds to the Indian cult of Śiva-Rudra, for the primordial Darkness remains in him as Rudra (X.129, and *Maitrī Up.*, V.2.).[2]

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[1] The Angels (*devaḥ*) in *ṚV,* although from one point of view, that is to say throughout the duration of their aeviternity (*amṛtatva*), incorruptible (*ajara, ajurya, amṛta, amartya*), are subject nevertheless to inveteration at the end, and resurrection at the beginning, of every aeon (*yuga*); for example, Agni, the very principle of life (*āyus, visvāyus, ṚV, passim*) 'Being inveterated, is forthwith borh youthful' (*jujurvān yo muhurā yuvā bhūt,* II.4.5) and with respect to the aeviternity of his manifestation is also said to be 'of unaging youth' (*yuvā ajaraḥ,* V.44.3), and called 'Life universal, deathless amongst them that die' (*viśvāyur yo amṛto marteṣu,* VI.4.2). Similarly in X.124.4 'Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma decline' (*cyavante*), in IV.19.2 the inveterated deities are re-emanated (*avāsṛjanta jivrayo na devāḥ*), and in V.74.5 'From him that hath declined (*cyavanat*) ye (Aśvins) loosed the covering cloak, when ye made him young (*yuvā*) again and stirred the bride's desire'.

Evidence can be assembled from the *Ṛgveda* and other sources to show the deity in the darkness, unmanifested, in his ground, not proceeding, or as it is technically expresed, *ab intra*, is conceived of in forms that are not human-angelic, but theriomorphic; and typically in that of a brooding serpent of fiery dragon, inhabiting a cave or lying on a mountain, where he guards a treasure against all comers, and above all restrains the rivers of Life from flowing. The creative act involves a maiming, division, or transformation of the girdling serpent, often thought of as 'footless and headless', that is with its tail in its mouth. The contraction and identification of this primordial and impartite Unity is envisaged on the one hand as voluntary sacrifice, or on the other as affected by violence, exercised by life-desirous Powers of Light. The celebration of the conquest of the Serpent by the Powers of Light is a basic theme of the Vedic hymns; an aspect of the Great Battle between the Devas and Asuras ('Angels' and 'Titans') for the possession of the worlds of light. It is the battle between St. George and the Dragon. At the same time there can be no question that the Powers of Light and Powers of Darkness are the same and only Power. Devas and Asuras are alike Prajāpati's or Tvaṣṭṛ's children; the Serpents are the Suns. It is entirely a question of 'orientation'. At the end of an aeon the Powers of Darkness are in turn victorious.

The Powers of Darkness are also at home as Water-snakes (Indian *nāga*) or Merfolk in the Sea that represents the maternal possibility of being. The first assumption in the Godhead, Death, is being. Life and Death, God and Godhead, Mitra and Varuṇa, *apara* and *para* Brahman, are related from this point of vieiw as a progenitive pair (Indian *mithuna*). The determinative, paternal principle accomplishes in conjunction with the passive maternal principle 'the act of foundation latent in eternity' (Eckhart). The generation of the Son 'is a vital operation from a conjoint principle . . . that by which the Father begets is the divine nature' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 27, A. 2., and Q. 41, 1. 5). The Father is Intellect, the Mother Word, the child Life (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I.5.7). Just as the Father works through the Son, so the human artist works 'by a word conceived in his intellect' (St. Thomas, loc. cit., I, Q. 45, A. 6). In this way every ontological formulation affirms the duality of the Unity as well as the unity of the Duality. It will be evident that whatever holds for the masculine will hold also for the feminine aspect of the Unity; in the following essay it is primarily the Vedic concept of the *ab intra* form of the feminine principle that is discussed.

For many readers the ontological principles outlined above will be of interest and value, not so much by first intention as 'traces' of the Way, but rather and only as providing a logical explanation for certain typical forms of the creation myth that is a common property of all cultures. Regarded, however, even from this purely 'scientific' point of view, the student of mythology, folklore, and fairy tale will find in these principles a valuable means of recognizing and correlating the varying forms that the world myth assumes. The story is not only of a time before history began, but was already told in a time before history was recorded. We may be sure that the pseudo-historical aspects that the story has assumed, for example in the Volsunga Saga, in Beowulf, or the *Mahābhārata,* are later developments and partial rationalizations. Fragments of the story will be recognized in the dogmatic life of every messiah; in the miracles, for example, attributed to Cuchullain, Buddha, Moses and Christ. Other fragments survive in fairy tales and even in nursery rhymes; in the story, for example of the human hero who crosses water or climbs a tree and thus returns to the magical other world, where he rescues or carries off the imprisoned daughter of a giant or magician; and in the stories of mermaids or Undines, who fall in love with a mortal, acquire a soul, and feet in place of their scaly tails.

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[2] All references unspecified are to the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*.

The author trust that the foregoing remarks will serve to introduce, however, inadequately, the theme of the Darker Side of Dawn, the real sense of which may not be immediately apparent to the general reader. For the professed student of the *Ṛgveda* the actual evidences of the texts are assembled in the accustomed and more technical maner; the thesis, although it may have been expanded at much greater length, may be taken to be complete in itself.

THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN

In an article due to appear in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* but of which the publication has been delayed for lack of space, I have discussed the relation of the masculine Angels (*devāḥ*) on the one hand with the Titans (*asurāḥ*) and Serpents (*sarpāḥ*) on the other, showing the former are to be regarded as sacrificial conversions of transformations of the latter. By way of introduction to what follows, and for the sake of the parallel workings, the general nature of the evidence for the transformation of the Serpents in this sense may be indicated. The evidence is primarily Ṛgvedic, but is conveniently resumed in *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* XXV.15.4, where the Serpents, by means of a sacrificial session, are enabled to cast their inveterated skins (*hitvā jīrṇān tvacam*) and to glide forward (*ati-sṛp*), changing their forms, and this 'the Serpents are the Ādityas' (*sarpyā vā ādityāḥ*); cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* VII.3.2.14, where Agni is found upon the lotus leaf, having 'crept up out of the Waters' (*adbhya upodāsṛptam*). The evidence for the identification of Agni *ab extra* with Ahirbudhnya *ab intra* need not be presented in detail, but it may be noted that in IV.1.11, Agni, 'footless and headless, hiding both his ends' (*apādaśīrṣā guhamāno antā*) is clearly thought of as a coiled snake, perhaps with its tail in its mouth; and that in the same way the Sun, is originally 'footless', but is given feet by Varuṇa that he may proceed (*apade pādā pratidhātave,* I.24.8); in other passages, Indra, Agni, Soma and Varuṇa are similarly described as 'footed' (*padaviḥ,*); cf. *padavi* (f.) as footprint, *vestigium pedi,*[3] in I. 72.2 and X.71.3 and similarly *pada, passim. Apad,* on the other hand, is a natural kenning for 'snake'; in III.30.8 the demons Kuṇāru and Vṛtra are handless and footless (*ahastam, apadam*), and Vṛtra similarly I.32.7. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* I.6.3.9, in connection with the transformation of Soma, is explicit 'In that he was rolling, he became Vṛtra; in that he was footless, he became Ahi' (*yad apat samabhavat tasmād ahis*). In the following shorter discussion, complete in itself, there is assembled a part of the corresponding evidence on the side of the feminine principles.

We now proceed to consider the case of Dawn (*uṣas*), whose lauds are so familiar to every student of the *Ṛgveda.* It is well known that Night and Day or Dawn (*naktoṣāsā* du. f.) are sisters, of like mind, who move successively upon a common path, Night 'when she hath conceived for Savitṛ's quickening yielding the womb to Dawn' (I.113.1-3). 'Sister to mightier sister yields the womb' (I.124.8; it is the younger sister that is victorious, the Devī replacing the Asuri, cf. *Mahābhārata,* XII.35.25, 'The Asuras are the elder brothers, the Devas indeed the younger'). 'Successively they nurse the Yearling Calf' (I.95.1), i.e. Agni, who has thus two mothers (*ubhe sa mātrorabhavat putra,* III.2.2 and *dvimātā, passim*); 'One mother holds the Calf, the other rests (*kṣeti*) . . . Ye, variant pair, have made yourselves twin beauties (*vapuṁṣi*), one that is black (*kṛṣṇam*) and one that shines' (III.55.4 and 11, cf. V.2.2). In the same way the Bambino, whether Sun[4] or Fire, has two aspects corresponding to those of the sister Dawns[5] (*uṣasā virūpe,* V.1.4). 'With one of whom is he glaucous (*hari*), with the other bright (*śukra*), and shining (*suvarca*)', I.95.1; as Pūṣan he is of two different aspects, like Day and Night, one bright, one dark (VI.58.1); like the Dawns, he 'goes back and forth', I.164.38 'now becometh sterile (*starī*), now begets (*sute*, tantamount to *savitā bhavati*, one becomes Savitṛ'), he shapes his aspect as he will', VII.101.3; cf. *Atharvaveda*, VI.72.1, 'he shapes his aspect as he will, by titan magic'; 'Immortal, uterine-brother (*sayoniḥ*) of the mortal, they move eternally conversely, men mark the one and fail to mark the other', I.164.38. When night and day (*uṣāsā*, the 'sister dawns') have carried him, Agni is born 'full strong and white, in the beginning of days' (V.1.4); 'the sue of *uṣāsā* (du. f.) here to mean Night and Day is paralleled by 'days of diverse hue' (*viṣurūpe ahanī*, I.123.7 and VI.58.1) and 'black day and white day' (*ahaśca kṛṣṇam ahar arjunaṁ ca*,[6] VI.9.1). These

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[3] For the significance of the vestigium pedi in Vedic, Zen, and Christian tradition see my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography,* 1935, p. 16 and Note 146.

[4] These two forms of his are the same as the two forms (*dve rūpe*) of Brahman, 'immortal, imageless' (*amṛta, amūrta*) and 'mortal in a likeness' (*martya, mūrta*) of *Bṛhadaraṇyaka Up.,* II.3.1. cf. *Maitrī Up.,* VI.3.15 and 22. The immortal form is that of Varuṇa, Death, the *para* and *nirguṇa* Brahman: the mortal that Mārtaṇḍa (=Vivasvan, Sūrya) whom 'Aditi bore hitherward unto repeated birth and death', *ṚV,* X.72.9; Pururavas 'When in altered aspect I kept with mortals', X.95.16; Puruṣa, whom the Angels sacrificed, X.9; Agni as the sacrifice, X.88.9; Bṛhaspati as the sacrifice, Yama 'who gave up his own dear body', X.13.4; Yama, 'the sole mortal', X.10.3; Vasiṣṭha of the 'only birth', VII.33.10; the 'only son' (*ekaṁ putram*) of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, VIII.101.6; the *apara-* and *saguṇa-*Brahman of the Upaniṣads. 'Mitra is the Day and Varuṇa the Night', *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* XXV.10.10.

[5] The Vedic hymns to Dawn are primarily concerned with her first appearance atthe beginning of the aeon, and analogically with her constant reappearance, cf. I.123. 9, where Dawn, coming forth day after day, 'hath knowledge of the first day's name'. In the same way the 'Days' are primarily periods of supernal time, and only analogically human days, cf. I.164.51 'Day after day the sparkling of the Waters moves'. Another version of the hesitation before the battle occurs in the *Kulavika Jātaka,* No. 31, *Jātaka,* text I, pp. 202-3 where Indra (Śakra) corresponds to Arjuna and Mātali to Kṛṣṇa; Indra's words 'let me not for the sake of empire (*issaram = aisvaryam*) destroy life, rather would I for their sake sacrifice my own life to the Asuras', very closely parallel

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those of Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, I. 33-5 though the detail of the motivation is brought out in slightly different manner.

[6] The concatenation of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna here is by no means fortuitous, but corresponds to that of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*, where the Great Fight is nothing else but the Vedic conflict of Devas and Asuras. Kṛṣṇa, whose name is significant of his descent, comes over from the other side to aid the Aryan Pāṇḍavas, just as does Vibhīṣaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Uśanas Kāvya, who is the priest of the Asuras but is won over to the side of the Devas, in *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII.5.20 *Baudh, Śr. S.*, XVIII. 46 and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, I.125-6; cf. Viśvarūpa, Vṛtra's brother, called 'priest of the Devas' in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, II.5.1 and Indra's *guru* in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, VI.7.13. It is because of the intimate relationship of the Devas and Asuras that Arjuna, in *Bhagavad Gītā*, I.28ff. shrinks from the slaughter of 'kinsmen and teachers'; cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV.1.4.8 where Mitra (= 'Arjuna') dislikes to take part in the slaying of Soma, while in the same way *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I.7.1.7-8 where Namucī reproaches Indra as the 'betrayer of a friend' (*mitra-druk*), and *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XII.6.8 where Namuci reviles him as 'guilty hero-slayer of the guiltless' (*vīrahannadruho druha*), provide a literal prototype of *Bhagavad Gītā*, I.38, where Arjuna shrinks from the 'sin of the betrayal of a friend' (*doṣaṁ mitra-droheḥ*). Arjuna, in fact, shrinks from taking upon himself what in *ṚV*, are Indra's typical *kilbiṣāni*. It is also very significant, though the implications are too many to be followed up here, that of the two original brothers of the lunar stock, Dhṛtarāṣṭra is blind, while Pāṇḍu means the 'son of a eunuch', the former corresponding to the form of deity *ab intra*, the latter to his generated aspect *ab extra*, as son of him that had been impotent *ab intra*; 'blindness' and 'impotence' being typical of the interior operation (*guhya vrata*) in *ṚV*, *passim*, as may be seen by an analysis of those verses in which are found the words *anha*, and *vadhri* or *stari* (it may be noted in this connection also that *srona*, 'halt', generally coupled with *andha*, 'blind' in the texts alluded to, corresponds to *apad* 'footless', as cited in the present article). Can we not indeed identify Pāṇḍu with the 'golden handed son' (the Sun) whom the Aśvins gave to her 'whose consort was unmanned' (I.117.24)? The victory of the Pāṇḍavas corresponds to *ṚV*, X.124.4, where Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma decline (*cyavante*) and the 'kingdom is reversed' (*paryāvad rāṣṭram*). The Epic naturally concludes with the final return of the Pāṇḍavas to Heaven their disappearance *ab intra*, accompanied by Draupadī, whose alter nomen 'Kṛṣṇa' confesses her Asura origin, and who as the wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers may be compared to Uṣas or Sūrya, successively the wife of Soma, Gandharva,

sister Dawns are not only thought of as mothers of the Sun or Agni, but are brides of the Sun, as in I.123.10 where Dawn is desired by the Sun to be his maiden (Yoṣā), IV.5.13 where the Dawns (pl.) are called the consorts of the immortal Sun, VII.75.5) where the generous Dawn (*maghoni uṣā*) is called the maiden of the Sun (*sūryasya yoṣā*), and in *AV*, VIII.9.12, the sister Dawns are called the Sun's consorts (*uṣasā . . . sūrya-patnī*). The Dawn is also a sister of Bhaga and kinswoman (*jāmi*) of Varuṇa (I.123.5); and is 'Heaven daughter', *passim.* In VII.69.4, she is the daughter of the Sun (*yoṣa . . . sūro duhitā*), involving the incest motif more familiar in connection with Prajāpati, cf. also VI.55.5, where Pūṣan is called the second husband of his mother and the seducer of his sister (*mātur didiṣum . . . svasur jāraḥ*); 'incest' being inevitable because of the kinship of all the manifested principles, *ab intra.* Pūṣan is Sūrya's lover in VI.58.3. The identity of Dawn (*uṣas*) with Sūrya is thus evident, as is also that of the sister Dawns (*uṣas*) with Saraṇyu and her *savarṇa.* In *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, III. 10, Night (*rātri*), and Dawn (*uṣas*) or Day (*ahas*) are Indra's consorts (*indravati*), Indra representing the Sun.[7]

That Uṣas may thus denote as well the Night as Dawn or Day renders intelligible certain neglected passages of *ṚV* in which the Dawn is referred to as a sinister power; sinister,[8] that is, essentially, and not merely accidentally

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Agni, and a 'mortal' (*sc.* Vivasvan, Purūravas, Yama), X.85.40, and elsewhere also referred to as the consort of the Aśvins; or may be compared with Vāc, as participated in by the Five Kindreds (*pañca jana*). The correspondences outlined above could be followed up in great detail.

[7] For some of these equivalents see Bloomfield in *Journ. Oriental Soc.*, XV.172ff. It should be added that the whole concept of the two wives and two mothers survives in the nativities of Buddha, Mahāvīra, and Kṛṣṇa. Apart from the more obvious parallel, it will be remarked that Māyādevī, the Buddha's mother who does not survive, derives by her name itself form the Asura side, while the co-wife Prajāpati, called in the *Buddhacarita*, II.19 her *samaprabhava*, of the Asura Kaṁsa, in whose realm both parents are imprisoned, while the child is taken over water (the Yamunā, although in flood, becoming fordable for *hi*, like the Sarasvatī in *ṚV*, *passim*) to the human-angelic world where he is fostered by another mother. In the case of Mahāvīra, the circumstances of whose nativity are so exactly paralleled in *ṚV*, I.113.2 and I.124.8 cited above, the choice of the Kṣatriya womb (and similarly in Buddhism, the opposition of Kṣatriya to Brāhmaṇa) by no means necessarily reflects a contemporary social conflict of values, but can be better understood in the light of the whole Vedic concept of the contrasted relations and functions of the spiritual (Brahma)and temporal (kṣatra) powers, the former being primarily those of Varuṇa = Brahman, the latter those of Indrāgni. Nor need we be confused by the fact that when the relation of Agni to Indra is considered *per se*, and *ab extra*, this is again that of the spiritual to the temporal power: for just as Agni delegates the temporat power to Indra (VIII.100.1-2. X.52.5 and 124.4, etc., cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V.4.4.15) though sometimes playing an active part, so the Buddha (who for the most part corresponds to temporal power and as an actual teacher plays the Brahman part, although in the conflicts with Māra (= mṛtyu = Vṛtra, etc.) and the 'Ahi-nāga' (*sic* in *Mahāvagga*, I.15.7) of the Jaṭila shrine, he takes that part which is played more often by Indra than by Agni or Bṛhaspati in person.

[8] 'Sinister' also in a literal sense: for the act of creation and procession is an

in that the passing days shorten the span of life (I.92.11) whence Uṣas is called *jarayanti* (VII.75.4) from *jṛ*, 'to inveterate'. In IV.30.8-11, Indra is praised as having 'struck down Heaven's daughter, that ill-designing woman' (*striyaṁ yad durhanāyuvam . . . duhitaraṁ divaḥ*), who is described as 'flowing away' (*sarat*) from her ruined chariot; viz., that chariot that she, the Daughter of Heaven, and Mistress of Universe, yokes afar (*parāvat*, i.e. *ab intra*) and straightway visits the Five Homes, to look upon the restless ways of the Kindreds' (VII.75.4). Similarly, in X.138.5, *Uṣas* is afraid of Indra's bolt, and goes her way (*akramat*), abandoning her lovely chariot, cf. II.15.6. Agni is commonly called 'ravisher' or 'spoiler' of Dawn (*uṣo na jāraḥ*); this has usually been rendered as 'lover of Dawn', but *jāra*, from *jṛ* 'to inveterate', even when it means 'lover of Dawn' but always thought of as retiring and departing, to join the former Dawns, e.g. in I.113.10. In VII.6.5 Agni 'driving off the Nights (*nirudhyā nahuṣaḥ*), makes the Dawns to be consorts of the Arya (*aryapatnir uṣasaś cakāra*; Sāyaṇa equate arya with sūrya). In I.123.1, Dakṣiṇā, synonymous with Uṣas in the same hymn, 'rises from the dark night as herself an Arya' (*kṛṣṇād ud asthād aryā*), where it is, of course, to be understood that she had been *anārya*; it may be noted that Dakṣiṇā is Indra's mother by Yajña in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI.I.3.6, and that Dakṣiṇā is Vāc, whose *asura* origin is notorious.

Dawn precedes the actual day, and must not delay, lest the Sun scorch her like a thief or enemy (V.76.9). It is not until the thirty parts of the whole twenty-four hours have elapsed that she becomes again an auspicious power, meanwhile as in VI.59.6b, 'moving headless, with babbling tongue, she descends thirty grades (*hitvī śiro jihvayā vāvadaccarat triṁśat padānyakramīt; hitvī śiro* combined with VI.59.6a, *apād*, cited below, giving us the analogy to

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extroversion, as appears in innumerable texts, e.g. X.124.4 'the kingdom was reversed' (*paryāvad rāṣṭram*), IV.1.2 'O Agni, turn thy brother Varuṇa round about' (*bhrātaraṁ varuṇam agne ā vavṛtsva*), cf. Aitareyā Brāhmaṇa, IV.5 where, the Angels and Titans being of equal heroism, 'there was a delay in turning back' (*na vyavartanta*) the latter; and this extroversion is a right hand or sunwise turn, as in III.19.2 = IV.6.3 'Agni, choosing rightwise the angelic office' (*pradakṣiṇid devatātimurāṇaḥ*), or X.22.14, 'Thou (Indra) smotest Susna to the right (*pradakṣiṇit*) for Viśvāyu' (i.e. Agni). Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III.2.1.13, and VII.5.37.

Remembering that Night and Dawn are two wives of Indra (*Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, III.10 cited above) it is obvious that *ṚV*, X.145—in application a spell directed against a co-wife (*sapatnībādhanam*) is by first intention an imprecation launched by Indrāṇī herself, to whom the hymn is attributed, against her rival sister Night; while X.159, attributed to Śacī Paulomī (Indrāṇī) is her song of triumph (cf. X.125, attributed to Vāc), *Atharvaveda*, I.14, is apotropaic in the same sense as *ṚV*, X.145.

The application of these hymns illustrates very well the basic principle of magical incantation; the recital of what was done in the beginning is held to be effective in particular application here and now. In the same way, for example, *ṚV*, V.78, the immediate reference of which is to Agni's or the Sun's nativity is employed as a birth rune. The application is by analogy, and takes for granted the correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm.

Agni, *apādaśīrṣā guhamāno antā* in IV.1.11); and similarly in I.123.8, where the sisters are said to 'traverse thirty leagues (*triṁśataṁ yojanāni*), alternately'—to reappear in due course, *paritakmyayam*, for the 'ancient Dawn is born again and again (*punaḥ punar jāyamānā purāṇī*) decking herself with the self-same due' (*samānaṁ varṇam abhi śumbhamānā*, I.92.10). Meanwhile the Sun, throughout the thirty stations of her decline, rules supreme (*triṁśad dhāma vi rājati*, X.189.3).

What is then the status of the Dawn *ab intra*, in the Night, as Night, and especially at the end of the Night's course (*paritakmyayam*), as in V.30.14 where 'Night at the end of her course shines-fourth as Dawn (*aucchat*) at the coming of the Debt collector 'king of the Glittering-folk', and in VII.69.4, where 'at the end of her wandering, the Daughter of the sun chooses his glory (*iriya*)'? The procession of Uṣas is in fact described in terms exactly parallel to those of I.24.8 cited above with respect to the procession of the Sun: in I.152.3, 'The footless-maid proceeds as first of footed things' (*apād eti prathamā padvatīnām*), and this is nearly identical with VI.59.6 'This footless-maid came earliest forth to footed things' (*apādiyaṁ pūrvāgāt padvatībhyaḥ*, *apād* in both passengers representing *apādi*. That is much as to say that she, who had been a 'serpent, now assumed an engelic-human form. The same is implied when it is said that 'Our Lady puts off her dark robe' (*apa kṛṣṇām nirṇijaṁ devyāvaḥ*, I.113.14. cf. VIII.41.10 where it is Varuṇa that 'makes the black robes white', *śvetān adhi nirṇijaś cakre kṛṣṇān*); for this is the same as putting off desuetude and impotence (I.140.8 *jarāṁ pramuñcan*, *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV.17.3 *jīrṇān tvacam*, as in *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV.15.4, that is taken off. It is similarly that Urvaśī and her sister, in X.95.8-9 'evade Purūravas like snakes' (*tarasantī na bhujyuḥ*). But when they yield 'display themselves as swans' (*ātayo na tanvaḥ śumbhata*), or 'with swan-skins', for *tanu* is often tantamount to 'sin'.

In I.185, where Day and Night (*ahanī*) are if not absolutely identified with, at least very closely assimilated to Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāpṛthivī*, or *rodasī*). It is said, in the second verse, that, 'The twain unspecified), though not proceeding (*acaranti*) and footless (*apadi*), yet support a mighty Germ (*garbha*—Agni) that proceeds and hath fee' (*carantam padvantam*). This is closely related to X.22.14 'thou smotest Śuṣṇa to the right of sake of Universal-Life (*viśvāyave*, i.e. for Agni), that Earth (*kṣāḥ*) had neither hands nor feet (*ahasta yad apadi*, cf. III.30.8 cited above) might wax' (*vardhata*), and III.55.14 where 'As having fee (*padya*) she standeth up erect (*ūrdhvā tasthau*), adorned with many beauties.

We can now compare all of the foregoing matter with a part of the account of the marriage of Sūrya in X.85.28-30. Here, immediately before her actual wedding, Sūrya is called Kṛtya, and it is only put off that she comes to her husband: 'Kṛtya that clingeth close is taken off (*vyajyate*) . . . this Kṛtya hath come to be with feet and consorts with her husband as a bride' (*kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvyā jāyā viśate patim*). The text goes on to describe the inauspicious aspect of the Sun himself when united with this same Kṛtya, *ab intra*: 'inglorious (*asrīrā*) becomes his form when it glitters in (*ruśatī*) this evil (*pāpayāmuyā*, as in X.135.2) with reference to the evil way of Yama), what time the husband wraps his body in the garment of his wife', which is, of course, the 'robe of Night' of I.115.4. Analogous to this is the allusion in I.105.2 where it is a part of Trita's complaint that 'the wife holds fast her husband' (*ā jāyā yuvate patim*); it is in fact only 'when the parents that cohabit in the dark are separated that they pass over the Babe' (*kṛṣṇaprutau vevije asya sakṣitā ubhā tarete abhi mātarā śiśum*, I.140.3); 'In the Angel's mansion were the First, from their diremption rose the others' (*kṛntatrād eṣām uparā udāyan*, X.27.23); it is when the sacrificer makes his Soma offering that mighty Father Heaven breaks from the embrace I.71.6; and this separation of Heaven and Earth, effected by the sacrifice, is the essential act of creation, *Ṛ*V, *passim* in which the desirous principles are destined to find a home and prolong their line, as in a promised land.

If the husband is inglorious when he wears the woman's robe, that is in fact a snake-skin, she herself becomes glorious when she puts off the dark robe (I.113.4 cited above), and 'shines forth radiant in wakes, uncovers Heaven's ends and drives her sister far away . . . shines out in the bright eye of her seducer' (*jārasya cakṣasā vi bhāti*, I.92.11, cf. X.189.2 *antaś carati rocanā'sya*). That is indeed her marriage when she becomes a woman clothed with the Sun, when as in VII.81.2 'The rising Sun, refulgent Star, pours out his beams in company with hers' and then, O Dawn, may we partake together of thy shining and the Sun's; and her death, for when he suspires then she expires' (*asya prāṇād apānatī*, X.189.2) called the hymn of the 'Serpent Queen' (Sārparājñī).

Another version of the Dawn's procession can be recognized in the story of Apālā, whose name means, 'unprotected', i.e. husbandless and free woman. In VIII. 91 where Indra represents the Sun and is described in terms appropriate to the Sun, the maider (*kanyā*), who is at enmity with her (former) husband (*patidviṣaḥ*) reflects, 'What if we go and wed with Indra?' She gives him Soma, that is, virtually performs a sacrifice to him, and asks him to raise up hair upon her father's (bald) head, his field, and upon her own body, 'here below the waist', that is, to restore the fertility of the universe; the reference to her own body indicating her extreme youth. Indra draws her through the three apertures (*kha*) of his (solar) chariot, and so cleansing (*pūtvī*) her makes for her as 'sunny skin' (*sūrya tvacam*). According to the quite intelligible legend cited by Sāyaṇa, Apālā, daughter of Atri, had in fact suffered from a skin-disease, and the three skins that Indra removed from her became reptiles. In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* version (I.221) we are told that Apālā desired to be rid of her 'evil colour' (*pāpaṁ varṇam*); with the two first (*kṛkalāsa*), with the third cleansing she becomes *saṁśliṣṭikā* (evidently 'whitened'; the *Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa* version cited in Sāyaṇa's comm. on *Ṛ*V, VIII.9.7 has *saṁśliṣṭikā*, beautiful of all 'forms'. In the nearly identical versions of *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, IX.2.14, the woman's name is *akūpāra* (in literal significance identical with 'Aditi', 'In-finite'), she is an Angirasi (thus of Agnis' kin), and it is expressly stated that her 'skin was like a lizard's' (*godha*), that is reptilian and scaly. In X.85.34, Sūrya's cast off garment (*samulyam,* to be connected rather with *samala,* 'foul', than any word implying 'woollen') is significantly described as 'rasping, coarse, prickly, poisonous, and inedible'; the curious expression 'inedible' (*na . . . attave*) corresponding to *Atharvaveda,* I.11.4 where the chorion or after-birth (*jardya,* a term applied to the slough of a snake in ib, I.27.1) is said to be 'for the dog to ear' (*śune . . . attave*). In any case, it is clear that the old skins are removed and a glorious skin revealed, making Apālā fit to be Indra's bride, i.e. Sūryā to be the Sun's. With *sūryatvacam* above cf. *Atharvaveda,* II.2.1 where the Gandharva Viśvāvasu (=Vena, the Sun, ibid., II.1) is himself 'sun-skinned . . . (*sūrya tvak*); in *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* XXIII.16.5 where the sacrificers "make a skin for themselves" (*tvacam eva kurute*) a 'sun-skin' is to be understood; like that of those who are sun-skinned' in *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā,* X.4.

We have long suspected that Apālā becomes in the Buddha legend Sujātā, who in the *Jātaka* (I.69) is the daughter of a farmer, desires a husband, and brings an offering of milk to the Bodhisattva, seated beneath the Bodhi tree, on the eve of the Great Awakening. Sujātā, in fact, becomes the consort of Indra. The fullest account occurs in *Jātaka* No. 31, text I, p. 205. Here Sujātā is the fourth of Indra's handmaiderns (*padaparicārikā*); three having died are reborn in the same status, according to their virtue, but Sujātā, 'because she had performed no deed of virtue' (*kusalakamassa akatatta,* cf. '*akrya*' discussed in Note 13) is reborn as a crane. Indra seeks her, finds, and instructs her, and proves by a trial that she has experienced a change of heart. She is next reborn in the potter's family; Indra seeks her out, and makes her a gift in acknowledgement of her virtue. She is reborn a third time as the daughter of the Asura Vepacittiya (it will not be overlooked that the three births correspond to the three cleansings of Apālā), and because of her virtue is very beautiful (*abhirūpa*); her father (who corresponds to Tvaṣṭṛ in the Sūrya versions) arrays her for marriage, and summons an assembly of Asuras so that she may choose a husband for herself. Indra assumes the 'asura colour, or appearance' (*asuravannam* = *asūrya-varṇam,* and this corresponds to X.85.30 quoted above) and takes his place in the assembly (really a *svayamvara*) where Sujātā chooses him to be her husband, and he makes her his chief queen. Indra in this story represents a previous incarnation of the Buddha. In the last incarnation where the Bodhisattva is no longer identified with Indra (in the sense of Vedic dual Indrāgni) the requirement of the narrative makes it impossible for Sujātā to become the Buddha's wife, and she remains Indra's, though we may suspect that the Bodhisattva's actual wife Yaśodharā is really the alter ego of Sujātā.

Given other parallels, it is worth noting that Uṣas is more than once in *ṚV,* addressed as 'well born', or if we treat this as a name, as 'Sujātā' (I.123.3, *uṣo devi . . . sujāte*; VII.77.6 *divo duhitar . . . uṣaḥ sujāte*); this merely confirmatory evidence was remarked only after the identification had already been in mind for some years. Conversely, the designation of Uṣas as Maghonī in VII.75.5, is already suggestive of Maghavan, i.e. Indra. We are also inclined to identify the *kanyā* and Sujātā of our texts with the *sukanyā,* daughter of Śaryāta, who becomes the wife of Cyavana in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* IV.1.5; but as this involves a discussion of the identity of Cyavana, Atri, and others, the possibility must remain to be taken up on other occasion. It may, however, be pointed out that just as the Sun is inglorious when he wears the guise of Kṛtya, so in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV.I.5.1, the inveterated (*jīrṇaḥ*) Cyavana is 'of Kṛtya's aspect' (*kṛtyā-rūpaḥ*); that *jahe*, 'he was left behind' corresponds to X.124.4, 'I leave behind the Father' (*pitaraṁ jahāmi*); and that the name Cyavana or Cyavana, 'fallen away', corresponds to X.124.4 where 'Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma fall away' (*cyavante*) cf. too the 'five fold offering' made by Sunṛta to Brahmaṇaspati in *ṚV*, I.40.3. *Atharvaveda*, I.27 offers unmistakably a condensed account Indrāṇī's procession and marriage. Verse 1 opens, 'On yonder shore (*amūḥ pāre*) are thrice seven adders (*pṛdākvaḥ*) that have cast their skins' (*nirjarāyavaḥ*). All that the cast skins are good for is to blindfold the vicious beings that beset the paths, the highway men (*paripanthinaḥ*) who are inimical to the proceeding principles. Verses 2 and 3 are apotropaic in the same sense. Verse 4 continues in a language which is now readily comprehensible, 'Let the two feet go forward, let them visibly proceed; bear (her) to the homes of Pṛṇa (*vahataṁ pṛṇato gṛhān*); let Indrāṇī go forth foremost, unconquered, unrobbed, to the East'. Here *vahataṁ gṛhān* is a quite technical expression implying 'lead home the bride'. Pṛṇa is a designation either of the Sun, cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VIII.7.2.1 where the 'world filling' (*lokam—pṛṇa*) brick represents the Sun, who 'fill the worlds' (*lokam pūrayati*); or of Indra as the Sun, cf. IV.19.7, where Indra 'fills the regions' (*ā rodasī apṛṇat,* III.2.7, *pṛṇakṣi rodasī ubhe,* X.140.2, and *passim*).

In any case the evidence assembled above suffices to show that the procession of the 'Serpents' on the male side, who 'creep further' (*ati sarpante*) and become Ādityas, as related in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* XXV. 15 ample support for which can be cited from the *Ṛgveda,* is paralleled on the female side. Apart from their ontological interest, the general conclusion provides a sound basis for the interpretation of many peculiarities of the later Indian iconography'.

Recollection, Indian and Platonic

Recollection, Indian and Platonic

Punar ehi vācas pate devena manasā saha
Vasoṣ pate ni ramaya mayy evāstu mayi śrutam

AV, 1.1.2[1]

Cathedram habet in caelo qui intus corda docet.

St. Augustine, *In epist. Joannis ad Parthos*

My Lord embraces all things in His knowledge; will you not remember?

Koran V1.80, tr. A.J. Arberry

In the following article, the doctrine that what we call 'learning' is really a 'remembering' and that our 'knowledge' is by participation in the Omniscience of an immanent spiritual principle will be traced in Indian and Platonic texts. This corresponds, in the same Perennial Philosophy, to the doctrine that the beautiful is such by a participation in Beauty, and all being a participation of Being absolutely.

The omniscience of the immanent spiritual principle, *intellectus vel spiritus*, is the logical correlative of its timeless omnipresence. It is only from this point of view that the concept of a Providence (*prajñā*, *πρόνοια*, *προμήθεια*) becomes intelligible. The Providential Self (*prajñātman*) does not arbitrarily decree our 'Fate' but is the witness of its operation: our Fate is merely the temporal extension of its free and instant act of being. It is only because we think of Providence as a foreknowledge of the *future* that we are confused; as if we asked, What was God thinking in a time *before* time was! Actually, Providential knowledge is no more of a future than of a past, but only of a *now*. Experience of duration is incompatible with omniscience, of which the empirical self is therefore incapable.

On the other hand, to the extent that we are able to identify ourselves with the Providential Self itself—*Τνῶθι σεαυτόν*, That *art* thou—we rise above the sequences of Fate, becoming their spectator rather than their victim. Thus

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[1] *AV*, 1.1.2: 'Come thou again, O Lord of Speech, with the divine mind, infix it, O Lord of Weal, in me, yea in me let thy lore abide'. Cf. *AV*, I.1.4, *sam śrutena gamemahi*, 'May we be familiar with thy lore', where *saṃ gam* corresponds to *anubhū* in other contexts. Cf. also *AĀ*, II.2.7, *Āvir āvir ma edhi . . . śrutaṃ me mā prahāsīḥ*, 'Do thou (Ātman, Brahma) be revealed to me, may thy lore not forsake me' (Keith's rendering).

St. Augustine: 'His throne is in heaven who teaches from within the heart'. Cf. *BU*, III.9.23, 'the support of Truth is in the heart'.

the doctrine that all knowledge is by participation is inseparably connected with the possibility of Liberation (*mokṣa, λύσις*) from the pairs of opposites of which past and future, here and there, are the pertinent instances in the present context. As Nicholas of Cusa has expressed it, the wall of the Paradise in which God dwells is made up of these contraries, and the strait way in, guarded by the highest spirit of Reason, lies between them. In other words, our Way lies through the now and nowhere of which empirical experience is impossible, though the fact of Memory assures us that the Way is open to Comprehensors of the Truth.

The Gāyatrī (*ṚV*, III.62.10) invokes Savitṛ to 'impel our intellections' (*dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*), or better, 'our speculations'.[2] *AĀ*, II.3.5 tells us that 'the self that is in speech (*vāc*)[3] is incomplete, since one intuits (erlebt, *anubhavati*)[4] when impelled to thought (*manase*) by the Breath (*prāṇena*), not when impelled by speech'.[5] 'Breath' is to be understood here in its highest sense, common in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, that of Brahma and immanent solar Self, and as in *BU*, II.5.19, *ayam ātmā brahma sarvānubhūḥ*, 'this Self, Brahma, experient of all'.[6] The sense is, then, that it is not by what we are told, but by the indwelling Spirit, that we know and understand the thing to which words can only refer us; that which is audibly or otherwise sensed does not in itself inform us, but merely provides the occasion and opportunity to recognize the matter to which the external signs have referred us.

While these texts unmistakably present us with the notions of illumination and inspiration, we should not propose to deduce from them alone a fully developed theory of 'Recollection' (*smara, smṛti; sati*) without further support; we cite them first by way of introduction to other texts treating directly of Memory.

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[2] *MU*, VI. 10 explains *dhiyaḥ* by *buddhayaḥ*; the *dhīra* is 'contemplative' rather than merely 'wise'. With *pracodayāt*, cf. *MU*, II.6 *pratibodhanāya* and *pracodayitṛ*.

[3] The powers of the soul are called 'selves' in *CU*, VIII.8.1-4 ff. and *Kauṣ. Up.*, IV.20. That is to say, 'the self of speech' means the man considered as a speaker. In this sense, man has as many selves as he has powers.

[4] *Anubhū* (cf. '*gleichkommen*' and *accognoscere*) is literally 'to come to be along with', or 'adapted or conformed to, or identified with' the object of knowledge, whether in the epistemological or the erotic (*JUB*, 1.54.7) sense; cf. *adaequatio rei et intellectus*. [Cf. *anu . . . vid* in *ṚV*, IV.27.1 = *σύνεσις* as defined in *Cratylus* 412.] We have tried to suggest this content by using the word 'intuit', and sometimes 'experience' (with implied 'immediacy'), reserving 'know' for *jñā*.

[5] This hardly differs from Keith's version. On Manas (and Vāc), cf. Coomaraswamy, 'On Being in One's Right Mind', 1942, p. 11; and *CU*, VIII. 12.5, 'Now he who knows, "Let me think this"—that is the Self (*ātman*, Spirit). The Mind is his "divine eye" (*daiva cakṣus*); he, verily, with that divine eye, the Mind, beholds these objects of desire, and is content'. Mind is the 'prior' and the 'overlord' of the other powers of the soul (*ŚB*, X.5.3.7, XIV.3.2.3).

[6] *Sarvānubhūḥ* states rather the basis than the bare fact of omniscience. The Self is necessarily 'omniscient' because it is 'the only seer, hearer, thinker, etc.' in us (*BU*, III.4.2, III.7.23, etc.). The empirical self is its instrument.

The doctrine is simply stated in *CU*, VII.26.1: 'Memory is from the Self, or Spirit' (*ātmatah smaraḥ*). For 'the Self knows everything' (*sarvam ātmā jānīte*, *MU*, VI.7), 'this Great Being is just a recognition-mass' (*vijñānaghana*, *BU*, II.4.12), or 'precognition-mass' (*prajñāna-ghana*, *BU*, IV. 5.13, cf. *Māṇḍ. Up.*, 5). Brahma, Self, is 'intuitive of everything' (*sarvānubhūḥ*, *BU*, II.2.19) because, as Śaṅkara says, it is the 'Self of all' (*sarvātman*); He, indeed, is 'the *only* seer, hearer, thinker, knower, and fructuary in us' (*BU*, III.8.11, IV.5.15; cf. *AĀ*, III.2.4) and therefore, because of His timeless omnipresence, *must* be omniscient. Memory is a participation of His awareness who never himself 'remembers' anything, because he never forgets. 'Memory', as Plotinus says, 'is for those who have forgotten'.[7]

CU, VII.13.1 echoes and expands *AĀ*, II.3.5 as cited above: 'Memory (*smara*) is more than Space (*ākāśa*, the medium of hearing). Accordingly, even were many men assembled, not being possessed of Memory, neither would they hear any one at all, nor think (*man*), nor recognize (*vijñā*), but if possessed of Memory, they would hear and think and recognize. By Memory, assuredly, one recognizes (*vijānāti*) children, recognizes cattle. Revere Memory.'

The power-of-the-soul that remembers is the Mind (*manas* = νοῦς),[8] undistracted by the working of the powers of perception and action. 'There, in "clairvoyant-sleep" (*svapne*)[9] that divinity intuits (*anubhavati*) Greatness. Whatever has been seen (*dṛṣṭam*), he proximately sees (*anupaśyati*), whatever has been heard, he proximately hears (*anuśṛṇoti*). Whatever has been and has not been seen, whatever has been heard and has not been heard, intuitively known or unknown (*anubhūtam, ananubhūtam*), good or evil (*sat, asat*),[10] whatever has been directly experienced (*pratyanubhūtam*) in any land or airt, again and again he directly experiences; he sees it all, he sees it all' (*Praśna Up.,* IV.5); or, as the Commentator understands the conclusion, 'being himself the all, he sees it all', in accordance with the principle of the identity of knowing and being enunciated in verse 11, where the Comprehensor of the Self 'knowing all, becomes all'. In the foregoing context, Śaṅkara interprets, rightly I think, 'seen and not seen' as referring to 'what has been seen in this birth and what has been seen in another birth':[11] the meaning of this will become clearer when we deal with *jātavedas* and *jātissaro* and if we bear in mind that though he speaks of former births, the Lord is for him 'the only transmigrant'.[12]

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[7] *Enneads* IV.4.7.

[8] Cf. *MU*, VI.34.6-9.

[9] *Svapna* here, as often elsewhere, is not ordinary sleep or dreaming, but a state of contemplation (*dhyāna*). The 'divinity' is the 'Recognitive Person' (*vijñanamaya puruṣa*) of *BU*, II.1.17, 18, 'who is said to be "asleep" (*svapiti*) when he controls the powers of perception and action. Resuming the recognitive power (*vijñānam ādāya*), he rests in the heart. . . . When he "sleeps", these worlds are his . . . controlling the powers of perception and action, he drives around in his own person (lit. "body") as he will'. As in *BU*, V.3.7, where this Person 'as it were contemplates (*dhyāyatīva*), as it were disports, for when he is "asleep" (*svapno bhūtvā*) he transcends this world and the forms of death'.

In this technical sense, 'sleep' and 'dreaming' are not the sleep of fatigue but the act of imagination. And this is quite universal. For example, 'I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh . . . your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions' (Joel, 2.28); 'my thoughts had soared high aloft, while my bodily senses had been put under restraint by sleep—yet not such sleep as that of men weighed down by fullness of food or by bodily weariness—[and] methought there came to me a Being . . . the Mind of the Sovereignty . . . [who said] "Keep in mind all that you desire to learn, and I will teach you"' (Hermes, *Lib.*, 1.1; in 1.28 he refers to the sleep of fatigue as 'irrational sleep'); 'Me bi-fel a ferly . . . I slumberde in a slepyng . . . penne gon I meeten a meruelous sweune . . . I beo-heold . . .' (*Piers the Plowman*, Prologue). *Mathnawī*, IV. 3067 contrasts the sleep of the vulgar with that of the elect; the latter 'has nothing in common with the sleep of ignorance (*khwab-i-ghaflat*) in which most people pass their conscious lives' (Nicholson's note on *Mathnawī*, II.31, cf. I.388-93; also *BG*, II.69 [and *M*, 1.260]. Life is an 'awakening' from nonexistence; 'sleep' is an awakening from life.

The subject of Memory is discussed in *Mil.*, 78-80. It is first shown that it is not by thinking (*citta*) but by Memory (*sati* = *smṛti*) that we remember; for we are not without intelligence even when what was done long ago has been forgotten (*pamuṭṭham* = *pramṛṣṭam*). It is then asked, 'Does Memory arise (*appajjati*) always as an over-knowledge state (*sabbā . . . abhijānantā*)[13] or is

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What availeth me to sleep and wake?
If to sleep unsleeping the way is seen,
Ah, then I see it availeth me.

Tayumānavar (P. Arunachalam, 'Luminous Sleep',
reprinted from the *Westminster Review*, Colombo, 1903)

[10] Lit. 'aught and naught', and here 'good and evil' rather than 'real and unreal'; cf. *puṇyaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca* in *BU*, IV.3.5 and *sadasat* in *MU*, III.1.

[11] 'God enjoys eternalwise the contingency of things. . . . The knower being that which is known' (Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I, 391. 394). 'The mind of the Sage at rest becomes the mirror of the universe' (*Chuang-tzū*, p. 158).

[12] See Coomaraswamy, 'On the One and Only Transmigrant' (in this volume—Ed.).

[13] *Abhi* in *abhijñā* intensifies *jñā*, to know (*γιγνώσκω, νοέω, kennen*, cunning): to remember is something more than simply to perceive; cf, Meister Eckhart's 'I can see a rose in winter when no rose is there'. Hence, while *abhijñā* can mean just 'remember' or 'understand' (*Pāṇini*, III.2.112, *abhijānāsi* = *smarasi, budhyase; Mil.*, 77, *abhijānāsi*, 'Did you ever remember?'), in Pāli Buddhism generally the sense of the marvellous predominates, and *abhiñña* = *abhijānanā* is usually the supernatural knowledge or omniscience of a Buddha, an *iddhi* acquire by contemplative discipline and which he or other Arhats can 'intuit' (*anubhū*) at will. In this sense *abhiññā* includes the six powers of levitation (motion at will through the air), clairaudience, thought-reading, knowledge of one's own and of other people's former births, and assurance that liberation has been attained (*D*, III.281, based on many other contexts, *PTS*, Dictionary, s.v.). It is noteworthy that 'over-knowing' and 'liberation' coincide, reminding one of Meister Eckhart's 'Not till the soul knows all that there is to be known can she pass over to the unknown good'.

Abhijñā does not appear in the Upaniṣads; in *BG* it is always only used of 'knowing' Kṛṣṇa—certainly an 'over-knowing' and not an empirical experience. (Alternatively, one 'remembers' Kṛṣṇa, *BG*, VIII.5.)

Memory factitious (*kaṭumikā* = *kṛtrimā*), and answered that 'Memory occurs as an over-knowledge state, and is also factitious', i.e. it may be either spontaneous or artificially stimulated.[14] The king rejoins, 'That amounts to saying that all Memory is over-knowing, never factitious'. Nāgasena replies, 'In that case, craftsmen would have no need of workshops or schools of art or science, and masters would be useless; which is not true'. So the king asks, 'In how many ways does Memory arise?' Nāgasena answers, 'Sixteen'.[15] These are really only two ways, either by over-knowing without means (*abhijānato*), or by external stimulation (*kaṭumikā*), the total of sixteen being made up by a subdivision of the second category according to the nature of the means. Thus Memory occurs by over-knowledge simply when such as Ānanda or others who are 'birth-rememberers' (*jātissara*)[16] remember a birth (*jātiṁ saranti*): it occurs factitiously when those who are naturally forgetful (*muṭṭha-ssatiko* = *mṛṣṭa-*)[17] are constrained or stimulated to remember by another person (or thing), e.g. when one recognizes a relative by likeness, or cattle by their brands,[18] or reads letters or numbers, or consults a book, or intuitively (*anubhūtato*), as when one remembers what has already been seen or heard (without being 'reminded'of it). Memory, in any case, is a latent power.

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[14] The *Milindapañho* categories are not quite the same as those of the previously cited texts, in which *abhijñā* does not appear. But it is made very clear that all learning is really *re*-cognition, i.e. re-collection.

[15] I.e. one *abhijānato* and the rest *kaṭumikā*. This must have something to do with the well-known doctrine of the 'sixteen parts' of which the 'Self' is the sixteenth (*BU*, I.5.15) and that part 'with which you now understand (*anubhavasi*) the Vedas' (*CU*, VI.7.6). (Cf. *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*, tr. Swami Nikhilananda, New York, 1942, p. 367.) On the number '16' cf. E.J.H. Mac Kay, *Chanhu-Daro Excavations (1935-1936)*, pp. 240-1 (*American Oriental Series*, vol. 20, 1943).

[16] This refers to the supernormal faculty of remembering past 'habitations', as possessed by a Buddha or other Arhat, and is to be distinguished from the memory of a former habitation by an ordinary brother, whose memory of the past is included in the list of factitious rememberings because means are employed to evoke it. The supernormal power is exercised at will by a Buddha and extends to the recollection of any birth whatever, however remote; the brother who is not yet an Arhat can only, by a step-by-step procedure, recover the memory of one or more births, but no more (Vis, 411): in the first case the all-seeing view is, as it were, from the centre of a circle, whence all 'moments' within or upon the circumference can be seen at a glance; the second case is that of a being whose range is naturally confined to motion along the circumference itself (i.e. in time, so far as memories are concerned), who cannot *see* forward or backward immediately but can only predict by inference or recover the past by successive steps—he can look inward by analogy, but has neither foresight nor hindsight nor insight, unless suprarationally and by inspiration. The Buddha has 'prior knowledge of the ultimate beginning (*agaññam . . . pajānāmi*), and more than that' (*D*, III.28); his range is infinite (*anantagocaram*, *Dh.*, 179); but it is as the Buddha, the Wake, not as this man Gotama, now waking and now sleeping, that he is thus omniscient (*sabbaññu* = *sarvajñā*), and similarly in the case of others. This amounts to saying that Buddha = Paramātman.

[17] *TS*, VII 6.10.4, *madya* is glossed by *vismṛtyonmatta* 'oblivious', 'in a state of amnesia'. *Sn*, 815 *mussati*, is explained by *nassati*, 'perishes' (*SnA*, 536); and *parimussati* is *paribāhiro hoti*, i.e. 'wholly forgets' is to be 'alienated' (Vis, 44). I infer that amnesia was a known malady, and further that *all* forgetfulness was thought of as madness of the same kind, only the Buddha and other Arhats being perfectly sane.

Thus what we think we 'learn', but really 'remember', implies that in intuition directly, and in learning indirectly, we are really drawing upon or, as the older texts would express it, 'milking' an innate prescience (*prajñāna* = πρόνοια, προμήθεια). In *D*, 1.19-22 we are told that the gods fall from heaven only when their 'memory fails, and they are of confused memory' (*sati mussati, satiyā sammosā*); those whose mind remains uncorrupted, and do not forget, are 'steadfast, immutable, eternal, of a nature that knows no change, and will remain so for ever and ever'; and such, likewise, is the liberated (*vimutto*) Buddha's prescience (*pajānanā*), or foreknowing, 'on which, however, he lays no stress' (*taṁ ca pajānanaṁ na parāmasati*).[19] It is significant, in the first place, that what is thus said of the Buddha is, as so often happens, only a paraphrase of what has already been said of Agni, who 'does not forget the prior nor the latter word, but is not vainglorious by reason of his counsel' (*na mṛṣyate prathamaṁ nāparaṁ vaco'sya kratvā sacate apradṛpitaḥ, ṚV*, 1.145.2).[20] And secondly, that for Plato also it is precisely a *failure to remember* that drags down from the heights the soul that has walked with God (ξυνοπαδός = *brahmacārī*) and had some vision of the truths,[21] but cannot retain it (*Phaedrus*, 248c, cf. Plotinus, IV.4.7ff.).[22]

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[18] Cf. *CU*, VII.13.1 'recognize cattle', cited above. On cattle brands see Pohath-Kehelpannala in *Ceylon National Review*, I (1907), 334, and John abbott, *The Keys of Power* (New York, 1932), p. 140 and Figs. 19-21 and 52.

[19] I.e., *na parāmṛśati*, and rendered by Rhys Davids, 'he is not puffed up'; in a similar context, *D*, III. 28, *na paramāsāmi* (cf. *M*, I.433 for this word) is rendered by 'I do not pervert it'—'I am not attached to it' might be better. That these are the right connotations seems to follow from the Vedic parallel cited above. It will be because his prescience is 'of far more than that' (*tato ca uttaratarītaraṁ pajānāmi, M*, I.433 and *D*, III. 28), rather than because such knowledge is not essential to liberation (*M*, 1.277), that it is not overvalued; there are other than cosmic possibilities.

On the distinctions of gnosis amongst the gods in the Brahma worlds, cf. *A*, IV. 74ff: some are content with its beatitudes, others are prescient (*pajānanti*) of an absolute liberation.

[20] Suggestive of Agni's epithet *satya-vāc*, 'whose word is truth', *ṚV*, III.26.9, VII.2.3; cf. Pāli *sacca-vācā, sacca-vādin*. 'The flower and fruit of speech is truth' (*AĀ*, II.2.6 [or 'meaning', *Nirukta*, 1.20]. *Prathamaṁ nāparam* may well mean 'eternal' rather than 'earlier and latter'; cf. *BU*, II.5.19, *apūrvam anaparam* = *Paradiso*, XXIX.20, *nè prima nè poscia*.

Agni, *krátvā . . . apradṛpitaḥ*, contrasts with the Indra of *BD*, 7.54, *svena vīryena darpitaḥ*, until he is reawakened by *Saptagu-Bṛhaspatiḥ* = Agni and comes to himself again. The Sacerdotium is not intoxicated by knowledge, but the Regnum may be intoxicated by power.

[21] Few retain an adequate memory of them (*Phaedrus*, 250A).

[22] The gods do not sometimes forget and sometimes remember—'such memory is for those who have lost it'. The omniscience of Zeus does not depend on observation,

No less striking is the fact that *mosā, musā* (*mṛṣā*), 'false', is regularly opposed to *saccam* (*satyam*), 'true'; and since this *musā, mṛṣā* derives from *mussati, mṛṣ*, to 'ignore', 'forget', 'overlook', it is clear that 'not true' coincides with 'forgotten'. In the same way, although conversely, λήθη is 'oblivion', 'forgetting', and ἀληθεια 'truth', or literally 'not forgetting'. Accordingly, ὁ ἀληθῶς οὐρανός (*Phaedo*, 109E) is not merely 'true, or real, heaven' but also 'heaven where there is no forgetting', and where, by the same token, the gods 'never learn' because there is nothing ever absent from their ken (Plotinus, IV.4.7); in the same way Plato's τὸ ἀληθείας πεδίον is not merely 'plain of truth' but also 'land of no forgetting', and the opposite of Aristophanes' τὸ λήθης πεδίον, 'land of oblivion' (*The Frogs*, 186), Lethe too, is one of Discord's deadly brood (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 227), and still for Shakespeare means 'death'; so that the 'land of not forgetting' is also the 'land of immortality'. In the sense that we are what we know, and that to be and to know are the same (τό γάρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἐστιν τε καὶ εἶναι),[23] recollection is life itself, and forgetfulness a lethal draught.

So far, it is clearly implied that Memory is a kind of latent knowledge,[24]

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but on the innate gnosis of his own unlimited life. Cf. Ibn 'Aṭā, 'Openly the heart's eye then beholds him, and doth scorn remembrance, as a burden hardly to be borne', quoted by Abu Bakr, *Kitāb al Ta'arruf*, Ch. 47 [cf. *Paradiso*, XXIX.79ff.]. For Aristotle, too, the Divine Mind 'does not remember', as does the perishable mind, which is reminded by its sense perceptions (*De anima*, 3.5). 'In the heart one knows the truth, in the heart alone, forsooth, is truth established' (*BU*, III.9.23); the soul's recognition of the visions stored up in her is the process of 'remembering' (*Enneads*, IV.7.10, 12). When everything has been remembered, once and for all, then there is no more remembering as a process, but only an immemorial knowledge. The disparagement of memory will not, then, be misunderstood; one might say that, like 'consciousness' in the Buddhist parable of the Raft, remembering is 'good for crossing over, but not an activity to be clung to'. To remember is a virtue in those who have forgotten, but the perfected never lose their vision of the truth and have no need to recall it (*Phaedrus*, 249cd, cf. Proclus as discussed in Note 25).

Sister M.P. Garvey, *St. Augustine, Christian or Neo-Platonist* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1939, p. 107), confuses memory with remembering, as one might being with becoming. Memory, taken absolutely, coincides with omniscience and is not a procedure; but remember*ing* is learn*ing* and would be a contradiction in one whose memory never fails. This is, in fact, Philo's distinction of memory (μνήμη) from recollection (ἀνάμνησις), the latter being a *means* of escape (ἐκ λήθης), but evidently needless as such on the part of one whose memory has never lapsed (*Legum allegoriae*, III.91-3). This distinction, if I am not mistaken, is that of *smara* from *smaraṇa*, the former denoting love as well as memory, and the latter the act of remembering, which implies a desiring or seeking rather than a loving.

[23] Hermann Diels, ed., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1903), fr. 18B 5. Cf. *MU*, VI.34.3, *yac cittas tanmayo bhavati*, 'What is one's thought, that he becomes', and St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XIII.11, 'esse, nosse, velle ... in his tribus ... et una vita mens et una essentia.

[24] 'A fund of omniscience exists eternally in our heart' (*Mahāvairocanā-bhīsaṁbodhi*, cited by R. Tajima from the *Taisho* (*Tripiṭaka*, XVIII.38c.20). This 'fund'

which may be either self-revealing or revived by an appropriate external sign, for example, when we are 'taught', or more truly 're-minded'. There is a clear distinction of mere perception from recognition, whether or not evoked by the percept. Memory is a re-covery or re-experiencing (*pratyanubhū, Praśna Up.*, IV.5). and it may be observed that the other supernatural powers (*iddhi*) which can be experienced at will by the Arhat are similarly called 'recoveries' (*pāṭihāra*, √*prati-hṛ*). It is evidently not, then, the outer, aesthetic self, but an inner and immanent power, higher than that of the senses, that remembers or foreknows (*prajñā*), by a 'fore' knowledge that is rather 'prior' with respect to all empirical means of knowing than merely 'fore' with respect to future events—*unde non* prae*videntia sed* pro*videntia potius dicitur* (Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, V.6.69, 70). That which remembers, or rather which is always aware of all things, must be a principle always present to (*anubhū*) all things, and therefore itself unaffected by the duration in which these events succeed one another.[25] We are thus reduced to a Providence (*prajñā*, πρόνοια)[26] or Providential Self or Spirit (*prajñātman*) as the ultimate source

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corresponds to the *Ālayavijñāna* ('Hoard of Discernment'), which is to be distinguished from all specific (singular) discernments, and identified with the 'Compendious Providence' (*vijñāna-ghana, prajñāna-ghana*) of the Upaniṣads, and with the form of God's knowledge in Christian theology, where his knowledge of himself is his knowledge of all things. [Cf. *Enneads*, IV.7.10.12, on the 'eternal science' latent within you.]

[25] 'He knows, but it is not by means of anything other than himself that he knows', *BU*, IV.5.15, etc., this is essentially also the Christian doctrine about the divine manner of knowing, cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.14. [note Euripides, *Helen*, 1015-17.]

Cf. *Phaedrus*, 247e ff., 'Knowledge, but not such knowledge as has a beginning and varies as it is associated with (ἐν . . . οὖσα = *anubhavati*) the things we now call realities, but that has its being in the reality that *is*'. The soul that can always hold this vision remains inviolable; but even of those who have seen it, 'few are possessed of a consistent memory'.

'Every God has an undivided knowledge of things divided and a timeless knowledge of things temporal; he knows the contingent without contingency, the mutable immutably, and in general all things in a higher mode than belongs to their station' (Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, 124, cf. E.R. Dodds, ed., Oxford [reprinted 1963], p. 226). The gods of Proclus are, of course, the angels of Dionysius the Areopagite and of Christian theology in general.

[26] To employ the word 'Providence' correctly, it must always be remembered that the foreknowing principle is that which gives being, and only indirectly a manner of being. It is much rather Fate (the operation of mediate causes, *karma*) that 'allots' or 'provides for' the being of things *as* they are, than Providence, which is the timeless *witness* of this operation. The divine foreknowing is not, as such, a transitive act, but the act of being, prior to all becomings, of which it knows because it is the only real subject in them all.

Thus in Dodds' Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, p. 126, 'for which it (Providence) provides' should read 'of which it is provident'. Fate inheres in time, Providence is *ex tempore*, and these are as much to be distinguished as are mediate causes from a first cause. [Cicero, *De natura Deorum*, II.XXIX, confuses prudence and providence!

on which all Memory draws, and with which whoever attains to the same uninterrupted omniscience must be identified, as in *Praśna Up.*, IV.10.

We have already seen that there is such an omniscient Self, the fount of Memory (*CU*, VII.26.1, *MU*, VI.7; cf. 1 Cor., 2 :11)., and it is repeatedly affirmed that this immortal, spiritual, fore-knowing solar Self of all beings, whose presence is undivided in things divided (*BG*, XIII.15, 16),[27] is our real Self, to be distinguished from the contingent Ego, an apparently unanimous (except in cases of schizophrenia) aggregate of powers of perception and action which are 'only the names of *His acts*' (*BU*, I.4.7, *MU*, II.6d, etc.). The providential principle, in other words, is the immanent Spirit, the Knower of the field, apart from whom on the one hand no birth could take place (*BG*, XIII, etc.), and apart from whom, as only seer, hearer, thinker, etc., in us (*BU*, III.7.23, etc.), neither experience nor memory could be conceived.[28] We see also that the verification of the words, 'That art thou', must involve at the same time liberation and omniscience.

The connection of omniscience with birth implied above is significant. *Jātissaro*, cited above from *Mil.*, 78, in fact immediately suggests the older epithet Jātavedas, Agni's because 'he knows all births' (*viśvā veda janimā*, *ṚV*, VI.15.13; *jātānāṁ veda*, *AB*, II. 39), and the term *jātavidyā*, knowledge of births, or genealogy.[29] It is because *Tanū-napāt* (Agni-Prajāpati) becomes the immanent Breaths or Powers of the Soul (cf. *ŚB*, I.8.3.2; *TS*, II.1.1.3, 4; *JUB*, IV.2.6; *MU*, II.6a, b, etc.) and is thus 'his offspring's witness' (*prajānām upadraṣṭā*; cf. *JB* III.262, *agnir jajñe . . . aupadraṣṭryāya*) that the gods through him 'know the mind of man' (*ŚB*, III.4.2.5-7).[30] How should He 'who faces all ways' (*viśvatomukha*, *ṚV*, I.97.6) and is 'of many births' (*bhūri-janmā*, *ṚV*, X.5.1), he who is the 'universal life' (*viśvāyu*, *ṚV*, I.27.3, and *passim*) or 'mover of universal life' (*ṚV*, VIII.43.25), and who assumes all forms (*viśvarūpa*, *ṚV*, III.38.4), not be also the 'All-knower' (*viśvavit*, *ṚV*, III.29.7; *viśvavedās*, *ṚV*, III.20.4, and *passim*)? Agni Jātavedas, is the Breath (*AB*, II.39, *ŚB*, II.2.2.15): 'those of whose births he knows, they verily come to be (*bhavanti*), but of those whose births he knoweth not, how might they exist?' (*AB*, II.39); 'in that it is the Breath that mounts (quickens) the emitted semen and knows it, therefore He knows whatever is born' (*ŚB*, IX.5.1.68). Being omniprogenitive, the

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St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, 1.23.2: 'Providence is not anything in the things provided for; but a type in the mind of the provider'—therefore, not fate.

[27] As in Dionysius, *De divinbus nominibus*, XII.11.

[28] Cf. Heb., 4:13. The recollected and regenerated man is '*renewed in knowledge* after the image of him who created him' (Col. 3:10).

[29] For the Knower of the Births *in divinis* this will mean 'genealogy' of all things always; in the case of the human priest, his moral analogue, who *vadati jātavidyām* (*ṚV*, X.71.11), the genealogy will have to do with a particular line of descent (*santāna*).

[30] The all-seeing Sun and the myriads of the solar 'rays' or 'eyes' [feet or hands] that become the immanent Breath and the Breaths, our interior powers of which the sense organs are the instruments (*JUB*, I.28; *MU*, VI, 8, etc.) are precisely 'die göttlicher Späher, die der Menschen Thaten erschauen' (Grassmann), *ṚV*, *passim*.

Spirit is omnipresent; and being omnipresent, necessarily omniscient.

This immanent Breath (or 'Life') is, moreover, Vāmadeva (*AĀ*, II.2.1), who says of himself, 'Being now[31] in the womb (*garbhe nu san*) I have known all the births of the gods' (*ṚV*, IV.27.1; *AĀ*, II.5); 'thus spake Vāmadeva, lying in the womb' (*garbhe . . . śayānaḥ, AĀ*, II.5).[32] As Agni, etc., engendered in all things in motion or at rest (*garbhaś ca sthātāṁ garbhaś carathām*), the Only Transmigrant[33] knows the operations of the gods and the births of men, and is besought to ward (*ni pāhi*) their births (*ṚV*, I.77.1-3); as Gandharva[34] Soma-guardian 'he wards (*pāti*) the generations of the gods' (*ṚV*, IX.83.4), and as the All-seeing (*viśvam abhi caṣṭe*, *ṚV*, VII.61.1), the Self of all that is in motion or at rest (*ṚV*, I.115.1) and our true Father (*JUB*, III.10.4), he is, as aforesaid, the 'Knower of births' (*ṚV*, I.50.1). As Krishna, 'Self abiding in all beings' (*aham ātmā . . . sarva-bhūtāśaya-sthitaḥ, BG*, X.20; cf. Heb., 4:12, 13) he knows all their births (*janmāni . . . tāny ahaṁ veda sarvāṇi, BG*, IV.5).

This is not a knowledge of successive events, but of all at once—'Dove s'appunta ogni ubi ed ogni quando . . . chè nè l prima nè l poscia procedette' (*Paradiso*, XXIX.11, 20; *Śvet. Up.*, 1.2). The Person of whom all things are born, the Lord of Immortality (*amṛtatvasyeśānaḥ*), 'when he rises up on food'[35] (*yad annenāti rohati*) becomes 'all this, both what hath been and what shall be' (*ṚV*, X.90.2, cf. I.25.10-12; *Śvet. Up.*, III.15).[36] 'That God (Ātman and Brahma of the preceding verses), indeed, fills all quarters of the Sky, aforetime was he born, and he is within the womb. He alone hath been born, will be born. He standeth toward men, facing all ways' (*Śvet. Up.*, II.16). 'Other than past and future . . . Lord of what hath been and shall be, he alone is today and tomorrow' (*KU*, I.14, IV.13). That Great Being is All-knowing, just because All things originate in him (Śaṅkarācārya on *BrSBh*, I.1.3, *BU*, 11.4.10). *In divinis*, Brahma is the lightning flash, which reveals all things instantaneously; and within you, 'that which comes to mind, and by which it instantly remembers' (*upasmarty abhīkṣṇam*, *JUB*, IV.21.4, 5 = *Kena Up.*, IV.4.5). (Cf. Plato, *Epistle* VIII, 341D, 'sometimes this knowledge does blaze forth with a most instantaneous flash . . . '.)

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[31] Vedic *nu*, like *sakṛt*, 'once for all', 'nowever'. Similarly the gnomic aorist, 'I have known'.

[32] As in *BU*, II.5.18, *puriśaya; pura*, as in Plato πόλις being 'body', and *śaya* or *śāyana* etymologically *civis*. Paul Deussen (*Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 606) has pointed out that the doctrine of a knowledge within the womb that is lost at birth, enunciated in *Garbha Up.*, 3.4, corresponds to the Platonic doctrine that all 'learning' is really recollection; cf. the Hebrew sources cited on pp. 63-4. [Similarly, Udayana's view in the 10th century *Kusumāñjali*; see A.B. Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 31, 269 (he calls the view 'quaint'.]

[33] See Coomaraswamy, 'On the One and Only Transmigrant' (in this volume—Ed).

[34] The progenitive solar deity, as in *M*, I.265, 266, *gandhabbo*, apart from whom the union of human parents is sterile.

[35] When he 'comes eating and drinking' (Luke, 7:34). 'That Golden Person in the Sun . . . is even He who dwells within the lotus of the heart and eats food' (*MU*, VI.I). 'Food' in this context is not, of course, merely 'solid food', but whatever fuel feeds the fires of life, whether physical or mental.

[36] There is a significant doctrine of past (*bhūtam*) and future (*bhavyam*). Past is to future as Sky, Day, Sun, Sacerdotium (*brahma*), Reality (*satyam*), and Certainty are to Earth, Night, Moon, Regnum (*kṣatra*), Unreality (*anṛtam*), and Uncertainty (*AV*, II.15; *ŚB*, II.3.1.25). These are progenitive pairs, respectively m. and f., differentiated here but coincident *in divinis*. Man is generated (*prajāyate*) and increases from the clash or conjugation (*maithunam*) of real and unreal (*AĀ*, II.3.6); or as we might put it, man is the child of past and future. It is our uninterrupted genesis that separates these contraries; their reunion taking place only upon condition of our ceasing to become, so as to be what we are ('That art thou'), now, *sub specie aeternitatis*.

There has thus been clearly established, in the Indian sources, a logical connection of Omniscience, an unbroken Memory of all things, with temporal and spatial omnipresence.[37] Only from this point of view can the notion of a 'Providence' be made intelligible, the divine life being uneventful, not in the sense that it knows nothing of what we call events, but inasmuch as all of the events of what are for us past and future times are present to it *now*, and not in a succession. It is just at this point that we can most advantageously turn to consider the similar Platonic doctrine 'that we do not learn, and that what we call learning is recollection' (ὅτι οὐ μανθάνομεν, ἀλλὰ ἣν καλοῦμεν μάθησιν ἀνάμνησίς ἐστι), and that there is 'no teaching, but only recollection' (ὅς οὔ φημι διδαχὴν εἶναι ἀλλ ἀνάμησιν, Meno, 81E, 82A; cf. *Phaedrus*, 278A).[38] Taking for granted Plato's repeated distinction of mortal and immortal 'souls' that dwell together in us,[39] and assuming further that the immortal is not an individual but a universal principle 'participated in' by the individual, not as a thing divided up but as one of which we can know—and be—according to the measure of our ability to 'know our selves',[40] we proceed to cite the main text, that of *Meno,* 81CD.

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[37] It is, of course, 'only as it were with a part of himself' (*BG*, XV.7) that the Supreme Identity of Being and Nonbeing can be thought of as Omnipresent, Omniform, Omniscient. For Omniscience can be only of the possibilities and actuality of manifestation; of what remains (*ucchiṣṭam*, *AV*, XI. 7, etc.) there can be neither science nor omniscience, and it is from this point of view that, as Erigena justly remarks, 'God does not know *what* he is, because he is not any what' (cf. Buddhist *ākiṁcañña*). It is only his possibilities of manifestation that become 'whats' of which there can be science or omniscience.

[38] It is in accordance with this doctrine that Plato takes it for granted that the function of works of art is to *remind us* of the eternal realities (*Phaedo*, 74ff., *Phaedrus*, 278A); cf. *MU*, VI.34, *fin.*, where for those who do not sacrifice, or know, or contemplate, 'the *remembrance* (*smaraṇā*, [*docta ignorantia*]) of the heavenly abode of Brahma (i.e. *brahmaloka*) is obstructed'. 'It is the unknown, methinks, that thou shouldst remember' (*atha nu mīmāṁsyam eva te manye 'viditam*, *JUB*, IV.19.1). In the iconography of Śiva, the demon on whom he tramples is called 'the person of amnesia' (*apasmāra puruṣa*).

[39] *Timaeus*, 69D, 90AC, *Republic*, 430, 604B; the Immortal Soul being the 'real Self' of *Laws* 959B. That this soul has never become anyone is clear from *Meno*, 81B, where the hieratic doctrine is cited, that 'the soul of man is immortal, and at one time reaches an end, which is called "dying", and is "born again", but is never slain'. This is almost identical with *BU*, IV.4.5,6; *BG*, II.13 and 17-26, Plato's ἀπόλ-λυσθαι δ οὐδέποτε corresponding to *na hanyate hanyamāne śarīre* and ὁ δῆ ἀπο-θνήσκειν καλοῦσι to *nityaṁ vā mṛtam*. In the same way *Phaedo* 83BC, 'the Self of (all) beings' (αὐτό τῶν ὄντων) and 'Soul of every man' (ψυχὴ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, Fowler's version, preferable to Jowett's 'every soul of man'), corresponds to the 'Self of all beings' (*sarveṣāṁ bhūtānām ātmā*,

'Seeing, then, that Soul (*θεός* of *Laws,* 897B) is immortal and has been born many times, and has beheld all things both in this world and in Hades, she has learnt all things, without exception; so that it is no wonder that she should be able to remember all that she knew before[41] about virtue and other things. And since all Nature is congeneric, there is no reason why we should not, by remembering but one single thing[42]—which is what we call "learning"—discover all the others, if we are brave and faint not in the enquiry; for it seems that to enquire and to learn are wholly a matter of remembering.'[43] The same doctrine is discussed in *Phaedo,* 72Eff., and 75E, where 'we must necessarily

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BU, 1.4.16) of the Upaniṣads. Cf. *Phaedrus,* 246B, *πᾶσα ἥ ψυχὴ παντός* and 249E; and Hermes, *Lib.* X.7, *ψυχή τοῦ παντός*. Particular attention may also be called to *Phaedo,* 77A, where we are told, not that 'our souls existed before we were born', but that 'the soul of us (*ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχή*) existed before we were born'. There is a parallel in the Buddhist *Vinaya,* I.23 (i.e. *MV,* I.14, cf. Vis 393), where the Buddha asks a group of young men who are searching for a missing woman, 'Which were the better for you, to go seeking the woman, or to go seeking the Self'; he does not say 'your selves'. In both cases the reference is to the unique principle of many individuals. (Cf. Boehme, *Signatura rerum,* IX.65.)

[40] 'Philosophy . . . admonishing the soul to collect and assemble herself in her Self, and to throw in nothing but her Self, that she may know her Self itself, the Self of (all) beings' (*Phaedo,* 83B). Cf. Coomaraswamy, 'The "E" at Delphi'), and *Hinduism and Buddhism,* 1943, pp. 15-18, 58.

[41] The doctrine of Recollection recurs in the Koran (VI.80), and permeates Rūmī's *Mathnawī* (see Anamnesis in Nicholson's subject index). *Mathnawī,* IV.3632-5 runs, 'What wonder, then, if the spirit does not remember its ancient abodes, which have been its dwelling place and birthplace aforetime, since this world, like sleep, is covering it over as clouds cover the stars? Especially as it has trodden so many cities, and the dust has not yet been swept from its perceptive faculty, nor has it made ardent efforts that its heart should become pure and behold the past; that its heart should put forth its head from the aperture of the mystery and should see the beginning and the end with open eye'. The wording is suggestive of Indian rather than Platonic derivation. The connected doctrine that God is real agent and man only his instrument, as expressed, for example, in the *Manṭiqu'ṭ-Ṭair,*

All you have been, and seen, and done, and thought,
Not *you,* but *I,* have seen and been and wrought

is equally Indian (*JUB,* I.5.2; *MU,* III.2; *BG,* III.27, etc.) and Neo-Platonic (Philo, *De opificio mundi,* 78, etc.).

[42] Cf. *Timaeus,* 50AB, and *CU,* VI.1.4, 'That teaching (*ādeśam*) whereby what has not been heard of becomes heard of, what has not been thought of becomes thought of, what has not been known becomes known of. . . . Just as by one piece of clay everything made of clay may be known of, the modification being only a matter of naming, and the reality (*satyam*) just clay'. Cf. *BU,* IV.5.6. [Socrates claims to know everything always by means of his soul, *Euthydemus,* 295ff.]

[43] 'Virtue' (*ἀρετή*) is the subject under discussion. The Dialogue does not decide

have learned in some prior time what we now remember. But this is impossible if the Soul in us had not existed anywhere before being born in this human nature; and so by this consideration it appears again that the Soul is immortal'; as in *Meno,* 86AB, 'if in us the truth of all things be the soul, then Soul must be 'immortal' for it knows things of which we could not have acquired knowledge in this life and "must have had this learning through all time" (*ὅτι τὸν πάντα χρόνον*)'[44] (cf. *πρὸς τὸν ξύμπαντα χρόνον*, *Timaeus,* 36E). Following *Meno,* 81, Socrates goes on to give a practical demonstration by educing from rather than communicating to a pupil, knowledge which he did not appear to possess; and this seems to show that all true education is rather a destruction of ignorance[45] than the gift of a knowledge, a view that is in close agreement with what is called in India the 'self-manifestation' nature (*sva-prakāśatva*) of the intellectual principle.

Plato's Immortal Soul, 'the most lordly and divine part of us' (*Timaeus,* 90*AB*,), can be only the immanent Daimon, 'that vulgar fellow, who cares for nothing but the truth' (*Hippias major,* 286D). It is Philo's 'Soul of the soul'; the Sanctus Spiritus as distinguished from the (mortal) 'soul' (Heb., 4:12) and

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what 'virtue' is; it is neither natural nor taught, nor is it prudence (*φρόνησις*), but a thing 'that comes to us by a divine dispensation (*Meno,* 98E, 99Eff.). It is a thing to be *remembered,* which remembrance is properly called 'learning' (*μάθησις* , cf. *μαθητής*, disciple, *śrāvaka*): whence it follows that ignorance, or rather 'want of learning' (*ἀμαθία*, cf. Pāli *assutavā putthujanā* = profane *οἱ πολλοί*), the ignorance that is so disgraceful (*Apology,* 29B, *Phaedrus,* 277E), is really 'forgetfulness'; cf. Skr. *aśruta,* 'untaught', and *aśruti,* 'oblivion'. For Hermes, 'the soul's vice is ignorance (*ἀγνωσία*) and her virtue (*ἀρετή*) gnosis' (*Lib.*, X.8.9, cf. 13.7B); and that, I think, is just what Socrates means to imply, namely, that virtue is a function of self-knowledge (Skr. *ātmajñāna*), and can be theirs only who 'know themselves'.

The traditional 'ignorance' has nothing, of course, to do with what we call 'illiteracy'. The exaggerated value that we attach to 'literature' as such would have been, indeed, for Plato, in itself an evidence of 'ignorance' (*Phaedrus,* 275, 278); [cf. *Laws,* 689, 'only those should govern who are masters of themselves, not those who are merely literate or otherwise expert']. Ignorance is 'subjection to pleasure', or what amounts to the same thing, 'subjection to oneself' (*τὸ ἥττω εἶναι αὑτοῦ*, *Protagoras,* 357E, 358C; cf. *Republic,* 430E ff.); ignorance is of what is just and what unjust (*Phaedrus,* 277E); nothing is worse than to think one knows what one does not know (*Apology* 29B). It is the Self that should be known (*Γνῶθι σεαυτόν*): for when the Self is seen, is heard, thought of and known, this All is known (*BU,* IV.5.6). Whereas to put our trust in the written characters, which are not a part of our Self, is a hindrance to that recollection that is in and of the Self (*Phaedrus,* 275A).

[44] Here again 'soul' in the singular, 'we' plural. But elsewhere we find (immortal) 'souls' in the plural (*Phaedo,* 76). Both uses are consistent with the view that all souls are facets of one soul, which I think was Plato's belief, as it was certainly that of Plotinus and Hermes.

[45] Not that ignorance is 'real' (in which case it could not be 'destroyed'), but as darkness (privation of light) it is removed by illumination. Pāli texts often employ this illustration: when the Buddha has *cleared* up some problem by his *argu*ment, 'it is just as if a lamp were brought into a dark room'.

'source of all that is true, by whomsoever it has been said' (St. Ambrose on 1 Cor. 12: 3, cited by St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, III.109.1); the Scholastic Speculum Aeternum[46] and Synteresis,[47] Dante's Amor (*Purgatorio,* XXIX.52-4), and our own 'conscience' (E.E. 'inwyt') in the original and fullest sense of the word; and the Immortal Self, the source of Memory, of the Vedānta.

We meet the doctrine of recollection also in Hebrew contexts. In the Talmud (*Nidda,* 30B) and Zohar (*Wayyiqra, Aharei Mot*), we are told that all human souls have a full knowledge of the Torah, etc. (see Note 32), and retain all their knowledge until they come down to earth and are born. Manasseh ben Israel (seventeenth century) saw here the equivalent of Plato's doctrine of Recollection, for it must follow that whatever is learnt after birth can only amount to a recovery of this knowledge; and so Elimelech of Lizensk (eighteenth century) says, 'By relearning the Torah later on for its own sake he (the child) succeeds in grasping the truth as it was originally implanted in him'.[48] The implied eternity of 'the Torah that created all the worlds and is the means by which these are sustained' (Zohar, *Beha 'Alotheka*) is like that of the Veda, of the origin of which nothing more can be said than that 'the Lord' (Īśvara = Kyrios, Demiourgos), at the beginning of each world-aeon, 'remembers' (*smṛtvā*) it and promulgates it, and there is no ground for supposing that it was composed by any other standard (Āpadeva).[49] Again,

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[46] 'Wherein those who gaze behold all things, and better than elsewhere' (St. Bonaventura, *I Sent.* d. 35, a unic., q. 1, fund. 3, 'sicut dicit Augustinus'); 'as a clear mirror sees all things in one image' (Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I, 253).

[47] Cf. O. Renz, 'Die Synteresis nach dem Hl. Thomas von Aquin', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters,* X (Münster, 1911).

[48] For a fuller discussion of this material see J. Finkel, 'A Psychoanalytic Prefiguration in Hasidic Literature', *Eidenu,* New York, 1942. Finkel justly observes that Elimelech's 'Unconscious' is not psychological but transcendental. Cf. Note 33. [Eleazar of Worms (d. 1223-32) held that a guardian angel causes forgetfulness at birth because if it is remembered, the contradiction of the course of the world with its knowledge would drive it to madness {G.G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* Jerusalem, 1941 (New York, 1954), p. 92.}]

[49] *Mīmāṁsā Nyāya Prakāśa,* 6; late, but a restatement of the oldest *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* doctrine; [cf. *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā Sūtras,* 1.1.5 and *Br SBh,* 1.3.28]. The similar doctrine that the Koran is 'uncreated' is fundamental to Islam.

Not to have studied (*adhī*) or understood (*vijñā*) the Veda ('wit', as in Wycliffe's version of Rom. II:34) is utter ignorance (*ŚA,* XIV). Since the dictionary meanings of *adhī* (lit. 'go to') are to 'study' or 'remember', and of *smṛ,* to 'remember' or 'teach', all this amounts to saying that to learn is to remember. Closely related to this are the well-known Indian pedagogic principles of oral instruction and learning by heart, which are, again, in agreement with Plato (*Phaedrus,* 275A, 278A). To have to 'look up' a text implies that although we have been once reminded, we have again forgotten, and are no less ignorant than before. We only really *know* what we can always quote. Hence the preference for oral instruction, which *must* be remembered, if we are to possess it. Under these conditions, as also in may 'primitive' civilizations, the doctrine of Recollection is explicit in Meister Eckhart, who says: 'If I knew my Self as intimately as I ought, I should have perfect knowledge of all creatures', for 'the soul is capable of knowing all things in her highest power', viz., 'as a clear mirror sees all things in one image', and so 'not until she knows all that there is to be known does she (the soul) cross over to the Unknown Good'.[50] The doctrine survives in Blake's 'Is the Holy Ghost any other than an intellectual fountain?'

We need not attempt to follow up the history of the doctrine in any greater detail. Our main object has been to call attention both to the importance and to the universality of the doctrine of Recollection, and to bring out that it is only one of the many consistent features of a philosophy that is essentially the same in Plato and in the Vedānta.[51]

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culture is independent of literacy, which last Plato called 'a device for forgetting'. Cf. Coomaraswamy, 'The Bugbear of Literacy', 1944.

The further argument of the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā,* that words participate in eternity because they have a meaning, is entirely comprehensible from the Platonic, Aristotelian, and Scholastic doctrine that knowledge can be only of the immutable, and not of any things in flux, singulars, or accidentals, which never retain their identity from one moment to another. In other words, perception and knowledge, facts and realities, are very different things.

[50] Evans ed., I, 253, 324, 359, 385.

[51] The virtual identity of Indian and Socratic-Platonic philosophy is of far greater significance than the problem as more often discussed in connection with Plotinus. There we are dealing, not with 'influences', but—just as in the case of the roots and idioms of the languages, Greek and Sanskrit themselves—with cognate doctrines and myths, many of which are as much Sumerian as they are Greek or Indian. The Philosophia Perennis antedates the whole historical period within which 'influences' can be predicated.

For example, it is not by a borrowing but only by a long inheritance that we can explain the occurrence of the 'cutting reed' and 'clashing rock' forms of the 'active door' (Janua Coeli) in Greece on the one hand and in Navajo and Eskimo, Mexican and South American, and Chinese and Indian mythology, on the other. Cf. R. Guénon, *Introduction to the Study of the Hindu Doctrines,* tr. Marco Pallis (London, 1945), p. 50. All mythology involves a corresponding philosophy; and if there is only one mythology, as there is only one 'Perennial Philosophy', then that 'the myth is not my own, I had it from my mother' (Euripides) points to a spiritual unity of the human race already predetermined long before the discovery of metals. It may be really true that, as Alfred Jeremias said, the various cultures of mankind are no more than the *dialects* of one and the same spiritual language. For this point of view, as now entertained by a large school of anthropologist, for whom the concept of one 'High god' antedates even the development of animism, cf. Father Wilhelm Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (Münster, 1912-39); *The Origin and Growth of Religion,* tr. H.J. Rose (New York, 1931); and *High Gods in North America* (Oxford, 1933). (Fundamentally, it is held in common that *philosophy* is both a way of life and a means of escape from the wheel, whereby the soul returns to its own.)

THE VEDIC DOCTRINE OF 'SILENCE'

The Vedic Doctrine of 'Silence'

> Then only will you see it, when you cannot speak of it; for the knowledge of it is deep silence, and suppression of the senses.
>
> Hermes, *Lib.*, X.5

The general significance of 'silence' in connection with rites, myths, and mysteries has been admirably discussed by René Guénon in *Études traditionelles.*[1] Here we propose to cite other, more specific details from the Vedic tradition. It must be premised that the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam*) is not merely in itself 'without duality' (*advaita*), but when considered from another and external point of view is an identity of many different things. By this we do not mean only that a first unitary principle transcends the reciprocally related pairs of opposites (*dvandvau*) that can be distinguished on any level of reference as contraries or known as contradictories; but rather that the Supreme Identity, undetermined even by a first assumption of unity, subsumes in its infinity the whole of what can be implied or represented by the notions of the infinite and the finite, of which the former includes the latter, without reciprocity.[2] On the other hand, the finite cannot be excluded or isolated from or denied to the infinite, since an independent finite would be in itself a limitation of the infinite by hypothesis. The Supreme Identity is, therefore, inevitably represented in our thought under two aspects, both of which are essential to the formation of any concept of totality *secundum rem.* So we find it said of Mitrāvaruṇau (*apara* and *para* Brahman, God and Godhead) that from one and the same seat they behold 'the finite and the infinite' (*aditiṁ ditiṁ ca, ṚV,* V.62.8); where, of course, it must be borne in mind that *in divinis* to 'see' is

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[1] René Guénon, 'Organisations initiatiques et sociétés secrètes', and 'Du Secret initiatique', *Le Voile d'Isis* (1934), pp.349 and 429; 'Mythes, mystères et symboles', *Le Voile d'Isis* (1935), p. 385. Since 1936 *Le Voile d'Isis* has been published as *Études traditionelles.*

[2] 'The Infinite (*aditiḥ*) is Mother, Sire, and Son, whatever hath been born, and the principle of birth, etc.' (*ṚV,* I.89.10); 'Nothing is changed in the immovable Infinite (*ananta*) by the emanation or the withdrawals of worlds' (Bhāskara, *Bījagaṇita* [Benares, 1927], repeating the thought of *AV,* X.8.29 and *BU,* V.1, that 'Though plenum (*pūrṇam*) be taken from plenum, plenum yet remains'.). The inclusion of the finite in the Infinite is expressly formulated in *AĀ,* II.3.8, 'A is Brahman, the ego (*aham*) is within it'.

On the relation of unity to multiplicity see Coomaraswamy, 'Vedic Exemplarism' [in the present volume—Ed.].

the same as to 'know' and to 'be'. Or in like manner, but substituting the notion of spiration for that of manifestation, it can be said that 'That One is equally spirated, despirated' (*tad ekam ānīd avātam*, *ṚV*, X.129.2); or is at the same time 'Being and Nonbeing' (*sadasat*, *ṚV*, X.5.7).[3]

The same conception, expressed in terms of utterance and silence, is clearly formulated in *ṚV*, II.43.3, 'Whether, O Bird, thou utterest weal aloud, or sittest silent (*tūṣṇīm*), think on us with favor'.[4] And similarly in the ritual, we find that rites are performed either with or without enunciated formulae, and that lauds are offered either vocally or silently; for which the texts also provide an adequate explanation. Here it must be premised that the primary purpose of the Vedic Sacrifice (*yajña*) is to effect a reintegration of the deity conceived of as spent and disintegrated by the act of creation, and at the same time that of the sacrificer himself, whose person, considered in its individual aspect, is evidently incomplete. The mode of reintegration is by means of initiation (*dīkṣā*) and symbols (*pratīka*, *ākṛti*), whether natural, constructed, enacted, or vocalized; the sacrificer is expected to identify himself with the sacrifice itself and thus with the deity whose primordial self-sacrifice it represents, 'the observance of the rule thereof being the same as it was at the creation'. A clear distinction is drawn between those who may be merely 'present' and those who 'really' participate in the ritual acts which are performed on their behalf.

As already stated, there are certain acts that are performed with a vocal accompaniment and others silently. For example, in *ŚB*, VII.2.2.13-14 and 2.3.3, in connection with the preparation of the Fire-altar, certain furrows are ploughed and certain libations made with an accompaniment of spoken words, and other silently—'Silently (*tūṣṇīm*), for what is silent is undeclared (*aniruktam*), and what is undeclared is everything (*sarvam*). . . . This Agni (Fire) is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is both declared (*niruktaḥ*) and undeclared, bounded (*parimitaḥ*) and unbounded. Now whatever he does with spoken formulae (*yajuṣā*), thereby he integrates (*saṁskaroti*) that form of his which is declared and bounded; and whatever he does silently, thereby he integrates that form of his which is undeclared and unbounded. Verily, whoever as a comprehensor thereof does thus, he integrates the whole totality (*sarvaṁ kṛtsnam*) of Prajāpati; the *ab extra* forms (*bāhyāni rūpāṇi*) are declared, the *ab intra* forms (*antarāṇi rūpāṇi*) are undeclared.' An almost identical passage appears in *ŚB*, XIV.1.2.18; and in VI.4.1.6 there is another reference to the performance of a rite in silence: 'He spreads the black antelope skin silently, for it is the Sacrifice, the Sacrifice is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is undeclared.'

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[3] The 'distinct operations' (*vivrata*), interior and exterior (*tira* or *guhya*, and *āvis*), of the Supreme Identity are represented by many other pairs, e.g. order and disorder (cosmos and chaos), life and death, light and darkness, sight and blindness, waking and sleep, potency and impotence, motion and rest, time and eternity, etc. It may be observed that all of the negative terms represent privations or evils if considered empirically, but absence of limitation, and good, when considered anagogically—the negative concept including the positive, as cause includes effect. [This is further illustrated by the two natures, *niruktānirukta*, mortal and immortal, like Mitrāvaruṇau in *ṚV*, 1.64.38, the two Brahmans in *BU*, II.3.1, Prajāpati in *ŚB*, X.1.3.2.]

[4] Cf. *ṚV*, X.27.21, 'Beyond what is heard here, there is another sound' (*śrava id ena paro anyad asti*); I.164.10, 'At the back of yonder Heaven the gods incant an omniscient word without outgoing effect' (*mantrayante . . . viśvavidaṁ vācam aviśvaminvam*); *JUB*, III.7-9, where the initiate (*dīkṣitaḥ*, regarded as one dead to the world) is said to utter a 'nonhuman' word (*amānuṣiṁ vācam*) or 'brahma-dictum' (*brahmavādyam*). Nothing but an echo of the veritable Word can be heard or understood by human ears.

In *TS*, III.1.9, the first libations are drawn off silently (*upāṁśu*), the latter with noise (*upabdim*), and 'thus one bestows upon the deities the glory that is theirs, and upon men the glory that is theirs, and becomes divinely glorious amongst the deities and humanly glorious amongst men'.

In *AB*, II.31-2, the Devas, unable to overcome the Asuras, are said to have 'seen' the 'silent laud' (*tūṣṇīṁ śaṁsam apaśyam*), and this the Asuras could not follow. This 'silent laud' is identified with what are called the 'eyes of the *soma*-pressings, by means of which the Comprehensor reaches the Light-world'. There is a reference to 'these Eyes of *soma*, by which eyes of contemplation (*dhī*) and intellect (*manas*) we behold the Golden' (*hiraṇyam*, *RV*, I.139.2, to wit, Hiraṇyagarbham, the Sun, the Truth, Prajāpati, as in X.121). It may be observed in this connection that, like the wine of other traditions, the *soma* partaken of is not the very elixir (*rasa*, *amṛta*) of life, but a symbolic liquor—'Of what the Brāhmaṇas understand by "*soma*", none ever tastes, none tastes who dwells on earth' (*ṚV*, X.85.3-4): it is 'by means of the priest, the initiation, and the invocation' that the temporal power partakes of the semblance of the spiritual power (*brahmaṇo rūpam*), *AB*, VII.31.[5] Here the distinction between the *soma* actually and the soma theoretically partaken of is analogous to that between the spoken words of the ritual and that which cannot be expressed in words, and similarly analogous to the distinction between the visible representation and the 'picture that is not in the colors' (*Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, II.118).

The well-known orison in *ṚV*, X. 189, addressed to the Serpent Queen (*sarparājñī*) who is at once the Dawn, Earth, and Bride of the Sun, is also known as the 'mental chant' (*mānasa stotra*), evidently because it is, as explained in *TS*, VII.3.1, 'chanted mentally' (*manasā*[6] *stuvate*), and this just because it is within the power of the intellect (*manas*) not merely to encompass this (*imām*, i.e. the finite universe) in a single moment, but also to transcend it, not only to contain (*paryāptum*) but also to environ (*paribhavitum*) it. And in this way, by means of what has previously been enunciated vocally (*vācā*) and what is afterwards enunciated mentally, 'both (worlds) are possessed and obtained'. Precisely the same is implied in *ŚB*, II.1.4.29, where it is said that whatever has not been obtained by the preceding rites is now obtained by means of the Sarparājñī verses, recited, as is evidently taken for granted, mentally and silently; and thus the whole (*sarvam*) is possessed. Similarly in *KB*, XIV.1, where the two first parts of the Ājya are the 'silent murmur' (*tūṣṇīm-japaḥ*) and the 'silent laud' (*tūṣṇīṁ śaṁsa*), 'He recites inaudibly, for the attainment of all desires', it being understood, of course, that the vocalized chant pertains to the attainment only of temporal goods.

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[5] *AĀ*, II.3.7, 'By means of the form of Yonder-one one has being in this world' (*amuno rūpeṇēmaṁ lokam ābhavati*); the converse, 'by means of this (human) form one is wholly reborn in that world' is stated here, and also in II.3.2 where a 'person' (*puruṣa*) is distinguished from the animal (*paśu*) in that he 'by the mortal seeks the immortal, that is his perfection'. For example, in *AB*, VII.31, cited above, it is by means of the *nyagrodaha* shoots that the representative of the temporal power partakes of *soma* metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*). This doctrine of 'transubstantiation' is similarly enunciated in *ŚB*, XII.7.3.11, 'By faith he makes the *surā* to be *soma*', cf. *ŚB*, XII.8.1.5 and XII.8.2.2. See also Coomaraswamy, 'Angel and Titan: An Essay in Vedic Ontology', 1935, p. 382, n. 12.

[6] Hence Manasā Devī, the modern Bengali designation of the Serpent Goddess.

It may be noted, too, that the correspondence of the spoken words to the exterior and those unspoken to the interior forms of deity, cited above, is in perfect agreement with the formulation of *AB*, I.27, where when the *soma* has been bought from the Gandharvas (types of Eros, armed with bows and arrows, who are the guardians of Soma, *ab intra*) at the price of the Word (*vāc*, fem., called here 'the Great Naked One'—the Nude Goddess—and represented in the rite by a virgin heifer), it is prescribed that the recitative is to be performed in silence (*upāṁśu*) until she has been redeemed from them, that is to say, so long as she remains 'within'.

In *BU*, III.6, where there is a dialogue on Brahman, the position is finally reached where the questioner is told that Brahman is 'a divinity about which further questions cannot be asked', and at this the questioner 'holds her peace' (*upararāma*). This is, of course, in perfect agreement with the employment of the *via remotionis* in the same texts, where it is said that the Brahman is 'No, No' (*neti, neti*), and also with the traditional text quoted by Śaṅkara on *Vedānta Sūtras*, III.2.17, where Bāhva, questioned regarding the nature of Brahman, remains silent (*tūṣṇīm*), only exclaiming when the question is repeated for the third time, 'I teach you indeed, but you do not understand: this Brahman is silence'. Precisely the same significance attaches to the Buddha's refusal to analyze the state of *nirvāṇa*. [Cf. *avadyam*, 'the unspeakable', *from* which the proceeding principles are liberated by the manifested light, *ṚV*, *passim*.] In *BG*, X.38, Kṛṣṇa speaks of himself as 'the silence of the hidden ones (*mauna . . . guhyānām*), and the gnosis of the Gnostics' (*jñānaṁ jñānavatām*); where *mauna* corresponds to the familiar *muni*, 'silent sage'. This is not, of course, to say that He does not also 'speak', but that his speaking is simply the manifestation, and not an affection, of the Silence; as *BU*, III.5 also reminds us, the supreme state is one that transcends the distinction of utterance from silence—'Without respect to utterance or silence (*amaunaṁ ca maunaṁ nirvidya*), then is he indeed a Brahman'. When it is asked further, 'By what means does one thus become a Brahman?' the questioner is told, 'By that means by which one does become a Brahman', which is as much as to say, by a way that can be found but cannot be charted. The secret of initiation remains inviolable by its very nature; it cannot be betrayed because it cannot be expressed—it is inexplicable (*aniruktam*), but the inexplicable is everything, at the same time all that can and all that cannot be expressed.

It will be seen from the citations above that the Brāhmaṇa texts and the rites to which they refer are not only absolutely self-consistent but in complete agreement with the values implied in the text of *ṚV*, II.43.3; the explanations are, indeed, of universal validity, and could be applied as well to the Orationes Secretae of the Christian Mass (which is also a sacrifice) as to the unvoiced repetition of the Indian Yajus-formulae.[7] The consistency affords at the same time an excellent illustration of the general principle that what is to be found in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads represents nothing new in principle, but only an expansion of what is taken for granted and more 'eminently' enunciated in the 'older' liturgical texts themselves. Those who assume that quite 'new doctrines' are taught in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads are simply placing unnecessary difficulties in the way of their own understanding of the Saṁhitās.

It will be advantageous also to consider the derivation and form of the word *tūṣṇīm*. This indeclinable form, generally adverbial ('silently') but sometimes to be rendered adjectivally or as a noun, is really the accusative of a supposedly lost *tūṣṇa*, fem. *tūṣṇī*, corresponding in meaning to Greek σιγή, and derived from √*tuṣ*, meaning to be satisfied, contented, and at rest, in the sense that motion comes to rest in the attainment of its object, and indeed as speech comes to rest in silence when all has been said that can be said. The word *tūṣṇīm* occurs as a real accusative (W. Caland, '*tūṣṇīm* is equal to *vācaṁyamaḥ*')—for to speak of 'contemplating silently' would involve a tautology—in *PB*, VII.6.1, where Prajāpati, desiring to proceed from the state of unity to that of multiplicity (*bahu syām*), expressed himself with the words 'May I be born' (*prajāyeya*), and 'having by intellect contemplated the Silence' (*tūṣṇīm manasā dhyāyat*), therewith 'saw' (*ādīdhīt*) that the Germ (*garbham*, to wit, Agni or Indra, who as the Bṛhat becomes the 'eldest son') lay hidden within himself (*antarhitam*), and so proposed to bring it to birth by means of the Word (*vāc*). [Cf. *TS*, 11.5.11.5, *yad-dhi manasā dhyāyati*, where *yad* is equivalent to 'unspoken word' 'unuttered concept'.] *Tūṣṇīṁ manasā dhyāyat* then corresponds to the more usual *manasā vācam akrata* (*ṚV*, X.71.2) or *manasāivā vācaṁ mithunaṁ samabhavat* (*ŚB*, VI.1.2.9), with reference to 'the act of fecundation latent in eternity', for thus[8] 'He (Prajāpati) became pregnant (*garbhin*)[9] and expressed (*asṛjata*) the Several angels'. The birth of the Son is, strictly speaking, not only a conception from the conjoint principles, in the sense of vital operation, but at the same time a conception intellectually, *per verbum in intellectu conceptum*, corresponding to the designation of the Germ (*garbham*, to wit, *Hiraṇyagarbha*) as a concept (*dīdhitim*) in this sense, *ṚV*, III.31.1.

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[7] It may be added that while, from a religious point of view, silence and fasting and other acts of abstention are acts of penance, from a metaphysical point of view their significance has no longer to do with the mere improvement of the individual as such, but with the realization of supra-individual conditions. The contemplative life as such is superior to the active life as such. It does not follow, however, that the state of the Comprehensor or even that of the Wayfarer should be one of total inaction; this would be an imperfect imitation of the Supreme Identity, where eternal rest and eternal work are one and the same. There is an adequate imitation only when inaction and action are identified, as intended by the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the taoist *wu wei*; action no longer implied limitation when it is no longer determined by needs or compelled by ends to be attained, but becomes a simple manifestation. In this case, for example, utterance does not exclude, but rather represents silence ['It is just by sound that the nonsound is revealed', *MU*, VI.22]; and it is in just this way that a myth or other adequate symbol, although an 'expression' actually, remains a 'mystery' essentially. In the same way, every natural function, when referred to the principle it represents, can properly be said to have been renounced even when it is performed.

The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, cited above, goes on to explain with reference to the intention of 'bringing to birth by means of the Word' (*vācā prajanayā*) that Prajāpati 'released the Word[10] (*vācaṁ vyasṛjata*, in other words, effected the separation of Heaven and Earth), and She descended as Rathantara (*vāg rathantaram avapadyata*, where *avapad* is literally to 'step down') . . . and thence was born the Bṛhat . . . that had lain so long within' (*jyog antar abhūt*); cf. *ṚV*, X.124.1, 'Thou hast lain long enough in the long-darkness' (*jyog eva dīrghaṁ tama āśayiṣṭhāḥ*).[11] That is to say that Aditi, Magna Mater, Night, becomes Aditi, Mother Earth, and Dawn, to be represented in the ritual by the altar (*vedi*) that is the birth-place (*yoni*) of Agni: distinction is made between the Word that 'was with God and was God' from the Word as Earth Mother, or in other words of 'Mary ghostly' from 'Mary in the flesh'.[12] For, as we know from *TS*, III.1.7 and *JB*, I.145-6, the Bṛhat (the Father brought to birth) corresponds to Heaven,[13] the future (*bhaviṣyat*), the unbounded (*aparimitam*), and to despiration (*apāna*); the Rathantara (the Father's separated nature) corresponds to Earth, the past (*bhūtāt*) the bounded (*parimitam*), and spiration (*prāṇa*).[14] The same assumptions are found in *JUB*, 1.53ff., substituting Sāman and Ṛc for Bṛhat and Rathantara: the Sāman (masc.) representing intellect (*manas*) and despiration (*apāna*), the Ṛc (fem.) the Word (*vāc*) and spiration (*prāṇa*). The Sāman is also *in seipso* 'both she (*sā*) and he (*ama*)', and it is as a single luminous power (*virāj*)[15] that the conjoint principles generate the Sun, and then immediately depart from one another, this division of essence from nature, Heaven from Earth, or Night from Day being the inevitable condition of all manifestation; it is invariably

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[8] 'Thus', i.e. as St. Augustine expresses it: having thus 'made Himself a mother of whom to be born' (*Epiphanius contra quinque haereses*, 5). [See *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise Contained in the Codex Brucianus Ms. 96*, tr. Charlotte Baynes (Cambridge, 1933), XII.10 (p. 48), for Source and Silence.]

[9] Cf. *Epiphanius contra quinque haereses*, XXXIV.4, 'The Father was in travail', and in folklore, the 'couvade'.

[10] It is of interest to note the ritual parallel in *ŚB*, IV.6.9.23-4 where, after sitting speechless (*vācaṁyamaḥ*), the sacrificers are to 'release their speech' (*vācaṁ visṛjeran*) according to their desires, e.g. 'May we be abundantly supplied with offspring'. [Note *tūṣṇīṁ śasaṁ tira iva vai retāṁsi vikriyante*, *AB*, 11.39; cf. especially *JUB*, III.16.]

[11] Dīrghatamas, 'Long Darkness', one of the blind 'prophets' (*ṛṣī*) of the *Ṛgveda*, is, accordingly, the designation of an *ab intra*, occulted form of Agni, whose relation to his younger brother Dīrghaśravas, 'Far Cry', is as that of Varuṇa to his younger brother Mitra or Agni, or, in other words, as that of death (*mṛtyu*) to Life (*āyus*). Of Dīrghaśravas it is also said that he had 'long been under resraint and lacking food' (*jyog aparuddho' śayānaḥ*, *PB*, XV.3.25), and all these expressions correspond to what is said of Vṛtra in *ṚV*, I.32.10, namely, that 'Indra's enemy lay in the long darkness (*dīrghaṁ tama aśayat*) beneath the Waters'; the *ab intra* aspect of deity being that of the Dragon or Serpent (*vṛtra*, *ahi*), the procession of Prajāpati a 'creeping forth from the blind darkness' (*andhe tamasi prāsarpat*, *PB*, XVI.1.1), and that of the Serpents generally a 'crawling forth' (*ati sarpaṇa*), whereby they become the Suns (*PB*, XXV.15.4). On this serpentine procession see Coomaraswamy, 'Angel and Titan', 1935. The procession of Dīrghatamas requires a longer discussion.

[12] Otherwise represented mythically as the rape of the Word (*ṚV*, I.130.9, where Indra 'steals the Word', *vācam . . . muṣāyati*), or as an analysis of the Word (*ṚV*, VII.103.6, X.71.3 and 125.3), or again as a measurement or birth of Māyā from Māyā (*AV*, VIII.9.5, 'Māyā was born from Māyā', followed by the *Lalita Vistara*, XXVII.12,

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'Inasmuch as her, i.e., the Buddha's mother's, likeness was modeled after that of Māyā, Māyā she was called').

[13] Agni, although the Son, is the Father himself reborn, and immediately ascends; moreover, 'Agni is kindled by Agni' (*ṚV*, I.12.6). It can be said of him, accordingly, not only that 'Being the Father, he became the Son' (*AV*, XIX.53.4) and that He is both 'the Father of the gods and their Son' (*ṚV*, I.69.1, see *ŚB*, VI.1.2.26), but also that 'He who heretofore was his own Son now becomes his own Father' (*ŚB*, II.3.3.5), that he is 'His Father's father' (*ṚV*, VI.16.35), at once the Son and Brother of Varuṇa (*ṚV*, IV.1.2 and X.51.6), and 'Own-son' (*tanūnapāt*, *passim*)—this last expression exactly corresponds to the Gnostic '*αὖτογειης*'. It is, then, easy to see how Agni, although a Son of chthonic birth, can in his identity with the Sun be regarded also as the Lover of the Earth Mother; the syzygy Agni-Pṛthvī being then an aspect of the parents Heaven and Earth, Savitṛ-Sāvitrī, and more remotely Mitrāvaruṇau (*GB*, I.32 and *JUB*, IV.27, etc).

[14] Cf. in *AĀ*, 11.3.6 the distinction of spirit (*prāṇa*) from body (*śarīra*), of which the former is hidden (*tira*) and the latter evident (*āvis*), like 'a' inherent and 'a' expressed: *ŚB*, X.4.3.9, 'No one becomes deathless by means of the body, but whether it be by gnosis or by works, only after abandoning the body'.

[15] Virāj, from whom all things 'milk' their specific virtue or character, is commonly a designation of the Magna Mater, but even when so regarded is a syzygy—'Who knoweth her progenitive duality?' *AV*, VIII.9.10. The terms *virāj* and *aditi*, although both usually feminine, may also have a masculine sense with similar reference to the first principle. To maintain, indeed, that any creative power considered in its creative aspect can be defined as exclusively 'male' or exclusively 'female' involves a contradiction in terms, all creation whatever being a *co*-gnition and *con*-ception; even in Christianity, the generation of the Son is 'a vital operation from a conjoint principle' (*a principio conjuncto, Sum. Theol.*, I.27.2), i.e. a principle that is both an essence and a nature—'That nature by which the Father begets'. It is only when it is realized once and for all that the creative power on any level of reference—whether, for example, as God or Man—is always a unity of conjoint principles, that is to say, a syzygy and *mithunatva*, that the propriety can be seen of such expressions as 'He (Agni) was born from the Titan's womb (*asurasya jaṭharāt ajāyata*)', *ṚV*, III.29.14; 'Mitra pours the seed in Varuṇa (*retaḥ varuno siñcati*)', *PB*, XXV.10.10; 'My womb is the Great Brahman, therein I lay the Germ', *BG*, XIV.3, and many similar references to the maternity of a deity referred to by names grammatically masculine or neuter.

the coming of the light that separates in time the Parents that are united in eternity. Now *sāman* always has reference to the music, *ṛc* to the articulate wording of the incantations (*ṛc, mantra, brahma*), so that when words are sung to measured music this represents an analysis and naturing of a heavenly music that in itself is one, and inaudible to human ears.[16] We may say, accordingly, that the name 'Great Liturgy' (*bṛhad ukthaḥ*, where *ukthaḥ* is from *vāc*, 'to speak') applied to Agni, e.g. in *ṚV*, V.19.3, represents the Son as a *spoken* word, and *manifested* Logos;[17] and in the same way Indra is 'the most excellent incantation' (*jyeṣṭhaś ca mantraḥ*, *ṚV*, X.50.4).

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[16] Just as in Plotinus, *Enneads,* I.6.3, 'Harmonies unheard in sound create the harmonies we hear and wake the soul to the one essence in another nature'; and V.9.11, 'An earthly representation of the music that there is in the rhythm (= Skr. *chandāṁsi*) of the ideal world'. It is precisely in this sense that the ritual music, like every other part of the Sacrifice, is an imitation of 'what was done by the Divinities in the beginning' (*ŚB*, VII.2.1.4 and *passim*), which holds good no less for the Christian Mass or Sacrifice.

It may be observed that in the operation of conjoint principles we necessarily conceive of one as active, the other as passive, and say that one is agent and the other means, or that one gives and the other receives. The apparent conflict with the Christian doctrine, which denies a 'passive power' in God (*Sum. Theol.*, I.41.4 *ad* 2), is unreal. St. Thomas himself remarks that 'in every generation there is an active and a passive principle' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.98.2c). The fact is that a distinction of this kind is determined by the necessity of speaking in terms of time and space: whereas *in divinis* action is immediate, and there is no real, but only a logical distinction of agency from means. Savitṛ and Sāvitrī are both equally 'wombs' (*yonī*, *JUB*, IV.27). If 'One of the perfections acts (*kartā*), the other fosters (*ṛndhan*)', *ṚV*, III.31.2, and both of these are active operations; it does not mean that either 'acts' or 'fostering' represents possibilities which might or might not have been realized, but merely refers to the co-operation of the conjoint principles, intention and power. There is no distinction of potentiality from act. It is only when the creation has taken place, and concepts of time and space are therefore involved, that we can think of a *puro atto* as divided from *potenza* by the measure of the whole universe (Dante, *Paradiso,* XXIX.31-6), of Heaven and Earth as 'driving apart' (*te vyadravatām*, *JUB*, 1.54), or of 'Nature as receding from likeness to God' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.14.11). This separation (*viyoga*) is the occasion of cosmic suffering (*traiśoka*, the pain of the Three Worlds that had once been one, *PB*, VIII.1.9, *loka-duḥkha*, *Weltschmerz*, *KU*, V.11), and it is no wonder that 'When the conjoint pair were parted, the Devas moaned, and said, "Let them be wed again"' (*ṚV*, X.24.5); it is, however, only 'at the meeting of the ways', 'at the worlds' end', that Heaven and Earth 'embrace' (*JUB*, I.5, etc.), only 'in the heart' that the marriage of Indra and Indrāṇī is really consummated (*ŚB*, X.5.2.11), that is to say, in a silence and darkness that are the same as that 'Night that hides the darkness of the conjoint pair' in *ṚV*, I.123.7, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* interpreting this condition of unconscious cognition (*samvit*), perfect beatitude (*paramānanda*), and sleep (*svapna*) as an 'entering into, or being possessed by, what is one's very own' (*svāpyaya*) [cf. *Māṇḍ. Up.*, II, *apīti.*].

[17] The Sacrifice in its *liturgical* aspect is a 'bringing to birth by means of the Word': one 'sings the Sāman on a Ṛc', and this is a procreative coupling (*mithunam*), identical

The spoken Word is a harmony. In *KB*, XXIII.2 and XXIV.1, 'Prajāpati is he whose name is not mentioned;[18] this is the symbol of Prajāpati... "Aloud" in "Sing aloud, O thou of wide radiance" (Agni) is a symbol of the Bṛhat'. In *ŚB*, VI.1.1.15, the triumphant Jubilate of the spoken Word is described as follows: 'She (the Earth, *bhūmi*, being *pṛthivī*, "spread out"), feeling herself altogether complete (*sarvā kṛtsnā*), sang (*agāyat*); and because she "sang", therefore she is Gāyatrī. They say too that "It was Agni, indeed, on her back (*pṛṣṭhe*) [19] who, feeling himself altogether complete, sang; and inasmuch as he sang, therefore he is Gāyatra." And hence whosoever feels himself altogether complete, either sings or delights in song.'

We have thus briefly discussed the divine nativity from certain points of view in order to bring out the correspondences of the Vedic and the Gnostic references to the Silence. In both traditions the authentic and integral powers on every level of reference are syzygies of conjoint principles, male

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with that of Intellect and Word (*manas* and *vāc*), Sacrifice and Guerdon (*yajña, dakṣiṇā*, i.e. Prajāpati and Dawn), and literally an in-*form*-ation of Nature, 'for were it not for Intellect, the Word would be incoherent' (*ŚB*, III.2.4.11), whereas it is in fact the 'birthplace of Order'. The Rathantara, for example, is a 'means of procreation' (*prajananam*, *PB*, VII.7.16, corresponding to *prajananam* as 'mistress' *viśpatnī*, the 'mother' of Agni in *ṚV*, III.29.1); Sāvitrī in this sense is identified with the meters (*chandāṁsī*) and called the 'Mother of the Vedas' (*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, I.33 and 38), which 'meters' are commonly referred to as the means *par excellence* of reintegration (*saṁskaraṇa*, *AB*, VI.27, *ŚB*, VI.5.4.7, etc), and in her conjunction with Savitṛ presents an analogy with the Gnostic Ecclesia ('Mother Church') and Gnosis as constituting with Man (*ἄνθροπως* = Prajāpati, Agni, Manu) a syzygy. In this connection also there should be noted the close relationship of the words *mātrā*, *matṛ*, and *māyā*, 'meter', 'mother', and 'magical-means' or 'matrix'; *mā* to 'measure' and *nir-mā*, to 'measure out' being constantly employed not only in the sense of giving form and definition, but in the closely related sense of creating or giving birth to, notably in *ṚV*, III.38.3, III.53.15, X.5.3. X.125.8, *AV*, VIII.9.5, and in the well-known expression *nirmāṇa-kāya*, denoting precisely the assumed and actually manifested and born 'body' of the Buddha.

Sacrifice and birth are inseparable concepts; the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, indeed, proposes the *hermeneia*, '*yajña*, because "*yañ jāyate*"'. Sacrifice is divisive, a 'breaking of bread'; the product is articulated and articulate. The sacrifice is a spreading out, a making a tissue or web of the Truth (*satyaṁ tanavāmahā*, *ŚB*, IX.5.1.18), a metaphor commonly employed elsewhere in connection with the raying of the fontal light, which forms the texture of the worlds. Just as the kindling of Agni is the making perceptible and evident of a hidden light, so the utterance of the chants is the making perceptible of a silent principle of sound. The spoken Word is a revelation of the Silence, that measures the trace of what is in itself immeasurable.

[18] [Prajāpati chooses *aniruktaṁ sāmno . . . svargyam*, the 'indistinct (part) of the *sāman* which belongs to heaven', *JUB*, I.52.6; cf. *manasā* 'silently', opposed to *vācā*, as in *JUB*, I.58.6; see *ŚB*, IV.6.9.17 and Eggeling's note on *manasā stotra*, also *JUB*, I.40.4.]

[19] *Pṛṣṭhe*, i.e. either (1) with reference to Agni's being seated on the earthen altar (*vedi*) which is his birthplace (*yoni*), and/or (2) with reference to Agni's being supported by the Pṛṣṭhastotra, of which hymn the Gāyatrī is the mother by Prajāpati, *PB*, VII.8.8.

and female; summarizing the Gnostic doctrine of the Aeons (Vedic *amṛtāsaḥ = devāḥ*) we may say that *ab intra* and informally these are βυθός and σιγή, "Abyss", and "Silence", and *ab extra*, formally, νοῦς and ἔννοια or Sophia, 'Intellect', and 'Wisdom', and without going into further detail, that σιγή corresponds to Vedic *tūṣṇī* and νοῦς to *manas*, σιγή and Sophia respectively to the hidden and manifested aspects of Aditi-Vāc; and also that the 'fall' of the Word (*vāg* . . . *avapadyata*, cited above), and her purification as Ṛc, Apālā, Sūryā (*JUB*, I.53ff., *ṚV*, VIII.91 and X.85) correspond to the fall and redemption of Sophia and the Shekinah in the Gnostic and Qabbalistic traditions, respectively. In what are really more academic rather than more 'orthodox' forms of Christianity, the two aspects of the Voice, within and without, are those of 'that nature by which the Father begets' and 'that nature which recedes from likeness to God, and yet retains a certain likeness to the divine being' (*Sum. Theol.*, 1.41.5c and 1.14.11 *ad* 3), the eternal and the temporal Theotokoi, respectively.

Let us repeat in conclusion that the Supreme Identity is neither merely silent nor merely vocal, but literally a no-what that is at the same time indefinable and partially defined, an unspoken and a spoken word.

THE TANTRIC DOCTRINE OF DIVINE BIUNITY

The Tantric Doctrine of Divine Biunity

You say, then, Trismegistus, that God is of both sexes?

Hermes, *Asclepius*, III.21

All tradition speaks in the last analysis of God as an inconnumerable and perfectly simple Identity, but also of this Supreme Identity as an identity of two contrasted principles, distinguishable in all composite things, but coincident without composition in the One who is no thing. The Identity is of Essence and Nature, Being and Nonbeing, God and Godhead—as it were, masculine and feminine. *Natura naturans, Creatrix universalis est Deus.*[1] On the other hand, a division of Essence from Nature, Heaven from Earth, subject from object, is a *sine qua non* of the existence of composite things, all of which are, but in different and particular ways. Nature then 'recedes from likeness to God, yet even insofar as it has being in this wise, it retains a certain likeness to the divine being' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.14.11 *ad* 3). Henceforth Essence is the Creator and active power, Nature the means of creation and passive recipient of form—'Nature as being that by which the generator generates' (Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, I.18). Of which the relation of man to woman is a likeness: the relation of marriage is a sacrament and rite because an adequate symbol and reflection of the identification of Essence and Nature *in divinis*.

The notion of a bisexual polarity in Deity suggested above has sometimes been regarded as peculiarity of the mediaeval Hindu and Buddhist Tantric systems of India, in which it is so clearly enunciated and made the basis of a visual and ritual symbolism:[2] and especially so regarded by those who disparage the use of any sexual symbolism and are therefore unwilling to recognize it elsewhere. Within the limits of the present article it would be

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[1] *Sum. Theol.*, Turin edition, 1932 ('*nihil obstat*'), *Lexikon* by J.M. Mellinio, p. 22: cf. references to the text, J.M. Mellinio, *Index Rerum*, s.v. Natura, item 7, *natura dicitur dupliciter*, etc. Throughout the present article, 'Nature' stands for *Natura naturans*.

[2] To what extent 'Tantrism' and 'Śāktism' are to be identified has been discussed by Glasenapp in *OZ*, XII (1936), 120-33, where it is concluded that 'a starting point for the *Śākta* doctrines is given in the philosophy of 'Speech' (*vāc*) of the Mantra-Śāstras'. See also the same author's 'Die Entstehung des Vajrayāna', *ZDMG*, XC (1936), 546-72; Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*, Paris and Bucharest, 1936; S.K. Das, *Śakti or Divine Power*, Calcutta, 1934; Coomaraswamy, '*Parāvṛtti* = Transformation, Regeneration, Anagogy', 1933, and 'A Note on the Aśvamedha', 1936.

impossible to demonstrate the veritable universality of the doctrine of a divine biunity; we shall not, for example, attempt to discuss the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, and shall merely allude to the Gnostic syzygies. What we propose to show as briefly as possible is that a symbolism of this sort permeates not only the older Indian tradition, of which the later Tantrism is, in fact, a perfectly orthodox adaptation, but also the Christian ontology from first to last.

In the Vedic tradition, the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam*) is 'at the same time spirant and despirated' (*ānīd avātam*, *ṚV*, X. 129.2), 'Being and Nonbeing[3] (*sad-asat*) in the uttermost Empyrean, in the womb of the Infinite' (*ṚV*, X.5.7). In the same way in *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.1-2, the supralogical Brahman is 'Being and Nonbeing . . . Intellect and voice' (*sad-asat . . . vāg-manas*). The coincidence of the proximate and ultimate (*apara* and *para*) Brahman in the Upaniṣads is that of Mitrāvaruṇau in the Vedas. The Supreme Identity is equally bipolar whether one thinks of 'It' as masculine or feminine: so one asks with respect to the Magna Mater, Natura Naturans Creatrix, the Infinite (*virāj, aditi*), 'Who knoweth Her progenitive duality?' (*mithunatvam, AV*, VIII.9.10); and conversely, 'He (Brahman) is a womb' (*yoniś cahi gīyate, BS*, I.4.7.27). But if the conjoint principles are considered in their reciprocity, it is the manifested God that is the masculine and unmanifested Godhead that is the feminine power, as being the inexhaustible reservoir of all possibility, including that of manifestation: it is, then, Mitra that inseminates Varuṇa (*PB*, XXV.10.10), Kṛṣṇa who 'deposits the embryo in the Great Brahman, my womb . . . mine ultimate Nature (*para prakṛti*), the womb of all existence' (*BG*, XIV.3 and VII.5,6), and 'Into the womb of the Infinite that Soma puts the embryo' (*ṚV*, IX.74.5), in accordance with *ṚV*, X.121.7, 'Waters wherein was laid the universal embryo', namely, the 'Golden Germ', Hiraṇyagarbha.

Intellect and Voice (*manas* and *vāc*) are One *ab intra*: 'The voice is verily Brahman in the uttermost Empyrean' (*TS*, VII.18e). But 'This Brahman is Silence' (Śaṅkarācārya on *BS*, III.2.17). Just as the incantation (*brahman*) is there inaudibly the Brahman, so is the Voice unvoiced; the Intellect is there 'de-mented' of itself, the Voice unuttered.[4] It is only when these two are divided, when heaven and earth are pillared apart by the axis of the universe (*skambha*, σταυρός), that Intellect and Voice become the 'poles of the Vedas' (*vedasya āṇī, AĀ*, II.7), respectively celestial and chthonic, then only that Being and Nonbeing take on an ethical qualification as of Life and Death,

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[3] 'Nonbeing' must not be understood to mean a nothingness: Nonbeing is predicated of the Infinite *qua* 'non-Ens', not *quia* 'non-est'; i.e. negatively, but not by way of privation. Cf. G. de Mengel, 'La Notion de l'absolu dans diverses formes de la tradition', *Le Voile d'Isis* (June 1929).

[4] *ṚV*, X.27.1, 'Beyond this here, assuredly, there is another sound' (*śrava id ena paro anyad asti*); Plotinus, *Enneads*, I.6.3, 'Harmonies unheard create the harmonies we hear and wake the soul to the one essence in another nature'—which is the essential function alike of the Vedic and Christian liturgies.

See also *MU*, VI.34, 'The mind must be brought to a stop (*mano nirddhavyam*)', with many parallels, Brahmanical and Buddhist; and Meister Eckhart, 'The mind must be de-mented. . . . None may attain be he not stripped of all mental matter.'

Good and Evil, divided from one another as the hither from the farther shore by the width of the universe: it is from a position here below that one prays, 'Lead us from Nonbeing to Being, Darkness to Light' (*BU*, I.3.28). Nonbeing then acquires, indeed, the value *non Est*, inasmuch as it refers to all things under the Sun, of which Augustine says that as compared to God 'nec pulchra sunt nec bona sunt nec sunt' (*Confessions,* XI.4):[5] the creation and cosmic crucifixion are not merely the necessary means of redemption, but also the very antithesis of the last end, which must be the same as the first beginning. Accordingly, as *ṚV*, X.24.5 expresses it, 'When the conjoint pair were parted, the Devas moaned, and cried "Let them be wed again" '; and hence the enactment of the marriage in ritual, symbolic of the reunion of Indra and Indrāṇī in the heart, so poignantly described in the analogy of human union in *ŚB*, X.5.2.11-15.

Let us consider now one of the many texts describing the divine procession from interior to exterior operation. In *PB*, VII.6.1-6, 'Prajāpati,[6] being One and desiring to be Many, with Intellect looked upon the Silence: what was in Intellect, became the "Great". He perceived, "This embryo of Myself is hidden within Me: I shall bring it to birth by means of the Voice".[7] He separated off the Voice: She went the way of the Vehicle of Passing-over, so-called because it swiftly "bringeth over". Thence the "Great" was duly born: of which Prajāpati spake that "This is the greatness of the Great, that it was so long a time within". The "Great" was unto Prajāpati even as his eldest Son.'

The Son is thus already in the undivided unity of the conjoint principles the Father's image in himself, *per verbum in intellectu conceptum*;[8] and this conception is Eckhart's 'act of fecundation latent in eternity'. Prajāpati's 'contemplation of the Silence' is unmistakably a vital operation; the wording *tūṣṇīṁ manasā dhyāyat* closely corresponds to that of *ṚV*, X.71.2, *manasā vācam akrata*, 'had intercourse by Intellect with the Voice', and *ŚB*, VI.1.2.9, *sa manasaiva vācaṁ mithunaṁ samabhavat, sa garbhy abhavat*, 'He had intercourse by Intellect with Voice, He became pregnant.' That Prajāpati divides the Voice from himself (which Voice had been his 'Silence'), *vācaṁ vyasṛjata*, corresponds to *BU*, VI.4.2, 'He separated the Woman', *striyam asṛjata*—'This Voice is indeed a maiden', *yoṣā vā'yaṁ vāk*, *ŚB*, III.2.1.19—and to St. Augustine's 'I made myself a Mother of whom to be born' (*Contra V, Haereses* 5). It is precisely because the Father *himself* takes birth through the Mother that there is a coessentiality of the Son with the Father, as in *AB*, VII.13: 'Becoming an embryo, he enters the wife, the mother, and being renewed, is born again (*punar . . . jāyate*)'. There is a delegation and transmission of the universal Nature in the *genealogia regni Dei* just as there is of a particular human nature in a dynastic succession of functional types; it may be added that a 'rebirth' in this sense—'the doer aright is ordinately born in his children', *ṚV*, VI.70.3; 'my children are my coming to be again', *JUB*, III.27.17; 'that he has engendered is his going on again', *CU*, III.17.3—constitutes all that is, properly speaking, the Indian doctrine of the reincarnation of the individual, as distinguished from that of the transmigration of the Spiritual Person who, when the body dies, 'hurries again to a womb', *BU*, IV.3.36—reincarnation and transmigration coinciding only *in divinis*. The separated Voice now assumes a vehicular function, that of the liturgy in its verbal aspect, the Ṛc, elsewhere identified with this world and the Earth. The 'Great' (*bṛhat*, implying an indefinite extension in time and space), at first contained as an embryo (*garbha*) within the Unity and now transferred by vital operation to the Mother, in whom it waxes, and of whom it is born, is primarily Agni, the visible and audible Prajāpati,[9] considered here in a liturgical aspect: 'He is born from the Titan's loins and shines in the Mother's lap' (*ṚV*, III.29.14), the altar-womb of Mother Earth.[10] That the 'Great' is said to have lain 'great while

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[5] Augustine continues, making a distinction of two kinds of knowledge, empirical and absolute, analogous to the Indian *avidyā* and *vidyā*—'Scientia nostra sciėntiae tuae comparata ignorantia est'. For the unreality of things as they are in themselves, cf. *Acts, of Peter,* XXXIX, 'there is naught else that is save Thee only'.

[6] The implications of the name 'Prajāpati' and of the designation of 'creatures' as *prajā*, literally 'progeny', are the same as those of Acts, 17:28, 'We are the offspring of God'.

[7] 'What was engendered had been life in Him' (John, 1:4, from the Greek and according to the traditional punctuation). That the Vulgate renders ὅ γέγονε by *quod factum est* abstracts from the original meaning the sense of vital operation. Notwithstanding that to generate and to make are the same *in divinis,* the words themselves are not synonymous, inasmuch as they consider the same thing under different aspects. The Latin version suggests what de Gaigneron has called an effort to '"dénaturer", pour ne pas scandaliser'. The Nicaean Council, however, maintained that the Son was 'begotten, not made', and we find accordingly in the credo *genitum non factum, γενηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα.*

[8] Said by St. Thomas with reference to the artist's operation in the likeness of divine creation; the mental concept of the work to be done is literally the artist's child. A similar application occurs in the Indian texts, for example, *ŚB*, III.2.4.11, 'Intellect prevents the Voice... were it not for the Intellect, the Voice would speak incoherently'; *ŚB*, IV.6.7.10, 'The Voice speaks not but what is contemplated by Intellect'; *TS*, II.5.11.5, 'What he contemplates by Intellect (*yad dhi manasā dhyāyati*), that he utters by the Voice'; cf. *ṚV*, I.20.2, where the Ṛbhus, the artists of the gods, 'wrought by

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conjoining Intellect with Voice' (*vacoyujā tatakṣur manasā*, where *takṣ* has the sense of working like a carpenter with an axe on wood, in this case that wood of which the world is made). The work of art is always the embodiment of a *conception*. See Coomaraswamy, 'The Vedic Doctrine of "Silence"' [in the present volume—Ed.].

[9] Agni (or Indra, Sūrya, or Soma) is as much the 'Great Liturgy' (*bṛhad uktha*) as, literally, a fire. Cf. *ṚV*, V.87.1, where the hymns are described as 'born of the Voice' (*vāci-niṣpannā*). We have discussed elsewhere the identity *in divinis* of sound and light. The son is as much a resonance as luminous and calorific. The Son of God is an utterance; 'In the beginning, this world was unuttered' (*MU*, VI.6).

[10] In Christian nativities of the Byzantine type, where there is a broken cave in place of the later and more familiar ruined stable (the significance of both is the same in the last analysis, as is also the case in the Vedic tradition, where the creative act involves the breaking open of a cave which is also a stable of cattle), it is made as clear as possible that the Theotokos is the Earth, Gaia. It is, moreover, with perfect accuracy that Wolfram von Eschenbach sings, 'the earth was Adam's mother . . . yet still was the Earth

within' (*jyog antar*) is a form of expression characteristic for Agni, as in *ṚV*, X.124.1, 'a great while hast Thou lain in the long darkness' (*jyog eva dīrghaṁ tama āśayiṣṭāḥ*), and for his cognate Dīrghaśravas as in *PB*, XV.3.25, where the 'Far-cry' 'was long in exile and in want of food' (*jyog aparuddho'śanāyan* [not yet come 'eating and drinking']).The worlds are ever impatient for the birth and coming forth by day: 'When shall the Child be born?' *ṚV*, X.95.12.

Another and very informative text is that of *BU*, I.4.1-4. Here the account of the creation begins with the Spirit (*ātman*) 'alone in the aspect of Person (*puruṣa*)'. This person in the beginning 'was of such sort as are a man and a woman closely embraced (*etāvān āsa yathā strī-pumāṁsau sampariṣvaktau*). He desired a second. He caused that Spiritual-Self of his to fall atwain (*ātmānaṁ dvedhāpatayat*).[11] Thence came into being 'husband and wife'. . . . He had intercourse with Her: thence were human beings engendered (*manuṣyā ajāyanta*)'. In the same way He and She assuming other than human forms begat their like in these animal types.[12]

Thus once more the One becomes Many by an act of generation. Again, the converse operation by which the conceptually separated self is re-united to the ever undivided Self or Spiritual Essence is a 'deification' described as a marriage: 'This is that form of his that is beyond the meters,[13] that hath smitten away all evil, and that hath no fear. It is as when one is closely embraced (*sampariṣvaktaḥ*, corresponding to *sampariṣvaktaḥ*, above) by a darling bride and knows naught of a within nor a without, even so that the (spiritual) Person (of a man) embraced by the prognostic Spirit (*prajñātmanā*)[14] knows naught of a within nor a without. That is his true form, in which his desire is obtained, the Spirit is the whole of his desire, he has no unfulfilled desire, nor any grief' (*BU*, IV.3.21).

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a maid. . . . Two men have been born of maidens, and God hath the likeness ta'en of the son of the first Earth-maiden . . . since He willed to be son of Adam' (*Parzifal*, I, IX.549ff.).

[11] As in *ṚV*, X.27.23, 'In the dwelling of the gods had been the first; from their diremption sprang the latter'.

[12] *ṚV*, I.179.2, *nu patnīr vṛṣabhir jagamyuḥ*; X.5.2, *vṛṣaṇo saṁjagmire . . . arvatībhiḥ*. 'Our original nature was by no means the same as it is now. . . . For 'man-woman' (*ἀνδρόγυνον*) was then a unity in form no less than name', *Symposium* 189E.

[13] *Aticchandā*, usually rendered as 'beyond desires', but we think it means, rather, 'beyond the meters', which are means by which he is approached.

[14] *Prajñātman*, the fore-knowing and all-knowing spirit, whose 'true form', transcending all distinction of subject and object, is a 'unitary condensation of prior gnosis' (*ekībhūta prajñānaghana, Māṇḍ. Up.*, 5; *kṛtsna prajñāna-ghana, BU*, IV.5.13), i.e. a single totality of knowledge not derived from any source external to itself—'the One Word of the Ineffable which is the Gnosis of the Whole' (*Pistis Sophia*, codex Askew, ed. Petermann, p. 233). *Prajñā* is etymologically and semantically the equivalent of the Gnostic prognosis (πρόγνωσις), spoken of in the *Apocryphon of John* as belonging to the male-female Pentad of the Aeons of the Father, and as having been the first gift bestowed by the Invisible One upon the First Man, the Virginal Spirit, the Image of Himself (cited from Schmidt, in Charlotte A. Baynes, *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 8, 9).

It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the whole ontology of the Vedic tradition, alike in the Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, is expressed rather typically than incidentally in terms of sexual symbolism. We have not by any means exhausted the material, some of which is far more outspoken than are the texts that have been discussed; but we think that enough has been said to demonstrate the perfect orthodoxy of the Tantras in these respects. It remains to consider the divine polarity and bisexuality in Christian scripture and exegesis.

The problem is directly suggested by the doctrine of the two-fold, temporal and eternal, birth of the Son of God. Let us remember that it is impossible to think of these as having been two different events in the divine life, which is intrinsically uneventful. Indeed, as St. Thomas says himself, 'On the part of the child there is but one filiation in reality, although there be two in aspect' (*Sum. Theol.*, III.35.5 *ad* 3). All this suggests that there must have been an eternal as well as a temporal Madonna.[15] And that is clearly what is implied by Meister Eckhart: 'His birth in Mary ghostly was to God better pleasing than his nativity of her in the flesh' (Evans ed., I.418). If St. Thomas says that 'eternal filiation does not depend on a temporal Mother' (*Sum. Theol.*, III.35.5 *ad* 2), are we not entitled to add, 'but on an eternal Mother'? Who then is Eckhart's 'Mary ghostly' but 'that divine Nature by which the Father begets' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.45.5.6), Natura naturans, Creatrix?

In case it should seem that we are forcing the sense of St. Thomas, let us consider the Thomist doctrine of the divine procession. 'The procession of the Word *in divinis* is called a generation.[16] . . . Generation means the origin of any living thing from a living conjoint principle (*a principio vivente conjuncto*); and this is rightly called "nativity" . . . So, then, the procession of the Word *in divinis* is of the nature of a generation. For it proceeds in the manner of an intelligible act, which is a vital operation (*operatio vitae*). . . . Therefore is He rightly called begotten, and Son. Hence also that these things which belong to the generation of living things are used in Scripture to denote the procession of the divine Wisdom; that is to say, by way of conception and birth (*conceptione et partu*); for, as it has been said of the person of the Divine Wisdom, "When there were no depths, I was brought forth (*concepta*). Before the hills was I brought forth (*parturiebar*)" ' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.27.2c and *ad* 2, citing Prov. 8:24, 25).

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[15] [On the two Aphrodites, one *Οὐράνια*, the elder daughter of Heaven (*Οὐρανός*), the other, the younger, daughter of Zeus and Dione, called *Πάνδημος* (=Vaiśvānara), cf. *Symposium* 180D.]

[16] It may be remarked that it is a cardinal doctrine of Christianity that there is no potentiality or passivity in God, who is all in act. On the other hand, while for St. Thomas 'The power of generation belongs to God' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.41.5, and as must also be assumed from the general use of *γίγομαι* side by side with *ποιέω* in the Greek New Testament), he says also that 'In every act of generation there is an active and a passive principle' (*Sum. Theol*, I.98.2c). A reconciliation can be effected if we consider that the conjoint principles *in divinis* are not two separate beings; just as in the case of the Three Persons, of whom there can be predicated characteristic functions without impugning their co-essentiality. There is no *unrealized* potentiality in God; at the same time His inexhaustible potentiality remains intact without diminution: as in *BU*, V.1, 'When plenum is taken from plenum, plenum remains'. The conjoint principles *in divinis* are those of a static essence (*bhūtatā*) and dynamic Power (*śakti*) [Eckhart, Evans ed., p. 276, 'Essence, so far as it is *active* in the Father, is Nature'; cf. Hermes, *Asclepius*, III.21]; when these are actually divided, static and dynamic become active and passive, and this is one of those senses in which it can be said that 'Nature recedes from likeness to God', inasmuch as She becomes the *recipient* of form; and then it can be said, with Dante, 'cima nel mondo, in che puro atoo fu produtto. Pura potenza tenne la parte ima' (*Paradiso*, XXIX.32-4), 'Summit of the world, where pure act came into being; pure potentiality was in the nether part'. [On *Mathnawī*, I.2437, 'She is a ray of God, she is not your darling: she is creative, you might say she is not

The whole of Proverbs 8 recalls *ṚV*, X.125. Compare, for instance, 'Unto you, O men, I call. . . . Hear; for I will speak of excellent things; and the opening of my lips shall be right things. . . . I am understanding; I have strength. By me kings reign . . . I love them that love me. . . . The lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. . . . When he prepared the heavens I was there. . . . I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him, rejoicing in the habitable parts of his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men. . . . All they that hate me love death', with 'I wend with the Rudras, Vasus, Ādityas, and several Angels; I am the support of Mitrāvaruṇau, Indrāgnī, and the paired Aśvins. . . . I am the Queen, in whom all goods are garnered, most knowledgeable. . . . Through me all eat the bread of life, whoever sees, or breathes, or hears; though unawares, all these abide in me. Hear ye my faithful saying. I, none but I, utter what is most pleasant, both to men and angels: him whom I love I make an Awful-power, Brahman, or prophet, or Comprehensor. . . . I that am the matrix in the Waters and the Sea, bring forth the father, (i.e. as the Son) when I originate, being his head. . . . My breath it is, forsooth, that blows the Gale, whenas I take in hand the several worlds to fashion them: so far my sway, I do insist beyond these heaven and this wide earth.' In the first of these citations it is Sophia, and in the second Vāc that speaks.[17]

It is sufficiently clear from the text of St. Thomas quoted above that his 'conjoint principle' *in divinis* corresponds to the notions of Essence and Nature ('that nature by which the Father begets', *Sum. Theol.*, I.41.5c); and that he identifies this Nature with the 'Wisdom' of Proverbs, Dante's Sophia, whom he (Dante) calls 'the bride of the Emperor of Heaven, and not bride alone, but sister and most beloved daughter', and of whom he says that 'She

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created', Wali Muhammad in his *Sharh-i-Mathnawī* (Lucknow, 1894), p. 156, comments: 'for the attributes, *agens* and *patiens*, belong to the essence of the Creator and both are manifested in woman'. Note also *ṚV*, III.31.2, *anyaḥ kartā . . . anya ṛndhan*.]

[17] [Cf. *CU*, VI.1.4, *vācā ārambhaṇa*, only cause of the variety of appearances; on Hokhmah (= Sophia) as God's 'wife' or 'daughter', cf. D. Nielsen, 'Die altsemitische Muttergötten', *ZDMG*, XCII (1938), 550.]

exists in him in true and perfect fashion as if eternally wedded to him' (*Convito,* III.12).[18]

A greater authority can be cited in Gen., 1:25, 26, 'And God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness. . . . so God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them'.[19] The likeness is exemplary. The created form of humanity is not that of this man as distinguished from that of this woman, but that of their common humanity: 'He called *their* name Adam', Gen., 5:2. This Man (Adam) is, in fact, a syzygy, until the Deity brings forth the woman out of him, that he may not be alone:[20] 'She shall be called Woman because she was taken out of Man', Gen., 2:23.[21] 'In this likeness', then, could never have been said had there not already been an archetype of this polarity in God—that is to say, of course, *in principle,* for we are not speaking of a composition *in divinis.*[22] The Christian doctrine, moreover, like the Indian, envisages an ultimate re-union of the divided principles, there where 'there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one [Skr. *ekī-bhūta*] in Christ Jesus' (Gal., 3:28).[23] That is where it is no longer a question of this man or that woman, but only of that Universal Man of whom Boehme says that 'this champion or lion is no man or woman, but he is both' (*Signatura Rerum,* XI.43).

If it be objected, finally, that all this sexual phraseology is a sort of rhetoric and not to be taken literally, we say that while it is not a matter of rhetoric in any 'literary' sense, it is a matter of analogy and symbolism: as is explicit in both passages from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* cited above, it is not a question of a man and a woman in fact, nor of any existence, but of the form of being which is 'as if it were (*yathā*) that of a man and woman closely embraced'. Our whole intention has been to indicate that an adequate symbolism of this sort has been universally employed in the unanimous and orthodox tradition and, more specifically, within the limits of the present article, to show in what like manner it has been employed in the Hindu and Christian forms of the transmitted revelation.

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[18] Whom also Dante addresses as 'Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son' (*Paradiso,* XXXIII.1) a similarly 'incestuous' confusion of relationships is met with in the Indian, and even also the Islamic formulations (cf. Coomaraswamy, 'The Darker Side of Dawn', 1935, p. 5, and *A New Approach to the Vedas,* 1933, p. 3 and nn. 9 and 10); in other words, the polarity of the conjoint principles is not merely analogous to that of male and female in one particular and marital relation, but in all possible reciprocal relations.

[19] On this passage see the Commentary in the *Zohar,* I, 90-2, 'the Father said to the Mother by means of the Word' and 'the Man of emanation was both male and female, from the side of both Father and Mother'.

[20] Observe the parallel in *BU,* I.4, where Prajāpati divides himself, desiring a second, because 'for one who is alone there is no delight'. Another parallel that may be noted appears in connection with the Biblical description of Eve as having been made from Adam's rib (Gen., 2:21-2), just as in *ṚV,* X.85.23 the daughter of Manu is called the 'rib' (*parśu*), 'through whom (under the name of Iḍā or Iḷā) he generated this race of men' (*ŚB,* 1.8.1.10). This Iḷā is also a name of the mother of Agni (*ṚV,* III.29).

[21] 'All living creatures, having been till then bisexual, were parted asunder, and man with the rest; and so there came to be males on the one part, and likewise females on the other part' (Hermes, *Lib.,* I.18).

[22] Cf. the *Apocalypse of John* (cited by Baynes, tr., *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise,* p. 14), 'The Three, the Father, the Mother, and the Son, the perfect power'; and *ŚĀ,* VII.15, 'All that is declared to be One. For the Mother and the Father and the Child are this all.'

[23] [Gal., 3:28 is cited by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.,* I.93.6 *ad* 2, in illustration of his own statement, 'the image of God belongs to both sexes, since it is in the mind, wherein is no sexual distinction'; *Omne quod generatur, generatur ex contrario, Sum. Theol.,* I.46.1 *ad* 3.]

KHA AND OTHER WORDS DENOTING 'ZERO', IN CONNECTION WITH THE INDIAN METAPHYSICS OF SPACE

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Kha, cf. Greek χᾶος, is generally 'cavity'; and in the *Ṛgveda*, particularly 'the hole in the nave of a wheel through which the axle runs' (Monier-Williams). A.N. Singh has shown conclusively that in Indian mathematical usage, current during the earlier centuries of the Christian era, *kha* means 'zero';[1] Sūryadeva, commenting on Āryabhaṭa, says that 'the *khas* refer to voids (*khāni śūnyā upa lakṣitāni*) . . . thus *khadvinake* means the eighteen places denoted by zeros'. Among other words denoting zero are *śūnya, ākāśa, vyoma, antarikṣa, nabha, ananta,* and *pūrṇa.*[2] We are immediately struck by the fact that the words *śūnya*, 'void', and *pūrṇa*, 'plenum', should have a common reference; the implication being that all numbers are virtually or potentially present in that which is without number; expressing this as an equation, $0 = x - x$, it is apparent that zero is to number as possibility is to actuality. Again, employment of the term *ananta* with the same reference implies an identification of zero with infinity; the beginning of all series being thus the same as their end. This last idea, we may observe, is met with already in the earlier metaphysical literature, for example *ṚV*, IV.1.11, where Agni is described as 'hiding both his ends (*guhamāno antā*)'; *AB*, III.43, 'the Agniṣṭoma is like a chariot wheel, endless (*ananta*)'; *JUB*, I.35, 'the Year is endless (*ananta*), its two ends (*antā*) are Winter and Spring . . . so is the endless chant (*anantaṁ sāman*)'. These citations suggest that it may be possible to account for the later mathematicians' selection of technical terms by reference to an earlier usage of the same or like terms in a purely metaphysical context.

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[1] *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society,* VII, 44-5, 62.

[2] It may as well be pointed out here that although 'the decimal notation must have been in existence and in common use among the mathematicians long before the idea of applying the place-value principle to a system of word names could have been conceived' (ibid., p. 61), and although a decimal scale has actually been found at Mohenjo-Daro (E.J.H. Mackay, 'Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts,* LXXXII, 1934, 222) it is by no means the intention of the present article to present an argument for a *Ṛgvedic* knowledge of either the decimal system or the concept of 'zero' as such. Our purpose is merely to exhibit the metaphysical and ontological implications of the terms which were later on actually used by Āryabhaṭa and Bhāskara, etc., to designate 'zero', 'one', and some higher numbers.

Our intention being to demonstrate the native connection of the mathematical terms *kha*, etc., with the same terms as employed in purely metaphysical contexts, it will be necessary to prepare the diagram of a circle or cosmic wheel (*cakra, maṇḍala*) and to point out the significance of the relationships of the parts of such a diagram according to universal tradition and more particularly in accordance with the formulation of the *Ṛgveda.* Take a piece of blank paper of any dimensions, mark a point anywhere upon it, and with this point as centre draw two concentric circles of any radii, but one much less than the other; draw any radius from the centre to the outer circumference. With exception of the centre, which as a point is necessarily without dimension, note that every part of our diagram is merely representative; that is, the number of circles may be indefinitely increased, and the number of radii likewise, each circle thus filled up becoming at last a plane continuum, the extended ground of any given world or state of being; for our purpose we are considering only two such worlds—mythologically speaking, Heaven and Earth, or psychologically, the worlds of subject and object—as forming together the world or cosmos, typical of any particularized world which may be thought of as partial within it. Finally, our diagram may be thought of either as consisting of two concentric circles with their common radii and one common centre, or as the diagram of a wheel, with its felly, nave, spokes, and axle-point.

Now in the first place, as a geometrical symbol, that is to say with respect to measure or numeration, our diagram represents the logical relationships of the concepts naught or zero, inconnumerable unity, and indefinite multiplicity; the blank (*śūnya*) surface having no numerical significance; the central point (*indu, bindu*) being an inconnumerable unity (inconnumerable, *advaita*, because there cannot be conceived a second centre); and either circumference an endless (*ananta*) series of points, which may be thought of as numbers; the totality (*sarvam*) of the numbered, that is to say individual, points representing the sum of a mathematically infinite series extending from one to 'infinity', and conceivable as plus or minus according to the direction of procedure. The whole area (*śarīra*) delimited corresponds to place (*deśa*), a revolution of the circles about their centre corresponds to time (*kāla*). It will be observed further that any radius connects analogous or corresponding points or numbers on the two circumferences;[3] if, now, we suppose the radius of one or both circles indefinitely reduced, which brings us to the central point as limiting concept (that is also 'as it was in the beginning'), it is evident that even this point can be thought of only as a plenum of all the numbers represented on either circumference.[4] On the other hand, this point, at the same time that it represents an inconnumerable unity and, as we have seen, a plenum, must also be thought of as representing, that is, as the symbol of, zero, for two reasons: (1) inasmuch as the concept to which it refers is by definition without place and without dimensions, and therefore nonexistent, and (2) the mathematically infinite series, thought of as both plus and minus according to direction, cancel out where all directions meet in common focus.

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[3] The familiar principle 'as above, so below' is illustrated here.

[4] The notion of exemplarism is expressed here, with respect to number or mathematical individuality.

So far as I know, Indian literature does not provide a specifically geometrical exegesis exactly corresponding to what is given in the preceding paragraph. What we do find in the metaphysical and religious traditions is a corresponding usage of the symbol of the Wheel (primarily the solar chariot, or a wheel thereof), and it is in this connection that we first meet with some of the most significant of those terms which are later on employed by the mathematicians. In *ṚV,* I.155.6 and I.164.2, 11, 13, 14, 48; *AV,* X. 8.4-7; *KB,* XX.1; *JUB,* I.35; *BU,* I.5.15; *Śvet. Up.*, I.4; *Praśna Up.*, VI. 5-6 and like texts, the Year as an everlasting sequence is thought of as an unwasting wheel of life, a revolving wheel of the Angels, in which all things have their being and are manifested in succession; 'none of its spokes is last in order' (*ṚV,* V.85.5). The parts of the wheel are named as follows: *āṇi,* the axle-point within the nave (note that the axle causes revolution, but does not itself revolve); *kha, nābhi* the nave (usually as space within the hub, occasionally as the hub itself); *ara,* spoke, connecting hub and felly; *nemi, pavi,* the felly. It should be observed that *nābhi,* from √*nabh,* to expand, is also 'navel'; similarly in anthropomorphic formulation, 'navel' corresponds to 'space' (*MU,* VI.6); in the *Ṛgveda,* the cosmos is constantly thought of as 'expanded' (√*pin*) from this chthonic centre.

Certain passages indicating the metaphysical significance of the terms *āṇi, kha,* and *nābhi* in the *Ṛgveda* may now be cited. It should be premised that we find here in connection with the constant use of the wheel symbol, and absence of a purely geometrical formulation, the term *āṇi* employed to express ideas later on referred to by the words *indu* or *bindu.*[5] Vedic *āṇi,* being the axle-point within the nave of the wheel, and on which the wheel revolves, corresponds exactly to Dante's 'il punta dello stelo al cui la prima rota va dintorno' (*Paradiso,* XIII.11-12). The metaphysical significance of the *āṇi* is fully brought out in *ṚV,* I.35.6, *āṇiṁ na rathyam amṛtā adhi tasthuḥ,* 'as on the axle-point of the chariot wheel are actually existent the undying [Angels or intellectual principles]', which also supplies the answer to the well-known problem, 'How many Angels can stand on the point of a needle?' More often the nave of the wheel, rather than the axle-point specifically, is treated as its centre; nor need this confuse us if we reflect that just as under limiting conditions (indefinite reduction of the radius, or when the central point has been identified but the circle not yet drawn) the centre represents the circle, so under similar conditions (metaphysically, *in principio*) the axle-point implies the nave or even the whole wheel—the point without dimension, and a principial space not yet expanded (or as the *Ṛgveda* would express it, 'closed') being the same in reference. The nave then, *kha* or *nābhi*, of the world wheel is regarded as the receptacle and fountain of all order, formative ideas, and goods: for example, II.28.5, *ṛdhyāma te varuṇa khām ṛtasya,* 'may we, O Varuṇa, win thy nave of Law'; VIII.41.6, where in Trita Āptya 'all oracles (*kāvyā*) are set as is the nave within the wheel (*cakre nābhir iva*)'; IV.28, where Indra opens the closed or hidden naves or rocks (*apihitā . . . khāni* in verse 1, *apihitāni aśnā* in verse 5) and thus releases the Seven Rivers of Life.[6] In V.32.1, where Indra breaks open the Fountain of Life (*utsam*), this is again an emptying out of the hollows (*khāni*), whereby the fettered floods are released.

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[5] *Indu* occurs in the *Ṛgveda* as 'drop' in connection with Soma: in *AV,* VII.109.6 as 'point on a die'; and grammatically as the designation of *Anusvāra. PB,* VI.9.19-20 is of interest: *indava iva hi pitaraḥ, mana iva,* i.e., 'the Patriarchs are as it were drops (*indu* in pl.), as it were the intellectual principle'. In *ṚV,* VI.44.22, Indu is evidently Soma; in VII.54.2, Vāstospati.

According to an alternative formulation, all things are thought of as *ante principium* shut up within, and *in principio* as proceeding from, a common ground, rock, or mountain (*budhna, adri, parvata,* etc.): this ground, thought of as resting island-like within the undifferentiated sea of universal possibility (X.89.4, where the waters pour *sāgarasya budhnāt*), is merely another aspect of our axle-point (*āṇi*) regarded as the primary assumption toward which the whole potentiality of existence is focused by the primary acts of intellection and will. This means that *a priori* undimensioned space (*kha, ākāśa,* etc.) underlies and is the mother of the point, rather than that the latter has an independent origin; and this accords with the logical order of thought, which proceeds from potentiality to actuality, nonbeing to being. This ground or point is, in fact, the 'rock of ages' (*aśmany anante,* I.130.3; *adrim . . . acyutam,* VI.17.5). Here *ante principium* Agni lies occulted (*guhā santam,* I.141.3, etc.) as Ahi Budhnya, 'in the ground of space, concealing both his ends' (*budhne rajaso . . . guhamāno antā,* IV.1.11, where it may be noted that *guhamāno antā* is tantamount to *ananta,* literally 'endless', 'in-finite', 'eternal'), hence he is called 'chthonic' (*nābhir agni pṛthivyā,* I.59.2, etc.), and is born in this gound (*jāyata prathamaḥ . . . budhne,* IV.1.11) and stands erect, Janus-like, at the parting of the ways (*ayor ha skambha . . . pathāṁ visarge,* X.5.6); hence he gets his chthonic steeds and other treasures (*aśvabudhnā,* X.8.3; *budhnyā vasūni* VII.6.7). It is only when this rock is cleft that the hidden kine are freed, the waters flow (I.62.3, where Bṛhaspati *bhinad adrim* and *vidad gāḥ;* V.41.12, *śṛṇvanty āpaḥ . . . adreḥ*). This is, moreover, a centre without place, and hence when the Waters have come forth (that is, when the cosmos has come to be) one asks, as in X.111.8, 'where is their beginning (*agram*), where their ground

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[6] The Rivers, of course, represent ensembles of possibility (hence they are often spoken of as 'maternal') with respect to a like number of 'worlds', or planes of being, as in I.22.16, *pṛthivyā sapta dhāmabhiḥ.* Our terms *kha, aśna,* etc., are necessarily employed in the plural when the 'creation' is envisaged with respect to the cosmos not as a single 'world', but as composed of two, three, or seven originally unmanifested but now to be conceptually distinguished 'worlds'; the solar chariot having one, two, three or seven wheels, accordingly. It is perhaps because the chariot of the Year is more often than not thought of as two-wheeled (Heaven and Earth), and therefore provided with two analogous axle-points, that *āṇi* was not later employed as a verbal symbol of 'one'.

(*budhnaḥ*), where now, ye Waters, your innermost centre (*madhyam . . . antaḥ*)?'[7]

Thus metaphysically, in the symbolism of the Wheel, the surface—blank (*śūnya*) in the initial nonbeing (*asat*) of any formulation (*saṁkalpa*)—represents the truly infinite (*aditi*) and maternal possibility of being; the axle-point or nave, exemplary being (*viśvam ekam, ṚV,* III.54.8 = integral omnipresence); the actual construction, a mentally accomplished partition of being into existences; each spoke, the integration of an individual as *nāma-rūpa*, that is, as archetypal inwardly and phenomenal outwardly; the felly, the principle of multiplicity (*viṣamatva*). Or, employing a more theological terminology: the undetermined surface represents the Godhead (*aditi, parabrahman, tamas, āpaḥ*); the axle-point or immovable rock, God (*āditya, aparabrahman, īśvara, jyoti*); the circle of the nave, Heaven (*svarga*); any point on the circumference of the nave, an intellecutal principle (*nāma, deva*); the felly, Earth with its analogous (*anurūpa*) phenomena (*viśva rūpāṇi*); the construction of the wheel, the sacrificial act of creation (*karma,*[8] *sṛṣṭi*), its abstraction, the act of dissolution (*laya*). Furthermore, the course (*gati*) of any individual upon the pathway of a spoke is in the beginning centrifugal (*pravṛtta*) and then again centripetal (*nivṛtta*), until the centre (*madhya*) is found; and when the centre of individual being coincides with the centre of the wheel, he is emancipated (*mukta*), the extension of the wheel no longer involving him in local motion, at the same time that its entire circuit now becomes for him one picture (*jagaccitra*)[9] seen in simultaneity, who as 'round-about-seer', *paridraṣṭṛ*, now 'overlooks everything', *viśvam . . . abhicaṣṭe,* I.164.44.

In order to understand the use of terms for 'space' (*kha, ākāśa, antarikṣa, śūnya*, etc.)[10] as verbal symbols of zero (which represents privation of number, and is yet a matrix of number in the sense $0 = x-x$),[11] it must be realized that *ākāśa*, etc., represent primarily a concept not of physical space, but of a purely principial space without dimension, though the matrix of dimension.[12] For example, 'all these beings arise out of the space (*ākāśād samapadyanta*) and return into the space (*ākāśaṁ pratyastaṁ yanti*). For the space is older than they, prior to them, and is their last resort (*parāyaṇam*)', *CU*, I.9.1; 'space is the name of the permissive cause of individual-integration (*ākāśo vai nāma nāmarūpayor nirvahitā*)', *CU*, VIII.14; and just as Indra 'opens the closed spaces (*apihitā khāni*)', *ṚV*, IV.28.1, so the Self 'awakens this rational [cosmos] from that space (*ākāśāt eṣa khalu idaṁ cetāmātraṁ bodhayati*)', *MU*, VI.17, in other words, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Furthermore, the locus of this 'space' is 'within you': 'what is the intrinsic aspect of expansion is the supernal fiery energy in the vacance of the inner man (*tat svarūpaṁ nabhasaḥ khe antarbhūtasya yat paraṁ tejaḥ*)', *MU*, VII.11;[13] and this same 'space in the heart' (*antarhṛdaya ākāśa*) is the locus (*āyatana, veśma, nīḍa, kośa*, etc.) where are deposited in secret (*guhā nihitam*) all that is ours already or may be ours on any plane (*loka*) of experience (*CU*, VIII.1.1-3). At the same time, in *BU*, V.1, this 'ancient space' (*kha*) is identified with Brahman and with the Spirit (*khaṁ brahma, khaṁ purāṇaṁ, vāyuraṁ kham iti*), and this Brahman is at the same time a plenum or pleroma (*pūrṇa*) such that 'when plenum is taken from plenum, plenum yet remains'.[14]

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[7] *Madhya* is 'middle' in all senses, and also algebraically 'mean'. For the metaphysical values, cf. *ṚV, madhye samudre,* and *utsasya madhye= sindhūnām upodaye,* as the place of Agni or Varuṇa, and in *CU,* III.11.1, *ekata madhye sthāne,* 'single in the midmost station'.

[8] For the construction of the wheel, cf. *ṚV,* VIII.77.3, *akhidat khe arāṇ iva khedayā,* and the discussion in Coomaraswamy, 'Angel and Titan: An Essay in Vedic Ontology', 1935.

[9] Śaṅkarācārya, *Svātmanirūpaṇa,* 95.

[10] *Śūnya* does not appear in *ṚV,* though *śūnam* occurs in the sense of 'privation', ṚV, III.33.13.

[11] Observe that the dual series of plus and minus numbers represents 'pairs of opposites', *dvandvau.*

[12] C. A. Scharbrau, 'Transzendenter Raum der Ewigkeit ist der Ākāśa vor allem auch da, wo er als Ausgangspunkt, als Schöpfungsgrund und als Ziel, als A und O der Welt angeschaut wird', *Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1932), p. 56; 'size which has no size, though the principle of size', Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I, 114.

Here we get precisely that equivalence of *kha* and *pūrṇa*, void and plenum, which was remarked upon as noteworthy in the verbal notation of the mathematicians. The thought, moreover, is almost literally repeated when Bhāskara in the *Bījagaṇita*[15] defines the term *ananta* thus: *ayam ananto rāśiḥ khahara ity ucyate. Asmin vikāraḥ khahare na rāśāvapi praviṣṭeṣvapi niḥsṛteṣu bahuṣvapi syāl layasṛṣṭikāle 'nante 'cyute bhūtagaṇeṣu yadvat*, that is, 'This fraction of which the denominator is zero, is called an infinite quantity. In this quantity consisting of that which has cipher for its divisor, there is no alteration, though many be added or subtracted; just as there is no alteration in the Infinite Immovable (*anante acyute*)[16] at the time of the emanation or resolution of worlds, though hosts of beings are emanated or withdrawn.'

It may be observed further that while in the *Ṛgveda* we 'do not find the use of names of things to denote numbers, we do find instances of numbers Denoting things'.[17] In VII.103.1, for example, the number 'twelve' denotes the 'year'; in X.71.3, 'seven' stands for 'rivers of life' or 'states of being'. It is thus merely a converse usage of words when the mathematicians make use of the names of things to denote numbers; to take the most obvious examples, it is just what should be expected, when we find that 1 is expressed by such words as *ādi, indu, abja, pṛthvī*; 2 by such as *yama, aśvinā*; 3 by such as *agni, vaiśvānara, haranetra, bhuvana*; 4 by *veda, diś, yuga, samudra*, etc.; 5 by *prāṇa*; 6 by *ṛtu*; and so forth. It is not to be understood, of course, that the number-words are all of Vedic origin; many suggest rather an Epic vocabulary, e.g. *pāṇḍava* for 5, while others, such as *netra* for 2, have an obvious and secular source. In certain cases an ambiguity arises, for example, *loka* as representing either 3 or 14, *diś* as representing 4 or 10, but this can be readily understood; in the last-mentioned case, for example, the quarters have been thought of in one and the same cosmology as either four, or if we count up eight quarters and half-quarters, adding the zenith and nadir, as ten. Taken in its entirety as cited by Singh, the numeral vocabulary can hardly antedate the beginning of the Christian era (we find that 10 is represented, among other words, by *avatāra*; and 6 by *rāga*).

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[13] *Nabha*, from √*nabh*, to 'expand', etc., as also in *nābhi*, 'navel' and 'nave'. A secondary sense of *nabh* is 'to destroy'.

[14] This text occurs in almost the same form in *AV*, X.8.29.

[15] Calcutta, 1917, pp. 17-18.

[16] Cf. *aśmany anante* and *adrim acyutam* cited above, with the meaning 'rock of Ages'.

[17] Singh, p. 56 (as cited in Note 1).

If we attempt to account for the forms of the ideograms of numbers in a similar fashion, we shall be on much less certain ground. A few suggestions may nevertheless be made. For example, a picture-writing of the notion 'axle-point' could only have been a 'point', and of the concept 'nave' could only have been a 'round O', and both of these signs are employed at the present-day to indicate 'zero'. The upright line that represents 'one' may be regarded as a pictogram of the axis that penetrates the naves of the dual wheels, and thus at once unites and separates Heaven and Earth. The Devanāgarī and Arabic signs for 'three' correspond to the trident (*triśūla*), which is known to have been from very ancient times a symbol of Agni or Śiva. *A priori* it might be expected that a sign of 'four' should be cruciform, following the notion of extension in the directions of the four airts (*diś*); and in fact we find in Saka script that 'four' is represented by a sign X, and that the Devanāgarī may well be thought of as a cursive form derived from a like prototype. Even if there be sufficient foundation for such suggestions, it is hardly likely that a detailed interpretation of ideograms of numbers above four could now be deduced. We can only say that the foregoing suggestions as to the nature of numerical ideograms rather support than counter the views of those who seek to derive the origins of symbolism, script, and speech from the concept of the circuit of the year.

It is, however, beyond question that many of the verbal symbols—the case of *kha* for 'zero' is conspicuous—used by Indian mathematicians had an earlier currency, that is to say before a development of mathematical science as such, in a more universal, metaphysical context. That a scientific terminology should thus have been formulated on the basis of a metaphysical terminology, and by no means without a full consciousness of what was being done (as the citation from Bhāskara clearly shows), is not only in accordance with all that we know of the natural course of Indian thought, which takes the universal for granted and proceeds to the particular, but also admirably illustrates what from a traditionally orthodox point of view would be regarded as constituting a natural and right relationship of nay special science to the metaphysical background of all sciences. One is reminded of words in the *Encyclical* of Pope Leo XIII, dated 1879, on the 'Restoration of Christian Philosophy': 'Hence, also, the physical sciences, which now are held in so much repute, and everywhere draw to themselves a singular admiration, because of the wonderful discoveries made in them, would not only take no harm from a restoration of the philosophy of the ancients, but would derive great protection from it. For the fruitful exercise and increase of these sciences it is not enough that we consider facts and contemplate Nature. When the facts are well known we must rise higher, and give our thoughts with great care to understanding the nature of corporeal things, as well as to the investigation of the laws which they obey, and of the principles from which spring their order, their unity in variety, and their common likeness in diversity. It is marvellous what power and light and help are given to these investigations by Scholastic philosophy, if it be wisely used . . . there is no contradiction, turly so called, between the certain and proved conclusions of recent physics, and the philosophical principles of the Schools'. These words no means represent a merely Christian apologetic, but rather enunciate a generally valid procedure, in which the theory of the universal acts at the same time with suggestive force and normatively with respect to more specific applications. We may reflect, on the one hand, that the decimal system, with which the concept 'zero' is inseparably connected, was developed by Indian scholars[18] who were very surely, as their own words prove, deeply versed in and dependent upon an older and traditional metaphysical interpretation of the meaning of the world; and on the other, that had it not been for its boasted and long-maintained independence of traditional metaphysics (in which the principles, if not the facts, of relativity are explicit),[19] modern scientific thought might have reached much sooner than has actually been the case a scientifically valid formulation and proof of such characteristic notions as those of an expanding universe and the finity of physical space. What has been outlined above with respect to the special science of mathematics represents a principle no less valid in the case of the arts, as could easily be demonstrated at very great length. For example, what is implied by the statement in *AB,* VI.27, that 'it is in imitation of the angelic works of art that any work of art such as a garment or chariot is made here',[20] is actually to be seen in the hieratic arts of every traditional culture, and in the characteristic motifs of the surviving folk arts everywhere. Or in the case of literature: epic (*Volsunga Saga, Beowulf,* the Cuchullain and Arthurian cycles. *Mahābhārata, Buddhacarita,* etc.) and fairy tale (notably, for example, *Jack and the Beanstalk*) repeat with infinitely varied local colouring the one story of *jātavidyā,* Genesis.[21] The whole point of view can, indeed, be recognized in the Indian classification of traditional literature, in which the treatises (*śāstras*) on auxiliary science such as grammar, astronomy, law,[22] medicine, architecture, etc., are classed as Vedāṅga, 'limbs or powers of the Veda', or as Upaveda, 'accessory with respect to the Veda'; as Guénon expresses it, 'toute science apparaissait ainsi comme un prolongement de la doctrine traditionelle elle-même, comme une de ses applications . . . une connaissance inférieure si l'on veut, mais pourtant encore une véritable connaissance', while, *per contra*, 'Les fausses synthèses, qui s'efforcent de tirer le supérieur de l'inférieur . . . ne peuvent jamais être qu'hypothétiques. . . . En somme, la science, en méconnaissant les principes et en refusant de s'y rattacher, se prive à la fois de la plus haute garantei qu'elle puisse recevoir et de la plus sûre direction qui puisse lui être donnée . . . elle devient douteuse et chancelante . . . ce sont là des caractéres généraux de la pensée proprement moderne; voilà à quel degré d'abaissement intellectual en est arrivé l'Occident, depuis qu'il est sorti des voies qui sont normales au reste de l'humanité'.[23]

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[18] 'The place system of the Babylonians . . . fell on fertile soil only among the Hindus. . . . Algebra, which is distinctly Hindu . . . uses the principle of local value' [M.J. Babb, in *JAOS,* LI, 1931, 52). That the 'Arabic' numerals are ultimately of Indian origin is now generally admitted; what their adoption meant for the development of European science need not be emphasized.

[19] Āryabhaṭa, *Āryabhaṭīya,* IV.9, 'As a man in a boat going forward sees a stationary object moving backward, just so at Laṅkā a man sees the stationary asterisms moving backward'.

[20] See Coomaraswamy, *The Transformation of Nature in Art,* 1934, p. 8 and n. 8.

[21] Cf. Ernest Siecke, *Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels* (Strassburg, 1892); and Alfred Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Berlin, 1929): and X: 'Die Menschheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistessprache'.

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[22] Even the 'Machiavellian' *Arthaśāstra* (1.3) proceeds from the principle *svadharmaḥ svargāya ānantyāya ca, tasya atikrame lokaḥ saṇkarād acchidyeta,* 'vocation leads to heaven and aeviternity; in case of a digression from this norm, the world is brought to ruin by confusion'.

[23] René Guénon, *Orient et Occident* (Paris, 1930), extracts from Ch. 2.

ON THE ONE AND ONLY TRANSMIGRANT

On the One and Only Transmigrant

Man is born once; I have been born many times.
Rūmī

Bei Gotte werden nur die Götter angenommen.
Angelus Silesius

Liberation is for the Gods, *not for men.*
Gebhard-Lestrange

Ātmety evopāsīta, atra hy ete sarva ekaṁ bhavanti.
BU, I.4.7

N'atthi koci satto yo imaṁḥa kāyā aññaṁ kāyam saṅkamati.
Mil., 72, cf. 46

Śaṅkarācārya's dictum, 'Verily, there is no other transmigrant but the Lord' (*satyaṁ, neśvarād anyaḥ saṁsārī, BrSBh,* I.1.5),[1] startling as it may appear to be at first sight, for it denies the reincarnation of individual essences, is amply supported by the older, and even the oldest texts, and is by no means an exclusively Indian doctrine. For it is not an individual soul that Plato means when he says: 'The soul of man is immortal, and at one time comes to an end, which is called dying away, and at another is born again, but never perishes . . . and having been born many times has acquired the knowledge of all and everything';[2] or that Plotinus means when he says: 'There is really nothing strange in that reduction (of all selves) to One; though it may be asked, How can there be only One, the same in many, entering into all, but never itself divided up';[3] or by Hermes who says that 'He who does all these

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[1] Cf. T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* II (Madras, 1914-16), p. 405, 'When Īśvara absorbs in himself, he is known as the Puruṣa, and as Saṁsārī when he has manifested himself'. Cf. n. 66.

[2] *Meno* 81BC, where this is cited as the doctrine of learned priests and priestesses, and is approved by Socrates. Of the same sort is Agni's omniscience as Jātavedas, 'Knower of Births', and the Buddha's, whose *abhiññā* extends to all 'former abodes'. He who is 'where every where and every when is focused' (Dante) cannot but have knowledge of every thing.

[3] Plotinus, IV.9.4.5 (condensed); cf. 1.1, *passim.* In our Self, the spiritual Self of all beings, all these selves and their doings are one simple act of being; hence it is not the separated selves and acts, but rather the Real Agent that one should seek to know (*BU,* 1.4.7, *Kauṣ. Up.*, III.8, Hermes, *Lib.* XI.2.12A). 'Thou hast seen the kettles of thought a-boiling; consider also the fire!' (*Mathnawī,* V.2902).

things is One', and speaks of Him as 'bodiless and having many bodies, or rather present in all bodies'.[4]

The 'Lord' of whom Śaṅkarācārya speaks is, of course, the Supreme and Solar Self, Ātman, Brahma, Indra, 'of all beings Overlord, of all beings King', whose omniformity is timeless and whose omnipresence enables us to understand that He must be omniscient (*sarvānubhūḥ*, *BU*, II.5. 19, cf. IV.4.22 and *ŚĀ*, XIII); Death, the Person in the Sun, Indra and Breath of Life, 'One as he is Person there, and many as he is in his children here', and at whose departure 'we' die (*ŚB*, X.5.2.13, 16); the Solar Self of all that is in motion or at rest (*ṚV*, I.115.1); our Immortal Self and Inner Controller 'other than whom there is no seer, hearer, thinker or knower' (*BU*, III.7.23, III.8.11); the solar Indra of whom it is said that whoever speaks, hears, thinks, etc., does so by his ray (*JUB*, I.28. 29); Brahma, of whom it is said that our powers 'are merely the names of his acts' (*BU*, I.4.7, cf. 1.5.21); the Self, from whom all action stems (*BU*, I.6.3; *BG*, III.15); the Self that knows everything (*MU*, VI.7).[5]

Whether as Sūrya, Savitṛ, Ātman, Brahma, Agni, Prajāpati, Indra, Vāyu or *madhyama* Prāṇa-*yādṛg eva dadṛśe tādṛg ucyate* (*ṚV*, V.44.6)[6]—this Lord, from within the heart here,[7] is our mover, driver and actuator (*īritaḥ*,[8] *codayitṛ*,[9]

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[4] Hermes, *Lib.* V.10A (cf. *BU*, I.5.21), and XI.2.12A (cf. *KU*, II.22).

[5] In 'Recollection, Indian and Platonic' (the preceding essay in this volume—Ed.), we have shown that timeless omnipresence and providential omniscience are interdependent and inseparable notions. The related thesis of the present article is the omnipresent, omniscient is 'the only transmigrant', and that in the last analysis this 'transmigration' is nothing but his knowledge of himself expressed in terms of a duration. If there were really 'others', or any discontinuity within the unity, each 'other' or 'part' would not be omnipresent to the rest, and the concept of an omniscience would be inconceivable.

[6] 'He is given names that correspond exactly to the forms in which He is apprehended'. Cf. 'All names are names of Him, who has no name, for that he is their common Father', Hermes, *Lib.* V.10A.

[7] 'Who takes up his stand in every heart' (*hṛdi sarvasya dhiṣṭhiam*, *BG*, XIII.17); 'Questi nei cor mortali è permotore, questi la terra in se stringe ed aduna', Dante, *Paradiso,* I.116 *stringe*, as in *ŚB*, VIII.7.3.10, etc.

[8] Cf. the 'potter's wheel'; cf. *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.6; *BU*, II.5.15; Plotinus, VI.5.5; *Īśa.*, 64.8, etc.

[9] Of the 'chariot', cf. *ṚV*, VI.75.6; *KU*, III.3ff; *J*, VI. 252; Plato, *Laws* 898C, 'Soul is the driver of all things'. In *MU*, II.6, the driver's 'reins' or 'rays' (*raśmayaḥ*) are the intelligential powers (*buddhīndriyāṇi*) by which the equine powers of sensation (*karmendriyāṇi*) are governed. Similarly, Hermes, *Lib.*, X.22B, 'The energies of God are, as it were, His rays', and XVI.7, 'His reins are (His rays)'. Cf. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae,* IV.11, 'Hic regum sceptrum dominus tenet, Orbisque habenas temperat, Et volucrem currum stabilis regit, Rerum coruscus arbiter': *Mathnawī*, I.3268, 3273, 3575-6. 'Under the theory of presence by powers, souls are described as rays' (Plotinus, VI.4.3). This is 'the living doctrine that ascribes to God the totality of all powers', and to be distinguished from 'the pierced and cloven doctrine that is conscious of a man's own mind at work' (Philo, *Legum allegoriae,* 1.93, 94).

kārayitṛ[10]) and whole source of the evanescent consciousness (*cetana* = *saṁjñāna*)[11] that begins with our birth and ends with our death (*MU*, II.6d, III.3).[12] We do nothing of ourselves and are merely his vehicles, and instruments (as for Philo, *passim*).

This 'higher' (*para*) Brahma is that 'One, the Great Self, who takes up his stand in womb after womb (*yo yoniṁ yonim adhitiṣṭhati*[13] *ekaḥ . . . mahātmā*) . . . as the omniform Lord of the Breaths (*viśvarūpaḥ . . . prāṇādhipaḥ*)[14] he wanders about (*saṁcarati* = *saṁsarati*)[15] by his own actions, the fruition of which he enjoys (*upabhoktṛ*),[16] and, being associated with conceptuality and the notion "I am", is known as the "lower" (*apara*).... Neither male nor female nor neuter, whatever body he assumes, therewith he is connected (*yujyate*):[17] through the delusions of concept, touch, and sight, there is birth and growth of the Self by the rain of food and drink;[18] the embodied Self (*dehī*)[19] assumes

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[10] Of the 'elemental self' (*bhūtātman*) as 'agent' (*kartṛ*) of the Inner man. 'He is blind indeed who sees only the active self ' (*kartāram ātmānaṁ kevala tu yaḥ paśyati . . . na sa paśyati, BG*, XVIII.16), whereas 'He sees indeed, who sees the Overlord who is the same in all beings, imperishable in those that perish . . . the Overself who, although present in the body, neither acts nor is contaminated by action' (*na karoti na lipyate, BG*, XIII.27.31).

[11] 'The dead know not anything' (Eccl. 9:5). *Na pretya samjñāsti* (*BU*, II.4.12); *saññā, bhikkhave, loke lokadhammo, S*, III.140, cf. *Sn*, 779, 1070, and *M*, I.260. The Self is indestructible (*BU*, IV.5.14; *BG*, IV.13), but 'consciousness' in terms of subject and object is a contingency, and loses its meaning 'where everything has become just the Self' (*BU*, II.4.14), 'actively Itself when it is not intelligizing' (Plotinus, IV.4.2).

[12] 'Spirit (*rūḥ*) concealing its glory and pinions and plumes, says to the body, 'O dunghill, who art *thou*? Through *my* beams (cf. n. 9) thou hast come to life for a day or two . . .' The beams of the spirit are speech and eye and ear' (*Mathnawī*, I.3267-73).

[13] The body being the domain or garden (*ārāma, BU*, IV.3.14) or platform (*adhiṣṭhānam, CU*, VIII.12.1) of the unseen, incorporeal, and impassible Self. *Adhiṣṭhā* (sometimes *avasthā, āruḥ*) is regularly employed in connection with the 'mounting' of the psycho-physical vehicle (*ratha*) by the Spirit (*ātman*) e.g., *AV*, X.8.1, (Brahma) *sarvam . . . adhitiṣṭhati*; *AĀ*, III.3.8.5B, *prāṇa adhitiṣṭhati* (*devaratham*); *KU*, II.22, *śarīreṣv avasthitam . . . ātmānam*; *BG*, XIII.17 *hṛdi . . . adhitiṣṭhan*. At the same time *adhiṣṭhā* implies administration, management, as in *Praśna Up*, III.D: similarly *anuṣṭhā* in *KU*, V.1.

[14] Not, as understood by Deussen and Hume, the 'individual soul', which is not a 'Lord' but a compound of the Breaths or Beings that are the subjects (*svāḥ*) of the Great Being or Breath from which they arise and into which they return (*JUB*, IV.7, *MU*, III.3, *bhūtagaṇa*). It would be an antinomy to describe the composite individual soul, subject to persuasion, as a sovereign power. 'The Lord of the Breaths', who is 'the Leader of the Breaths and of the body' (*prāṇaśarīranetṛ, Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.8) is much rather *the* Being and Breath that is 'Lord of all (*prāṇāya . . . bhūtaḥ sarvasyeśvaraḥ, AV*, XI.4.1)', the 'Lord of the gods (powers of the soul) who enters the womb and is 'born again' (*yonim aiti sa u jāyate punaḥ, sa devānām adhipatir babhūva*', *AV*, XIII.2.25) or 'Lord of Beings' (*bhūtānām adhipatiḥ, AV*, IV.8.1; *TS*, VI. 1.11.4; *MU*, V.2), i.e. the imperial Breath on whose behalf the 'other Breaths' function as Ministers (*Praśna Up.*, III.4), and the Brahma whom all things hail as king (*BU*, IV.3.37). The 'Lord of the Breaths' (*prāṇādhipaḥ*) is the Breath whose superiority to all the other Breaths (*prāṇāḥ* = *devāḥ, bhūtāni*) is again and again insisted upon in the contests of the Breaths for supremacy (Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, *passim*), and other than the subjected elemental self (*bhūtātman*) that is a host of beings (*bhūtagaṇa, MU*, III.3). The Lord of the Breaths, 'neither male nor female', is the Breath thus described in *AĀ*, II.3.8.5, in whom all the gods (Breaths or powers of the soul) are unified (*AĀ*, II; *Kauṣ. Up.*, III.3; cf. *BU*, I.4.7), the Breath that mounts the bodily vehicle and is regularly

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identified with the Sun, Brahma, Ātman, Vāmadeva, Indra, etc. This Lord of the Breaths is likewise the Inner Person (*antaḥpuruṣa* = *antarātman* of *Śvet. Up.*, III.13; *KU*, V.9-13, VI.17) who wanders (*carati*) from body to body unovercome by the fruits of the actions that determine the aughty or naughty wombs in which the elemental self alone suffers (*MU*, III.1-3).

When at death this Self recollects itself (*BU*, IV.4.3, VI.1.13, etc.)—*ὅμως εἰς ἕν ἀνατρέχει ἀποστάντος τοῦ σώματος* (Plotinus, IV.9.2)—then 'we' are no more (*BU*, II.4.12, IV.4.3; *CU*, VIII.9.1, etc.), 'we who in our junction with our bodies are composites and have qualities shall not exist, but shall be brought into the regeneration by which, becoming joined to immaterial things, we shall become incomposite and without qualities' (Philo, *De cherubim* 113ff.; cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 78c ff.).

[15] Cf. nn. 26, 40.

[16] *Upabhoktṛ* = *bhoktṛ* in *KU*, III.4 (Ātman) and *MU*, II.6 (Prajāpati). This fruition does not necessarily involve a subjection: insofar as it remains a spectator (*abhi cākaśīti*, *ṚV*, I.164.20; *prekṣada*, *MU*, II.7; Pālī *upekhaka*), or in other words disinterestedly enjoys only the flavor of life (*akāmo ... rasena tṛptaḥ*, *AV*, X.8.44), the governing and immortal Self of the self, or Inner Self (*amṛto' syātmā*, *antarātman*), remains immune (*KU*, V.13; *MU*, III.2, etc.). As experient (*bhoktṛ*) this immanent Person (*puruṣo 'ntasthaḥ*) is himself without qualities (*nirguṇa*), while the elemental self (*bhūtātman*) with its three qualities (*triguṇa*)—i.e. the individual soul—is his 'food' (*annam*, *MU*, VI.10). The contemplative Experient is both the Giver-of-being and a mighty Lord (*bhoktā ca prabhur eva ca ... bhoktā maheśvaraḥ*, *BG*, IX.24, 13, 22); the All-soul that 'suffers no hurt whatever by furnishing the body with the power to existence' (Plotinus, IV.8.2; cf. *KU*, V.1 and *BG*, XIII.32). For, as Meister Eckhart says, 'With the love with which God leaves Himself, He loves all creatures, not as creature but more: creatures as God ... God tastes (Skr. *bhuṅkte*) himself in all things.... Men as creatures taste as all creatures in measures and quantities, as wine and bread and meat. But my inner man tastes not as a creature, but more: as a gift of God. But my innermost man does not taste it as a gift of God, but more: as eternity' (Pfeiffer ed., 180).

[17] *Yujyate*, like *saṁyoga* below, as in *BG*, 1.26, where every birth is said to depend upon a 'connection' or 'yoking' (*saṁyoga*) of the Knower of the Field with the Field. conversely, *asaṁyoga*, 'liberation', 'unyoking', *MU*, VI.21.

[18] 'The nourishment of "sense-perception" which he (the author of Gen., 2:5) figuratively calls "rain"' (Philo, *Legum allegoriae*, 1.48). Here with reference to the falcon-brought Soma, and the 'Shower of Wealth (*vasor dhārā*)'. 'Touch', because 'all experience is contact-born' (*BG*, V.21); cf. Coomaraswamy, 'Note on the Stickfast Motif', 1944.

[19] The embodied Self (*dehī*) of *BG*, II.18ff., and quick or vibrant (*vipaścit*) Self of *KU*, II.18, 19, that never becomes anyone, but passes over from body to body, and is not slain when the body is slain, unborn though it can be thought of as continually born and continually dying. This is precisely the doctrine of the immortal Soul, which Plato cites as that of learned priests and priestesses: 'They say that the soul of man is

functional forms in their stations in regular order (*karmāṇugāny anukrameṇa dehī sthāneṣu rūpāṇy abhisampadyate*)[20] . . . and because of conjunction with the qualities, both his own and of action, he seems to be "another" ' (*teṣāṁ saṁyogahetur aparo*[21] *'pi dṛṣṭaḥ*, *Śvet. Up.*, V.1-13, condensed).

This transmigrating 'Lord of the Breaths' is the Breath (*prāṇa*), 'the most

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immortal, and at one time ends, which they call 'dying away', and at another is born again, but never perishes' (*Meno,* 81AB). The embodied Self (*dehī, paramātmā . . . śarīrasthaḥ*) is to be distinguished from the elemental self (*bhūtātman, bhūtagaṇa, MU,* III.2, 3). The former is the unperishing (*avinaśyat*) Self of *CU,* VIII.5.3 and *BG,* XIII.27, the latter arises out of the elements and perishes (*vinaśyati*) with them (*BU,* II.4.12).

[20] These words describe the entry of the Self into any one body and its extension therein in the form of the Intelligences (Breaths, powers of the soul) that work through the doors of the senses, as in *MU,* II.6, etc. *Karmānugāṇi*, 'corresponding to the variety of actions to be performed", as in *BU,* I.5.21, "I am going to speak", began the Voice', etc. The powers of speaking, seeing, thinking, etc., 'are just the names of His acts' (*BU,* 1.4.7)—not 'ours' (*BG,* III.27). 'Stupefied by the notion of an "I that acts", the self believes that "I am the actor" '; similarly, countless Buddhists texts; cf. Philo, *Legum allegoriae,* I.78, 'I deem nothing so shameful as to suppose that "I" know and "I" perceive. My own intellect the author of its own intelligizing, how could that be?' *Anukramena,* like *yathāyatanam* in *Kauṣ. Up.*, III.3 and *Ait. Up.*, II.3, and *yathākramena* in *MU,* VI.26, 'As rays from Sun, so from him (immanent Brahma, Fire of Life) his Breaths and the rest come forth continually here in the world in due order (*tasya prāṇādayo vai punar eva tasmād abhyuccarantīha yathākramena*)'. *Sthāneṣu*, 'in their places', as in *Praśna Up.*, III.2, *sthānam. Rūpāṇi*, 'forms', i.e. 'Prajāpati's breath-forms' (*prāṇarūpā*, Sāyaṇa on *ṚV,* X. 90.16, and as in *BU,* I.5.21, where the Breaths are the 'forms' of the median Breath and called after him; similarly in *Praśna Up.*, II.12).

[21] *Apara*, 'lower' or 'other' as in *MU,* III.2 (Ātman), and to be contrasted with *para* (Brahma) in verse 1 = *para* (Ātman) of *Praśna Up.*, IV.7. For the 'one essence and two natures' of Brahma see *BU,* II.3, *Praśna Up.*, V.2, *MU,* VI. 3, 22, 23 and VII.11.8, *dvaitībhāva*). This is the doctrine of Hermes, viz., that to say that 'God is both One and All does not mean that the One is two, but that the two are One' (*Lib.*, XVI.3). Similarly Plotinus, IV.4.10, 'The ordering-and-governing-principle (τὸ κοσμοῦν =Plato, *Phaedo* 97c, ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ παντῶν αἴτιος) is twofold, one that we call Demiurge and one the Soul of All (τοῦ παντὸς ψυχη): we speak of Zeus sometimes as Demiurge (Creator) and sometimes as the Leader of all (ἡγεμών τοῦ παντός)'; which is as much as to say that we speak of Varuṇa sometimes as such and sometimes as Mitra or Savitṛ (*netṛ*, *ṚV,* V.50.1 = *prāṇaśarīranetṛ*, *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.8 = *ātmano 'tmā netāmṛtākhyaḥ*, *MU,* VI.7), of Brahma as *parāpara, dvirūpa* and *dvaitībhāva,* of Agni as Indrāgnī, and of Prajāpati as *parimitāparimita, niruktānirukta,* etc., in the same way imputing two contrasted natures to one and same essence. And just as in one of these natures the deity is immortal and impassible and in the other mortal and passible, so in the one he is without needs and in the other has ends to be attained. At the same time, in him these are not two, but one simple essence; the distinction is 'logical but not real'. So Nicholas of Cusa speaks of the 'wall of Paradise' that conceals God from our sight as constituted of the 'coincidence of opposites' and of its gate as guarded by 'the highest spirit of reason, who bars the way until he has been overcome' (*De visione Dei,* IX, XI)—as in *JUB,* I.5.

excellent (*vasiṣṭha, BU,* VI.1, 14)',[22] Brahma, Prajāpati, he who divides himself five and manifold to support and sustain the body, to awaken his children, to fill these worlds (*Praśna Up.*, II.3; *MU,* II.6, VI.26), remaining nevertheless undivided in things divided (*BG,* XIII.16, XVIII.20). To him as Prajāpati it is said, "'Tis thou, thyself, that art counterborn (*pratijāyase*),[23] to thee all thy children (*prajāḥ = raśmayaḥ, prāṇāḥ, devāḥ, bhūtāni*) bring tribute (*baliṁ haranti*),[24] O Breath' (*Praśna Up.*, II.7). By this Prajāpati this body of ours is set up in possession of consciousness (*cetanāvat*), he as its driver passing on from body to body (*pratiśarīreṣu carati*), unovercome by the bright and dark fruit of his acts, or rather those acts of which he, as our Inner Man (*antaḥ*

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[22] Implying Agni who as the 'Fire of Life' is the 'Breath of Life', cf. Heracleitus, fr. 20, and Coomaraswamy, 'Measures of Fire'.

[23] *BU,* II.1.8 *pratirūpo 'smāj jāyase*; cf. *Śvet. Up.*, II.16, V. 11. The Self is the father of the Breath and consubstantial (*MU,* VI.1); like the human father and son, in accordance with the normal doctrine that the father himself is reborn in his progeny (*ṚV,* V.4.10, VI. 70. 3; *BD,* VII.50; *AB,* VII.13; *AĀ,* II.5; *BG,* IV.7, 8, etc.), the only Indian doctrine of rebirth on earth. It is a character that is thus reborn; it is in his 'other self' that the father departs at death; and we are often reminded (*ŚB, passim*) that the dead have departed 'once for all'. The heredity of vocation is connected with the traditional (for it is not only Indian) doctrine of progenitive rebirth. In the same way *in divinis,* the Father is reborn as the Son; cf. the Christian *Alma redemptoris Mater . . . tu quae genuisti tuum sanctum genitorem.*

[24] Cf. *AV,* X.7.38, 39, X.8.15, XI.4.19; *ŚB,* VI.1.1.7; *JUB,* IV.2.3.7, IV.24.1-7; *BU,* VI. 1.13; *Kauṣ. Up.*, II.1. The various names by which the recipient and the tributaries are referred to in these contexts all imply the Breath and the Breaths, i.e. God and gods under various aspects. Hence 'All these gods are *in* me' (*JUB,* I.14.2; *ŚB,* II.3.2.3; *AĀ,* II.1.5, etc.). The *prajā* of *AV,* XI.4.19 (like *Praśna Up.*, II.7) are not 'human beings' (Whitney), but the 'rays' by which 'we' are ensouled and energized (*JUB,* I.28, 29), the Viśvedevāḥ (*TS,* IV.3.1.26). These rays are withdrawn at our death (*BU,* V.5.2; *AĀ,* III.2.4, etc.), viz., when Death himself, the Breath, withdraws his 'feet' from our heart and 'we' are cut off (*ŚB,* X.5.2.13); for the Breaths cannot live without him (*BU,* VI.1.13 = *CU,* V.1.12). It is true that we are children of the Sun in the sense that our life depends upon him who is our real Father (*JUB,* III.10.4; *ŚB,* VII.3.2.12, etc.), but we are naturally sons of our own fathers, and until we have acquired a second self or Self, born of the sacrifice (*JB,* I.17, etc., cf. John, 3:3) we do not 'really become the immortal children of Prajāpati' (*ŚB,* V.2.1.11, 14), his natural sons (*ŚB,* IX. 3.3.14), or himself (*ŚB,* IV.6.1.5). 'That art thou' is always true, but only potentially for us, for so long as we are 'this man, so-and-so'. We are ensouled and quickened by the rays of the Sun, the Breaths, the All-Gods, but it can only be said of the perfected that they *are* those rays of the Sun (*ŚB,* I.9.3.10, cf. *ṚV,* I.109.7), his sons (*JUB,* II.9.10).

[25] The *puruṣo 'ntasthaḥ* of *MU,* VI. 10; *puruṣaḥ sarvāsu pūrṣu puriśayaḥ* of *BU,* II.5.18; *sarveṣāṁ bhūteṣām antaḥpuruṣaḥ* of *AĀ,* III.2.4, described as the unseen seer, etc., and as 'unbowed' (*anata*), i.e., *anabhibhūta* as in *MU,* II.7; Vāmadeva *garbhe . . . śayanaḥ* of *AĀ,* II.5; Agni *ā yaḥ puraṁ nārmiṇīm adīdet . . . śatātmā* of *ṚV,* I.149.3. For the distinction of this Inner Man from our outer man (the elemental self, *bhūtātman*) cf. II Cor., 4:16, 'Is qui foris est noster homo corrumpitur tamen is qui intus est renovatur de die in diem', like *MU,* III.2. Undoubtedly John, 1:14 should be understood to read 'And the

puruṣa),[25] is the actuator (*kārayitṛ*) and spectator (*prekṣaka*) rather than the doer (*MU*, II.6-III.3). This Prajāpati is likewise 'the divine Breath who, whether or not transmigrating (*saṁcarañś cāsaṁcarañś ca*),[26] is neither injured nor distressed, and whom all beings serve', and with respect to whom it is further said that 'however his children may suffer, that pertains to them alone, good only goes to him, evil does not reach the gods' (*BU*, I.5.20).

Thus this One, spoken of by many names, is everywhere born and reborn. 'Unseen, Prajāpati moves in the womb (*carati garbhe antaḥ*) and is multifariously born' (*bahudhā vi jāyate*, *AV*, X.8.13, cf. *Muṇḍ. Up.*, 11.2.6); 'The person expires[27] and suspires in the womb, and then is he born again when thou, O Breath, givest life' (*AV*, XI.4.14, cf. *JUB*, III.8.10-IX.1); 'Thou alone, O Sun, art born about the whole world' (*eko viśvaṁ pari bhūma jāyase*, *AV*, XIII.2.3);[28] 'One God indwelling the mind, of old was he born and is even now in the womb' (*AV*, X.8.28 = *JUB*, III.10.12). Similar texts could be cited at greater length, but it will suffice for the present to observe the emphasis laid upon the fact that it is always *One* that is diversely and recurrently born: He, that is, who is 'undivided in, though *as it were* divided by his presence in divided beings' (*BG*, XIII.16 and XVIII.20), being 'One as he is in himself, and many as he is in his children' (*ŚB*, X.5.2.16), who are not Beings independently, but Beings by participation.[29]

All this is also the oldest Saṁhitā doctrine, where it is the Sun or Fire that enters into the womb and transmigrates:[30] thus *ṚV*, X.72.9, where Aditi 'bears Mārtāṇḍa unto repeated birth and death (*prajāyai mṛtyave tvat punaḥ*)'; VIII.43.9, 'Thou, O Agni, being in the womb, art born again (*garbhe sañ jāyase punaḥ*)'; X.5.1, where Agni is 'of many births (*bhūri-janmā*)'; III.1.20, where as Jātavedas he is 'set down in birth after birth (*janmañ-janman nihitaḥ*)', i.e. as Sāyaṇa adds, 'in all these human beings'. As Jātavedas he is omniscient of

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Word was made flesh, and dwelt *in* us' (ἐν ἡμῖν) rather than 'amongst us', by which 'amongst' the Incarnation would be considered only historically.

[26] I.e. whether immanent or transcendent; whether he 'wanders in the Field, together with his acts (*kṣetre saṁcarati . . . svakarmabhiḥ*, *Śvet. Up.*, V.3, 7)', or remains aloof.

[27] The descent into the blind darkness of the womb, into hell (*niraya*, *MU*, III.4); from which one comes into being again, being saved from that first death by the Sun (*JUB*, III.9.1, III.10.4). Cf. St. Bernard, *prius morimur nascituri* (*De grad. humilitatis* 30). *AV*, *apānati* = *JUB*, *mriyate*.

[28] Who as the sacrificial Person 'was poured out upon the earth from East to West' (*aty aricyata paścād bhūmim atho puraḥ*, *ṚV*, X.90.5).

[29] 'Et inspexi cetera infra te, et vidi nec omnino esse nec omnino non esse: esse quidem, quoniam abs te sunt, non esse autem, quoniam id quod es non sunt' (St. Augustine, *Confessions*, VII.11). This 'is and is not' is essentially the Buddhist doctrine of *satto*, 'existence'.

[30] Throughout the present article and elsewhere we are careful to distinguish transmigration from reincarnation; the former implying a transition from one state of being to another, the latter to the transmission or renewal of a former state of being. Cf. n. 23, and Coomaraswamy, 'Measures of Fire'.

births (I.70.1, I.189.1, VI. 15.3), and necessarily so because, as *ŚB*, IX.5.1.68 paraphrases, 'he finds birth again and again (*jātaṁ jātaṁ vindate*)'. In the same way 'filling the (three) light-realms of this,[31] the mobile and immobile, he cometh manifoldly into being, the Sire, in these wombs' (*purutrā yad abhavat, sūr ahaibhyo garbhebhyaḥ*, *ṚV*, I.146.5), 'yet in one semblance manifold, as giver-of-being to all thy people[32] (*viśo viśvā anu prabhuḥ*, *ṚV*, VIII.11.8)'.

It need not be demonstrated here that the Saṁhitās do not know of a 'reincarnation' (individual rebirth on earth) since it is generally accepted that even the Brāhmaṇas know nothing of such a doctrine (cf. the Keith edition of *AĀ*, Introduction, p. 44) except, of course, in the normal progenitive sense of rebirth in one's offspring (*ṚV*, V.4.10, VI. 70.3; *AB*, VII.13; *AĀ*, II.5). Our concern is rather to point out that the Veda speaks both of transmigration and of a one and only transmigrant, and distinguishes 'liberation' from 'coming back again' (*vimucaṁ nāvṛtaṁ punaḥ*, *ṚV*, V.46.1). Our argument is that the expressions *punarmṛtyu* and *punarjanma* which occur already in *ṚV*, and the Brāhmaṇas do not in the later scriptures acquire the new meanings of 'dying again' (elsewhere) and 'being born again' (here) that are generally read into them. In the majority of cases the references of 'repeated death' and 'repeated birth' are to this present life or 'becoming', as in *AB*, VIII.25, *sarvam āyur eti, na punar mriyate*, and *ŚB*, V.4.1.1, *sarvān . . . mṛtyun atimucyate*, where it is the relative immortality of not dying prematurely that is involved, and there is no question of never dying at all. In 'becoming' (*bhava*, *γένεσις*) we die and are reborn every day and night, and in this sense 'day and night are recurrent deaths' (*punarmṛtyu . . . yad ahorātre*, *JB*, I.11). *Punarmṛtyu* is not some one other death to be dreaded as ending a future existence but, together with *punarbhava* or *janma*, the condition of *any* form or type of contingent existence; and it is from this process, this wheel of becoming (*bhavacakra*, ὁ τροχός τῆς γενέσεως in James 3:6) here or hereafter, and not from any one death only, that liberation is sought.[33]

We have so far considered the Transmigrant, Parijman, only as the Great Catalyst who remains unaffected by the actions he empowers. The supreme Lord and Self who is seated one and the same in all beings' hearts (*BG*, X.20, XIII.27), the citizen in every 'city' (*BU*, II.5.18; Philo, *De cherubim*, 121), participating in action not because of any need on his part but only sacrificially and to maintain the world process (*BG*, III.9, 22), wherein as it were disporting (*BrSBh*, II.1.32, 33)[34] he remains undivided amongst divided beings and indestructible amongst the destructible (*BG*, XIII.16, 27). So long as he (Makha, the Sacrifice) is One, they cannot overcome him (*TĀ*, V.1.3); but as One he cannot bring his creatures to life, and must divide himself (*MU*, XII.6). We are repeatedly told, indeed, that he, Prajāpati, 'desired (*akāmayat*)' to be many, and so, as it seems to us, it is not quite disinterestedly[35] but 'with ends not yet attained and with a view to enjoying the objects of the senses' that he sets us agoing (*MU*, II.6d). But this is a dangerous enterprise, for being their experient, he is carried away by the flood of the qualities of the primary matter (*prakṛtair guṇaiḥ*) with which he operates;[36] and as the corporeal (*śarīra*) elemental self (*bhūtātman*),[37] knowing subject over against ostensibly external objects of perception, and composite of all desires (*sarvakāma-maya*),[38] he is bemused and does not see the bountiful Giver-of-being and Actuator within him,[39] 'but conceives that "this is I" and "that is mine", and therewith binds himself by himself like a bird in the net (*jāleneva khacaraḥ*)[40] and so wanders around (*paribhramati* = *saṁsarati, sañcarati*) in wombs both aughty and naughty (*sadasat*)[41] overcome by the fruits of actions and by the pairs of opposites' (*MU*, III.2, VI.10).[42]

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[31] I.e. as Prajāpati divides himself to fill these worlds.

[32] *Viśaḥ*, i.e. Viśvedevāḥ, Maruts, *prāṇaḥ*, *prāṇāgnayaḥ* directly and hence to *prāṇinaḥ*, 'living beings', indirectly. *Viśvaṁ tvayā dhārayate jāyamānām . . . prajās tatra yatra viśvā 'mṛto' si*, *MU*, VI.9. 'La circular natura, ch'e sugello alla cera mortal, fa ben sua arte, ma non distingue l'un dall' altro ostello', Dante, *Paradiso*, VIII.127-9 (ostello = *nivāsa*, esp. in the Pāli Buddhist expression *pubbenivasan anussarati*). 'One Divine Life, mov'd, shin'd, sounded in and thro' all', Peter Sterry (V. de Sola Pinto, *Peter Sterry, Platonist and Puritan*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 161).

[33] Cf. Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power*, 1942, Note 35. On James 3:6 cf. R. Eisler, 'Orphisch-Dionysische Mysterien-Gedanken in der christlichen Antike', in *Vorträge der Bib. Warburg* II (1922-3), 86ff.; P. Deussen, *Vier philosophische Texte des Mahābhāratam* (Leipzig, 1906), 272ff.; Plato, *Sophist* 248A, *Timaeus* 29C (contrast *γένεσις* and *οὐσία*); and O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta*, fr. 32 (1922), *κύκλου δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο.*

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[34] Cf. Coomaraswamy, 'Līlā', 1941, and 'Play and Seriousness', 1942 [both in this volume—Ed.]. Cf. Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXVIII.95, 96:

> Per sua diffalta in pianto ed in affanno
> cambiò onesto riso e dolce gioco

and *Mathnawī*, I.1787, 1788:

> Thou didst contrive this 'I' and 'we' in order that
> Thou mightest play the game of worship with Thyself,
> That all 'I's and 'thou's should become one life.

When, as in *MU*, II.6-III.2, we speak of Him as having ends still to be attained, we also conceive that *He* is caught in the net, and that *He* is liberated again, and this is the truth in terms of human thinking. But like all else that pertains to the *via affirmativa*, this is a truth to be finally denied. For the *viae*, see *MU*, IV.6.

[35] Whenever we explain the existence of the world not directly by God's being, or by His knowledge of Himself, but as a consequence of His Will, i.e. 'of expression', as here, or when it is said that 'Prajāpati desired (*akāmayat*), May I be many' (Brāhmaṇas, *passim*), we are speaking metaphorically as if He really had ends to be attained, as is explicit in *MU*, II.6, and, just as in dividing effect from cause, we impose our duration upon His eternity. More truly, 'There is nothing whatever that I might obtain that I am not already possessed of' (*na . . . me kiñcana anavāptam avāptavyam*, *BG*, III.22): 'Non per aver a sèdi bene acquisto, ch'esser non puo' (Dante, *Paradiso*, XXIX.13, 14).

So Pentheus conceives that Dionysius can be bound; but He declares that 'Of himself the Daimon shall release me when I will', and later, that 'I myself myself did save, full easily and painlessly' (Eeuripides, *Bacchae* 498, 613). The 'Daimon' is, of course, 'himself'.

[36] Just as the Man (ἄνθρωπος), Son of the Father, is seduced by the reflection of the divine beauty in the mirror of Nature, and loving it becomes involved in it (Hermes, *Lib.* 1.14, 15; *TS*, V.3.2.1; *AB*, III.33; *PB*, VII.8.1). The 'flood of qualities by which the soul is swept away' (*guṇaughair uhyamānaḥ*) corresponds to Plato's 'river of sensations' (*Timaeus*, 43B); to the 'crossing over' (*διαπορεία* = *taraṇa*) of which there is a reference in *Epinomis* 894E; and to Philo's river of the objects of sense that swamps and drowns the soul under the flood of the passions until 'Jacob' (*νοῦς*) crosses it (*Legum allegoriae*, III.18 and *De gigantibus*, XIII). Cf. St. Augustine's *cum transierit anima nostra aquas, quae sunt sine substantia* (*Confessions*, XIII.7).

[37] As in *CU*, VIII.12.1, cited above.

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[38] 'The Person of desires composite' (*kāmamayam evāyaṁ puruṣam*), *BU*, IV.4.5.

[39] Apart from whom the soul is bound 'because of its enjoyment' (*bhokṛtvāt, Śvet. Up.*, I.8), deadly for those who conceive that the experience is their own.

[40] 'A little Bird ty'd by the Leg with a String, often flutters and tries to raise itself. . . . Thus a Soul fixt in a *Self-principle* . . . is snatched down by that String of Self, which ties it to the Ground', Peter Sterry (de Sola Pinto, *Peter Sterry*, p. 169). 'Tomb'd in my self: my self my grave. . . . My self even to my self a slave' (Phineas Fletcher)—'the prisoner himself being the main occasion of his own imprisonment' (Plato, *Phaedo*, 83A, cf. *Mathnawī*, 1.154).

The net (or spider's web, *Śvet. Up.*, VI.10; *Muṇḍ. Up.*, 1.7; *KB*, XIX.3, etc.) that he himself has spread (*ya eko jālavān, Śvet. Up.*, III.1) the one and only net that he manywise transforms and 'in which field he wanders' (*sañcarati, Śvet. Up.*, V.3, 7, i.e. *saṁsarati*, 'transmigrates' rather than Deussen's 'wieder entzieht' or Hume's 'draws it together').

Insofar as the Only Transmigrant is overcome by the notions 'This is I' and 'Those are others', the Bird is conceptually one of many, and no longer 'the One controller of the created many' (*Śvet. Up.*, VI.13), and we, who are pre-eminently subject to these delusions, speak of the liberation of a plurality of individuals, e.g. 'Many are the essences that are bound by wanting, like a bird in the net (*icchābaddhā puthusattā pāsena sakuni yathā, ti*' (*S*, I.44).

That 'A being is a flux, action is its passing over' (*satto saṁsāram āpādi, kammaṁ tassa parāyanam, S*, I.38, cf. *sadasad yoniṁ āpadyate, MU*, III.2) taken together with *Mil* 72, 'There is no particular essence (*n'attthi koci satto*) that reincarnates *imamhā kāyā aññaṁ kāyaṁ sankamati*)', means that there is no constant individuality that treads the round; as how might there be, when even today our personality is 'other' than it was yesterday (*S*, II.95, 96)? It is not a life, but the fire of life that is transmitted (*BrSBh*, IV.4.15; *Mil.*, 71; cf. Heracleitus, fr. 20). The Comprehensor of the Buddha's teaching will not ask himself either What was 'I'? or What shall 'I' become? (*S*, II.26, 27).

Khacara is almost literally 'skylark'; *kha* is anagogically Brahman as unlimited 'Space' (*ākāśa, quintessentia*), or τόπος, as in Bruce Codex, C.A. Baynes, tr., *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 3. Cf. *BU*, V.1; *CU*, I.9, III.12.7-9, IV.10.4, VII.12, VIII.1.14; and Coomaraswamy, '*Kha* and other words denoting "Zero", in Connection with the Indian Metaphysics of Space' [in this volume—Ed.].

[41] 'For the movement of the Kosmos varies the birth of things, and gives them this or that quality; it fouls with evil the births of some and purifies with good the births of other' (Hermes, *Lib.* 9.5).

Asat as 'evil', here and elsewhere, corresponds exactly to English 'naughty,' in accordance with the principle *ens et bonum convertuntur.*

[42] Conversely, 'liberated from the pairs of opposites' (*BG*, XV.5, cf. VII.27), and 'becoming a bird, the sacrificer goes to the world of heaven' (*PB*, V.3.5, cf. XIV.1.13). With this whole context, cf. Plotinus, *Enneads* I.1, especially I.1.12.

There is, indeed, a corrective (*pratividhi*) for this elemental self, viz., in the study and mastery of the wisdom of the Vedas and in the fulfilment of one's own duty (*svadharma*)[43] in its regular stages (*āśrama, MU*, IV.3). 'By the knowledge of Brahman, by order (*tapas*) and contemplation (*cintā* = *dhyāna*) he getteth everlasting bliss, yea, when this "man in the cart" (*rathitaḥ*)[44] is liberated from those things with which he was filled up[45] and by which he was overcome, then he attains to conjunction with the Spirit (*ātman eva sāyujam upaiti, MU*, IV.4)', i.e. 'being very Brahma enters into Brahma (*brahmaiva san brahmāpyeti, BU*, IV.4.6)',[46] and thus 'authentically Brahma-become, abides (*brahmabhūtena attanā viharati, A*, II.211)'. That is Nicholas of Cusa's *deificatio,* for which the *sine qua non* is an *ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis.*[47]

Otherwise stated, Prajāpati 'desires (*kam, man*)' to become many, to 'express (*sṛj*)' his children, and having done so is spilled and falls down unstrung (Brāhmaṇas, *passim*). It is 'with love (*preṇā*)' that he enters into them, and then he cannot come together (*sambhū*) again, whole and complete, except by the sacrificial operation (*TS*, V.5.2.1); he cannot from his disjointed parts put himself together (*saṁhan*), and can only be healed through the sacrificial operations of the gods (*ŚB*, I.6.3.36, etc.). It is sufficiently well known, and needs no demonstration here, that the final purpose of this operation in which the sacrificer symbolically sacrifices himself is to build up together again, whole and complete, both the sacrificer and the divided deity at one and the same time. It is evident that the possibility of such a simultaneous regeneration rests upon the theoretical identity of the sacrificer's real being with that of the immanent deity, postulated in the dictum, 'That art thou'. To sacrifice our self is to liberate the God within us.

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[43] As in *BG*, III.35, XVIII.41-8. This is the *τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, κατὰ φύσιν* that Plato makes his type of justice.

[44] Apparently pp. of *rath*, not otherwise known as a verb, and signifying 'embodied' (*KU*, III.3 *viddhi śarīraṁ ratham; MU*, II.3 *śakaṭam ivācetanam idaṁ śarīram*). That to 'be carted about' is a traditional punishment and disgrce involving loss of honour and legal rights is metaphysically significant, and corresponds to the subjection of the free spirit to the body and senses; while conversely, it is a royal procession when the spirit drives the vehicle to a destination that it itself wills (as in *BU*, IV.2.1). On the Royal Road, cf. Philo, *De posteritate Caini* CI, and on how one strays, *Legum allegoriae*, IV.79ff.

The ignominy (like that of crucifixion) is one to which the Solar Hero may have to condescend in his pursuit of the imprisoned Psyche; and Lancelot's 'hesitation' in the *Chevalier de la charrette* corresponds to Agni's reluctance to become the charioteer of the Sacrifice (*ṚV*, X.51), the Buddha's hesitation to 'turn the wheel', and Christ's 'May this cup be taken from me'.

[45] *Yaiḥ paripūrṇaḥ*, as in *CU*, IV.10.3 *vyādhibhiḥ paripūrṇo 'smi*, 'I am filled up with diseases'. For 'the body fills us up with loves and passions and all kinds of images and folly, so that, as they say, it verily and really prevents our ever understanding anything' (Plato, *Phaedo*, 66c); from which plethora we ought to purify ourselves as far as possible 'until the God himself delivers us' (*Phaedo*, 67A).

[46] *Qui autem adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est*, I Cor., 6:17.

[47] 'If you cannot equate yourself with God, you cannot know Him; for like is known by like' (Hermes, *Lib.*, XI.2.20B).

In still another way we can illustrate the thesis by referring to those texts in which the immanent deity is spoken of as a 'citizen' of the body politic in which he is, as it were, confined, and from which he also liberates himself when he remembers himself and we forget our selves. That the human body is called a 'city of God (*puraṁ... brahmaṇaḥ*, *AV*, X.2.28; *brahmapura, passim*)' is well known;[48] and he who as a bird (*pakṣī bhūtvā*) becomes a citizen in all these cities (*sarvāsu pūrṣu puriśayaḥ*) is hermeneutically *puruṣa* (*BU*, II.5.18). The Solar Man or Person who thus inhabits us and is the Friend of All is also the beloved Vāmadeva, the Breath (*prāṇa*), 'who set himself in the midst of all that is (*sa yad idaṁ sarvaṁ madhyato*[49] *dadhe*) . . . and protected all that is from evil'[50] (*AĀ*, II.2.1); and being in the womb (*garbhe... san*) is the knower of all the births of the gods (Breaths, Intelligences powers of the soul) who serve him (*ṚV*, IV.27.1; *KU*, V.3, etc.). He says of himself that 'although a hundred cities[51] held me fast,[52] forth I sped with falcon speed' (*ṚV*, IV.27.1),[53] and that 'I was Manu and the Sun' (*ṚV*, IV.26.1; *BU*, I.4.10, etc.).[54]

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[48] Just as also for Plato, man is a 'body politic' (*πόλις=pur*). (Cf. Coomaraswamy, 'What is Civilization?', 1946—Ed.)

[49] The immanent Breath is repeatedly referred to as 'median' (*madhyama*), i.e. with respect to the Breaths, by whom it is surrounded and served. As in Philo, *Legum allegoriae* I.51, where 'God extends the power that is from him by means of the median breath (*διὰ τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος*) until it reaches the subject', on which it stamps the powers that are within the scope of its understanding, thus (ibid., 50) ensouling what was soulless.

[50] As in *BU*, 1.3.7ff.

[51] Probably the hundred years of a man's life, during which time the Breath shines upon him (*AĀ*, II.5.1). When he departs, we die (*ŚB*, X.5.2.13, etc.), for 'as a mighty stallion might pull out the pegs of his hobbles all at once, even so he pulls up the Breaths all together' (*BU*, VI.1.13, cf. III.9.26; *CU*, V.1.12)—thus recollecting himself (*BU*, IV.4.3).

[52] 'Not knowing himself' (Sāyaṇa); 'become a *Stranger* to himself', Peter Sterry (de Sola Pinto, p. 166).

[53] 'Knowing himself' (Sāyaṇa). 'Now that I see in Mind, I see myself to be the All. I am in heaven and on earth, in water and in air; I am in beasts and plants; I am a babe in the womb, and one that is not yet conceived, and one that has been born; I am present everywhere' (Hermes, *Lib.*, XIII,11B, cf. XI. 2.20B; cf. *AV*, XI.4.20, *ṚV*, IV.40.5, etc.).

[54] With 'I was Manu and the Sun' may be compared the verses of Amergin (*Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse*, ed. D.H.S. Nicholson and A.H.E. Lee, *Oxford*, 1916, p. 1) and those of Taliesin (John Guenogvryn Evans, *Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, Tremvan, 1915; Robert Douglas Scott, *The Thumb of Knowledge in Legends of Finn, Sigurd and Taliesin*, New York, 1930, pp. 124 ff.). For example, Amergin: 'I am the wind which blows o'er the sea, I am the wave of the ocean . . . a beam of the sun . . . the point of the lance in battle, the God who creates in the head the fire', and Taliesin: 'I have sung of what I passed through . . . I sing of true lineage . . . I was in many a guise before I was disenchanted . . . I was the hero in trouble . . . I am old. I am young . . . I am universal, I am possessed of penetrating wit'. There is no doctrine of 'reincarnation' here, but of the eternal *avataraṇa* and *sarvajñāna* of the 'Immortal Soul' (Spirit) of *Meno* 81 and Agni Jātavedas of the Indian texts.

' "Forth I sped" . . . thus spake Vāmadeva incarnate (*garbhe . . . śayānaḥ* = *puriśayaḥ*). The Comprehensor thereof, when separation from the body takes place, forth-striding upwards (*ūrdhva utkramya*)[55] and obtaining all desires in yonder world, has come together (*samabhavat*),[56] immortal' (*AĀ*, II.5; cf. I.3.8, conclusion). Vāmadeva is here equated with that 'other self (*itara ātmā*)'[57] which, being all in act (*kṛtakṛtyaḥ*)[58] when 'old age is reached (*vayogataḥ*), departs (*praiti*) and is regenerated (*punar jāyate* = *samabhavat*)', i.e. reborn for the third and last time.[59]

The escape of this 'Dwarf', Vāmana, the superintendent of the city (*puram . . . anuṣṭhāya*), enthroned in the middle (*madhye . . . āsīnam*), and whom the Viśve Devāḥ (Breaths, functional powers of the soul) attend upon (*upāsate*),[60] is further described in *KU*, V.1-4, where it is asked, 'When this immanent unstrung body-dweller is released from the body (*asya visraṁsamānasya*[61] *śarīrasthasya dehinaḥ dehād vimucyamānasya*), what survives (*kiṁ pariśiṣyate*)?' and answered: 'That', viz., Brahma, Ātman—the predicate of the dictum 'That art thou'.[62] Thus 'Ātman means that which remains if we take away from our person all that is Not-self';[63] our end is to exchange our own limited manner of being 'So-and-so' for God's unlimited manner of being simply—'Ego, daz wort ich, ist nieman eigen denne gote alleine in siner einekeit'.[64]

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[55] When Death, the Person in the Sun, the Breath, abandons his stand in the heart and strides off (*utkrāmati*), we are 'cut off'. Hence, with reference to the two selves of *AĀ*, II.5, etc., the question of *Praśna Up.*, VI.3, 'When I go forth, *in which* shall I be going forth (*utkrāntaḥ*)?'

[56] *Samabhavat* is more than just 'became': it is rather 'came together, whole and complete'. Contrast *TS*, V.5.2.1, where Prajāpati 'cannot come together again (*punar sambhavituṁ na śaknoti*) out of his children' until the Sacrifice has been performed, of which the sacrificer is born again in the sense of *AĀ*, I.3.8, *amṛtam evātmānām abhisambhavati, sambhavati*, 'is regenerated, yea reborn as (or united with) the Immortal Self'. In the same context Keith misunderstands *ātmānaṁ saṁskurute*, which is not 'adorns this trunk' (as Vairocana might have supposed, *CU*, VIII.8.3) but 'integrates, or completes, himself', as in *AB*, VI.27, where Keith's 'perfects himself' is quite acceptable. Contrast *TS*, V.5.2.1 *punaḥ sambhavituṁ nāśaknot*.

[57] 'Other' (and 'dearer', *BU*, I.4.8) than the psycho-physical self that is reborn in the normal course of progenitive reincarnation 'for the perpetuation of these worlds and the doing of the holy tasks' (*AĀ*, II.5)—'thus providing servants (ὑπῆρεται) for God in our own stead, and this we do by leaving behind us children's children' (Plato, *Laws* 773E)—to whom our character and responsibilities are both naturally and ritually transmitted (*BU*, I.5.17ff., cf. *Kauṣ. Up.*, II.11).

[58] 'His task performed'; as in *MU*, VI.30, cf. *TS*, I.8.3.1 *karma kṛtvā*, and the corresponding *kataṁ karanīyam* in the Buddhist Arhat formula, *passim*. Hence 'all in act', without residue of potentiality.

[59] The third birth that takes place from the funeral pyre (*tato 'nusaṁbhavati prāṇaṁ veva*, *JUB*, III.10.9) and is the true Resurrection.

[60] *Viśve devā upāsate* corresponds to *ṚV*, VII.33.11 *viśve devāḥ . . . adadanta*.

[61] Deussen's nach des Leibes Einfalls' is impossible, because both *visraṁsamānasya* and *śarīrasthasya* are qualifications of *dehinaḥ*. Hume's 'when this incorporate one . . . is dissolved' is inappropriate because the *dehin* is imperishable and indissoluble (*BG*, II.23, 24, etc.). On the other hand, the incarnate principle can be spoken of as 'unstrung' in the same way that we are repeatedly told that Prajāpati, having expressed his children and thus become many, is 'unstrung' (*vyasraṁsata*) and falls down (*AĀ*, III.2.6 and *passim*).

A consideration of all that has been said so far will enable us to approach such a text as that of *BU*, IV.4.1-7 without falling into the error of supposing that the 'land leech' of verse 3 is an individual and definitely characterized 'soul' that passes over from one body to another. Rather, it is the undivided and never individualized Self that having now re-collected itself (*ātmānam upasaṁharati*, cf. *BG*, II.58), and free from the 'ignorance' of the body (with which it no longer identifies itself), transmigrates; this re-collected Self is the Brahma that takes on every form and quality of existence, both good and evil,[65] according to its desires and activities (verse 5); if it is still attached (*saktaḥ*), still desirous (*kāmayamānaḥ*), this Self (*ayam*, i.e. *ayam ātmā*) returns (*punar aiti*) from that world to this world, but if without desire (*akāmayamānaḥ*), if it loves only itself (*ātmakāmaḥ*, cf. IV.3.21), then 'being very Brahma, it enters into Brahma (*brahmaiva san brahmāpyeti*)', then 'the mortal becomes the immortal' (verses 6, 7). The meaning of these passages is distorted, and given a reincarnationist sense, by all those translators (e.g. Hume and Swāmī Mādhavānanda) who translate *ayam* of verse 6 by 'he' or 'the man', overlooking that this *ayam* is nothing but the *ayam ātmā brahma* of the preceding verse.[66] The distinction is not of one 'man' from another, but of the two forms of Brahma-Prajāpati, 'mortal and immortal',[67] desirous and undesirous, circumscribed and uncircumscribed, etc. (*ŚB*, IV.7.5.2; *BU*, II.3; *MU*, VI.36, etc.), and of the 'two minds, pure and impure' (*MU*, VI.34.6), from one another.[68] If we were in any doubt on this point, it is made very clear by the words of *BU*, IV.3.35-8, 'Here comes Brahma!', that it is not an individual but God himself that comes and goes when 'we' are born or die.

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[62] Similarly in answer to the questions asked or implied, *kiṁ atiśiṣyate* or *avaśiṣyate*, in *CU*, II.10.3, VIII.1.4, and *BU*, V.1. The Endless (Ananta) residue (Śeṣa) is that Brahman, Akṣara, etc., who was originally ophidian (*apād*) and endless (*AV*, X.8.21; *BU*, III.8.8; *Muṇḍ Up.*, I.1.6; *MU*, VI.17) and now that all semblance of otherness is discarded remains the same World Serpent 'endless, for that both his ends meet (*anantam . . . antavac cā samante*, *AV*, X.8.12)'; this Śeṣa being the Ucchiṣṭa of *AV*, XI.7 and Pūrṇam of *AV*, X.8.29. See also Coomaraswamy, '*Ātmayajña*', Appendix II [in this volume—Ed.].

[63] P. Deussen, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (Berlin, 1997), 20. As in Buddhist procedure, where each of the five factors of the psycho-physical personality is dismissed with the words, 'That is not my Self (*na me so attā*)'.

[64] Meister Eckhart, Pfeiffer ed., p. 261.

[65] As in *MU*, VII.11.8 *carati . . . satyānṛtopabhogārtho dvaitibhāvo mahātmanaḥ*, 'The Great Self, having two natures, proceeds (moves, circulates, transmigrates) with intent to experience both the true and the false.'

[66] On the interpretation of this *ayam*, cf. Śaṅkarācārya on *BU*, I.4.10, 'One must not think that the word "Brahma" here means "a man who will become Brahma", for that would involve an antinomy. . . . If the objection be made that from *BU*, III.2.13 *puṇyena karmaṇā bhavati* "by good deed one becomes good", . . . it follows that there must be a transmigrating self other than and distinguishable from the Supreme (*parasmād vilaksaṇo 'nyaḥ saṁsārī*), . . . we say, No . . . for one thing cannot "become" another.' It can only become what it is. *Τνῶθι σεαυτόν*; *Werde was du bist.*

[67] *Ṛ̣V*, I.164.38 *amartya martyenā sayoniḥ.* On these two selves (Plato's mortal and

It would be an antinomy to apply to myself—this man, So-and-so—or to any other someone amongst others the words, 'that art thou', or to think of myself, *le moi*, as the 'I' of Swāmī Nirbhayānanda's

I am the bird caught in the net of illusion,
I am he who bows down the head
And the One to whom he bows:
I alone exist, there is neither seeker nor sought.[69]
When at last I realized Unity, then I knew what
   had been unknown,
That I had always been in union with Thee.[70]

When the soul-bird at last escapes from the net of the fowler (Psalms 124:7) and finds its King, then the apparent distinction of immanent from transcendent being dissolves in the light of day, and it hears and speaks with a voice that is at once its own and its King's, saying

I was the Sin that from Myself rebell'd:
I the remorse that tow'rd Myself compell'd . . .
Pilgrim, pilgrimage and Road
Was but Myself toward Myself: and Your
Arrival but Myself at my own door.[71]

II

It has been, we think, sufficiently shown that the scriptures of the Vedānta, from the *Ṛgveda* to the *Bhagavad Gītā*, know of but One Transmigrant. Such a doctrine follows, indeed, inevitably from the word Advaita. The argument,

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immortal souls that dwell together in us) see Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power*, 1942, pp. 72ff.

[68] Pure, 'by disconnection with desire', impure 'by contamination with desire'. The pure Mind is the *daivaṁ manas* of *BU*, I.5.19, identified with Brahma in *BU*, IV.1.6 (*mano vai samrāṭ paramaṁ brahma*) and with Prajāpati in *TS*, VI.6.10.1, *ŚB*, IX.4.1.12, and *passim*. This is Plato's unchangeable Mind 'in which only the Gods and but few men participate', as distinguished from irrational Opinion, subject to persuasion (*Timaeus* 51DE). Cf. Coomaraswamy, 'On Being in One's Right Mind', 1942.

[69] 'The eternal procession is the revelation of Himslf to Himself. The knower being that which is known' (Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I.394). 'It knew Itself, that "I am Brahma", there with It became the All' (*BU*, I.4.10).

[70] I know these lines only from H.P. Shastri, *Indian Mystic Verse* (London, 1941).

[71] Faridu'd-Din 'Aṭṭār, *Mantiqu'ṭ-Tair*, cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, I.3056-65, and *JUB*, III.14.1-5.

'Brahma is only metaphorically called a "life" (*jīva*, living being) on account of his connection with accidental conditions, the actual existence of any one such "life" lasting for only so long as He continues to be bound by any one set of accidents' (Śaṅkarācārya on *BrSBh*, III.2.10), is only an expansion of the implications of the logos, 'That art thou'.

We have also indicated more briefly the *ὁμολογία* of the Indian and Platonic traditions, and have alluded to the Islamic parallels: rather to make the doctrine more comprehensible than to imply any derivation. From the same point of view we have still to refer to the Judaic and Christian doctrines. In the Old Testament we find that when we die and give up the ghost, 'Then shall the dust return to the dust as it was: and the spirit (*ruaḥ*) shall return to God who gave it' (Eccl., 12:7). Of this, D.B. Macdonald remarks, the Preacher 'is heartily glad, for it means a final escape for man'.[72] To be 'glad' of this can be thought of only for one who has known *who* he is and in *which* self he hopes to go hence. For the Jews, who did not anticipate a 'personal immortality', the soul (*nefeṣ*) always implies 'the lower, physical nature, the appetites, the psyche of St. Paul'[73]—all that in Buddhist terms 'is not my Self '—and they must therefore have believed, as Philo assuredly did, in a 'soul of the soul', the *πνεῦμα* of St. Paul.[74]

In Christianity there is a doctrine of *karma* (the operation of mediate causes) and of a fate that lies in the created causes themselves, but no doctrine of reincarnation. No stronger abjections of the 'soul' are anywhere to be found than are met with in the Christian Gospels. 'No man can be my disciple who hateth not . . . his own soul' (*ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν*, Luke, 14:26); that soul which 'he who hateth in this world shall keep it unto life eternal' (John, 12:25), but which 'whoever seeks to save, shall lose' (Luke, 9:25). Compared with the Disposer (*conditor* = *saṁdhātṛ*), other beings 'are neither beautiful, nor good, nor are at all' (*nec sunt*, St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XI.4). The central doctrine has to do with the 'descent' (*avataraṇa*) of a Soter whose eternal birth was 'before Abraham' and 'though whom all things were made'. This One himself declares that 'no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven' (John, 3:13); and says, moreover, 'Whither I go, *ye* cannot come' (John, 8:21), and that 'If any man would follow me, let him deny himself' (Mark, 8:24).[75]

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[72] *Hebrew Philosophical Genius*, Princeton and Oxford, 1936, p. 136.

[73] Ibid., p. 139. So in Islam, e.g. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, I.1375ff., 'This carnal self (*nafs*) is Hell, and Hell is a Dragon. . . . To God (alone) belongs this foot (the power) to kill it'; I.3274, 'When the soul of the soul (*jān-ī-jān* = God, I.1781) withdraws from the soul, the soul becomes even as the soulless body, know this'; cf. *JUB*, IV.26 'Mind is a hell, speech is a hell, sight is a hell', etc., the internal conflict of Reason (*'aql* = *νοῦς*) with the carnal soul (*nafs*) is compared to that of a man and woman living together in one house (ibid., I.2616ff.). As Jahangir said in his memoirs apropos of Gosain Jadrūp, Tasawwuf and Vedānta are the same. As R.A. Nicholson (on *Mathnawī*, I.2812) puts it, the Sūfī doctrine is that 'God is the essence of all existences . . . [while] everything in the world of contingency is separated from the Absolute [only] by individualization. The prophets were sent to unite the particulars with the Universal'.

[74] With reference to the doctrine elsewhere, A.H. Gebhard-Lestrange states very correctly that 'the transmigration of souls is generally misinterpreted as the passing of a soul from one person to another. . . . What actually takes place is that the Individual [ized] God-Soul incarnates again and again until It attains the aim of incarnating as a Seeker who will go upon the Quest and eventually lose individuality and become one with the freed God-Soul' (*The Tradition of Silence in Myth and Legend*, Boston, 1940, p. 63). Notable repudiations of reincarnationist interpretation will be found in *Hierocles on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, tr. N. Rowe (London, 1906), V.53; in Hermes, *Lib.*, X.19-22; and in Marsilio Ficino, who held, in the words of Kristeller, that 'whatever Plato seems to speak of a transmigration of the human soul into other natural species, we must understand by it the different forms and habits of human life' (Paul O. Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, New York, 1943, p. 118). Cf. Eisler, 'Orphisch-Dionysische Mysterien-Gedanken', p. 295.

'The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul (*ψυχή*) from spirit (*πνεῦμα*, Heb., 4:12)'. When St. Paul, who distinguishes the Inner and the Outer Man (II Cor., 4:16; Eph., 3:16), says of himself, 'I live, yet *not* I, but Christ in me' (Gal., 2:20)[76] he has denied himself, has lost his soul to save it and knows 'in whom, when he departs hence, he will be departing'; what survives (*atiśiṣyate*) will not be 'this man', Paul, but—the Savior himself. In Sūfī terms, 'St. Paul' is 'a dead man walking'.[77]

When the Savior's visible presence is withdrawn he is represented *in* us by the Counsellor (*παράκλητος*),[78] 'even the Spirit of Truth (*τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας*) . . . which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, . . . He will lead you into all truth' (John, 14:17, 26; 16:13). In him we cannot but see Plato's immanent *Δαίμων* and *Ηγεμών*,[79] 'who cares for nothing but the truth' and whom God has given to each one of us 'to dwell along with him and *in* him' (*Hippias major*, 288D, *Timaeus* 90AB); St. Augustine's Ingenium, the scholastic Synteresis, Dante's Amor, and our Inwyt or Conscience in its fullest (and not merely ethical) significance.

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[75] 'Man should strive for this, that he turn his thoughts away from himself and all creatures and know no father but God alone' (Meister Eckhart, Pfeiffer ed., p. 421). Much more is implied than a merely ethical 'self-denial'. On our two selves, cf. also Jacob Boehme, *Signatura rerum*, IX.65.

[76] In the same sense St. Paul writes to his disciples, 'For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God . . . who is our life' (Col. 3:3, 4).

For a discussion of the implications of St. Paul's words see E. Mersch, *The Whole Christ*, tr. John R. Kelly (London, 1949), II.274ff. (1936). Thus for Cajetan they mean that Christ is the sole thinker, seer, actor, etc. in 'Paul'. Barthélemy of Medina maintained that whatever good works 'we' do are really done by Christ in us as sole agent.

[77] Like Abū Bakr; see Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, VI.747-9. In this sense the saying, 'Die before ye die', is attributed to Muhammad.

[78] *Cathedram habet in caelo qui intus corda docet* (St. Augustine, *In epist. Joannis ad Parthos*). *Omne verum, a quocumque dicatur, est a spiritu sancto* (S. Ambrose on I Cor., 13:3). *Dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt* (*ṚV*, III.62.10) . . . *yo buddhyantastho dhyāyīha* (*MU*, VI.34).

[79] *Ātmano 'tmā netā' mṛtah*, *MU*, VI.7. *Viśvo devasya* (*savitur*) *netur marto vurīta sakhyam*, *ṚV*, V.50.1.

'His world is the World-indeed,[80] whose Self, the All-maker, All-doer, who indwells this abysmal bodily-composite, has been found and is awakened (*yasyānuvittaḥ pratibuddha ātmā*)[81] . . . the Lord of what hath been and shall be. . . . Desiring him only for their World, the travellers (*pravrājin*) abandon this world: (*BU*, IV.4.13, 15, 22)—'lest the Last Judgment come and find me unannihilate, and I be seiz'd and bound and given into the hands of my own selfhood' (William Blake).

Only, indeed, if we recognize that Christ and not 'I' is our real Self and the only experient in every living being can we understand the words, 'I was an hungered . . . I was thirsty . . . Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me' (Matt., 26:35ff.). It is from this point of view that Meister Eckhart speaks of the man who knows himself as 'seeing thy Self in everyone, and everyone in thee' (Evans ed., II., 132), as the *Bhagavad Gītā* speaks of the unified man as 'everywhere seeing the same Lord universally hypostasized, the Self established in all beings and all beings in the Self' (VI.29 with XIII.28). Were it not that whatever we do to 'others' is thus really done to our Self that is also their Self, there would be no metaphysical basis for any doing to 'others' as we would be done by; the principle is implicit in the rule and only more explicit elsewhere. The command to 'hate' our relatives (Luke, 14:26) must be understood from the same point of view: 'others' are no more valid objects of love than 'I' am; it is not as 'our' relatives or neighbours that they are to be loved, but as our Self (*ātmanas tu kāmāya*, *BU*, II.4.5);[82] just as it is only himself that God loves in us, so it is God we ought to love in one another.

Upon this immanent Spirit of Truth, the Divine Eros, our very life depends, until we 'give up the ghost'—the Holy Ghost. 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh avails nothing' (John, 6:63). 'The power of the soul, which is in the semen through the Spirit enclosed therein, fashions the body' (*Sum. Theol.*, III.32.11).[83] This is the 'Sower (ὁ σπείρων) went forth to sow . . . Some fell upon stony places . . . But other fell into good ground. . . .

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[80] 'World' (*loka*) here absolutely (as in *BU*, I.4.15-17, 1.5.17; *CU*, I.9.3; *MU*, VI.24; *ŚB*, I.8.1.31, etc., where the contingent and real worlds are contrasted); the Kingdom of Heaven, 'within you' (*BU*, III.9.17, 25).

[81] *Pratibuddha* agreeing with *ātmā*, not with *yasya*. Cf. *BD*, VII.57 (n. 85).

[82] So 'a man, out of charity, ought to love himself more than he loves any other person . . . more than his neighbor' (*Sum. Theol.*, II-11.26.4). Cf. *BU*, II.4.1-9 (mutual love is not of one another as such, but of the immanent spiritual Self); Hermes, *Lib.*, IV.6B; Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, IX. 8; and Marsilio Ficino, originator of the term 'Platonic love', importing that 'true love between two persons is by nature a common love for God' (Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, pp. 279, 287).

[83] 'He who, dwelling in the semen, yet is other than the semen, unseen Seer, unthought Thinker . . . Inner Controller' (*BU*, III.7.23), 'who grasps and erects the flesh' (*Kauṣ. Up.*, III.3). 'Say not "from semen"' (*BU*, III.9.28.5), for 'without the Breath semen is not effused, or if it be, it will decay, and not produce' (*AĀ*, III.2.2).

The field is the world' (Matt., 13:3-9, 37)—*sadasad yonim āpadyate* (*MU*, III.2).[84] And is this Divine Eros, the 'Knower of the Field' (*BG*, XIII), any other than the Prodigal Son 'who was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found'—dead for so long as he had forgotten who he was, and alive again 'when he came to himself '[85] (Luke, 15:11ff.)?

It has been said, 'Ye crucify him daily' (cf. Heb. 6:6), and so assuredly does every man who is convinced that 'I am' or 'I do' and therewith divides up this One conceptually into many independent and possible beings.[86] Of all the conclusions to be drawn from the doctrine of the One and Only Transmigrant, the most poignant is this, that whereas He is the bird caught in the net, the Ram caught in the thicket, the sacrificial Victim and our Savior, he cannot save *us* except and unless we, by the sacrifice and denial of our self, also save *Him*.[87]

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[84] Cf. Plato, *Timaeus,* 41 and 69, where God, the Maker and Father, instructs the gods, his sons, as subservient causes, to bring together the mortal part of creatures, but 'as for that immortal part, which we call the Divine Guide (*θεῖον . . . ἡγεμονοῦν*), that part I will deliver unto you when I have sown it (*σπείρας . . . ἐγὼ παραδώσω*)'.

[85] 'Came to himself', *εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐλθών*. Sāyaṇa on *ṚV*, IV.27.1, *ātmānāṁ jānan*; *BD*, VII.57, *tataḥ sa buddhvā ātmānam;* Sāyaṇa on *BU*, I.4.10, *nanu smarasy ātmānam.*

[86] *ṚV*, X.90.11, *katidhā vy akalpayan*, 'How manyfold did they divide him?'; conversely *AB*, I.18, *na vai na itthaṁ vihṛto'nnam bhaviṣyati, hantemaṁ yajñaṁ sambharāma*, 'It will not suffice for our food that we have dismembered the Sacrifice, come, let us gather him together again'.

[87] As is also implied in the Christian doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ. Cf. St. Augustine, 'When we all sing, it is that One man who sings in us' (*In Ps.* 136); in praying, we should not say 'we' but 'I', because although it is actually a multitude that speaks severally, really 'it is that One Man who speaks, who is distributed throughout the world' (*In Ps.* 122); and so, 'If, on the one hand, we die in him and in him are resurrected, he on the other hand dies and is resurrected in us' (*Epist.* 140).

The Doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ is represented in Buddhism by that of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha. It is in the Saṁgha (√*saṁhan*) that the distributed Buddha-nature is reintegrated; in this communion those separated members are reunited, which Prajāpati 'could not put together again' (*na śaśāka saṁhātuṁ*, *ŚB*, I.6.3.36) otherwise than by means of the Sacrifice in which the sacrificer (identified with the oblation) and the Sacrifice are jointly regenerated.

VEDIC 'MONOTHEISM'

Vedic 'Monotheism'

One only Fire is kindled manifold, one only Sun is present to one and all, one only Dawn illuminates this all: that which is only One becomes this all.

Ṛgveda, VIII.58.2

Modern scholarship for the most part postulates only a gradual development in Indian metaphysics of a notion of a single principle, of which principle the several gods (*devāḥ, viśve devāḥ*, etc.) are, as it were, the powers, operative aspects, or personified attributes. But as Yāska expresses it, 'It is because of His great divisibility (*māhā-bhāgyāt*) that they apply many names to Him, one after another. . . . The other gods (*devāḥ*) come to be (*bhavanti*) submembers (*pratyaṅgāni*) of the One Spirit (*ēkasyātmanaḥ*) . . . their becoming is a birth from one another, they are of one another's nature; they originate in function (*karma*);[1] the Spirit is ther origin . . . Spirit (*ātman*) is the whole of what a God is' (*Nirukta*, VII.4). Similarly, *BD*, 1.70-4: 'Because of the magnitude of the Spirit (*māhātmyāt*) a diversity of names is given (*vidhīyate*)[2]. . . according to the distribution of their spheres (*sthānavibhāgēna*). It is inasmuch

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[1] It is, in fact, *Viśvakarmā*, the Doer of All Things, that gives their 'names', that is to say, their individual being, to the gods, and is therefore called *devānāṁ nāmadhāḥ*, X.82.3. [The functions are 'merely the names of Brahma's acts', *BU*, I.4.7; 'all functionings arise from the Spirit', ibid. 1.6.3; 'all action stems from Brahma', *BG*, III.5; cf. Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., II.175.]

[2] [Almost verbally identical with Jan van Ruysbroeck, 'because of his incomprehensible nobility and sublimity, which we cannot rightly name nor wholly express, we give Him all these names', *Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage*, XXV. 'For I deem it impossible that He who is the maker of the universe in all its greatness, the Father or Master of all things, can be named by a single name; I hold that He is nameless, or rather, that all names are names of Him. For He in his unity is all things; so that we must either call all things by his name, or call him by the name of all things', Hermes, *Asclepius*, III.20A.

'He alone has the spirit of Christ who has changed his forms and his names from the beginning of the world and so reappeared again and again in the world' (Clement, *Clementine Homilies*, III.20, cf. *BG*, IV.8, *sambhavāmi yuge yuge*). 'Each angelical prince is a property out of the voice of God, and bears the great name of 'God'' (Jacob Boehme, *Signatura rerum*, XVI.5). Cf. *JUB*, III.1, where the Gale of the Spirit (*vāyu*) is called 'the one entire godhood' (*eka . . . kṛtsnā devatā*), the rest are 'semigodhoods'.]

as they are 'differentiations', 'presences' (*vibhūtiḥ*),[3] that the names are innumerable. But the shapers (*kavayaḥ*) in their incantations (*mantreṣu*) say that the godhoods (*devatās*) have a common source; they are called by different names according to the spheres in which they are established.[4] Some say that they are participants therein (*tad bhaktāḥ*), and that such is their derivation; but as regards the aforesaid Trinity of world-rulers, it is well understood that the whole of their participation (*bhaktiḥ*) is in the Spirit (*ātman*)'.[5]

The foregoing passages illustrate the normal method of theology in any discussion *de divinis nominibus,* when a recognition of the various operations of a single principle gives rise to the superficial appearance of a polytheism. In Christianity, for example, 'we do not say the *only God,* for deity is common to several' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.31.2c); still, 'To create beings belongs to God according to His own being, that is His essence, which is common to the three Persons. Hence to create is not peculiar to any one Person, but is common to the whole Trinity' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.45.6c); and it is well understood that 'Although the names of God have one common reference, still because the reference is made under many and different aspects, these names are not synonymous. . . . The many aspects of these names are not empty and vain, for there corresponds to all of them one single reality represented by them in a manifold and imperfect manner' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.13a *ad* 2).[6] [Cf. Sāyaṇa on *ŚB*, I.6.1.20: Prajāpati is inexplicit because He is esentially all the gods and hence it cannot be said of Him that 'He is this or that' (*ayam asāviti*) but only that 'He is'. And also Hermes Trismegistos: 'Are we to say that it is right that the name of 'God' (*θεός*, *deva*) should be assigned to Him, or that of Maker (*ποιητής*, *kāvya*) or that of Father (*πατέρ*, *pitṛ*, Prajāpati)? Nay, all three names are His; He is rightly named 'God' by reason of His power, and 'Maker' by reason of the work He does, and Father by reason of His goodness', *Lib.*, XIV.4.] In the same way, Plotinus: 'This life of the ensouled stars is one identical thing, since they are one in the All-Soul, so that their very spatial movement is pivoted upon identity and resolves itself into a movement not spatial but vital', *Enneads,* IV.4.8.

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[3] ['The Gale is omnipresent (*vāyur ākāśam anuvibhavati*)', *JUB*, IV.12.10; and so, as Kṛṣṇa says, 'There is no end to my divine presences' or (*nānto'sti mama divyānāṁ vibhūtīnām, BG*, X.40). It is to these 'presences' or 'powers' that the many names are given.]

[4] [Cf. *PB*, XX.15.2.2 where the spheres of action of Agni, Vāyu and Āditya are called their 'lots' or 'shares' (*bhaktiḥ*).]

[5] An ontology of this kind is not properly to be called pantheistic or monistic. This would only be legitimate if, when the essence has been analyzed into its many aspects, there were no remainder; on the contrary, the whole of Indian scripture, beginning with the *Ṛgveda,* consistently affirms that what remains exceeds the whole of that which suffices to fill up these worlds, and that the source remains unaffected by whatever is produced from it or returned to it at the beginning or end of an aeon. The view that all this is a theophany does not mean that *all* of Him is seen; on the contrary, 'only a quarter', so to speak, of his abundance (*ṚV*, X.90.3, cf. *MU*, VI.35, *BG*, X.42) suffices to fill up the worlds of time and space, however far they may extend, however long they may endure.

Cf. Whitby in the preface to the English version of René Guénon, *L'Homme et son devenir selon le védanta* (Paris, 1925): 'It is to be hoped that this book will give the *coup de grâce* to the absurd and well-nigh unaccountable prejudice which persistently depreciates the *Vedic* doctrine on account of its alleged "pantheism". This parrot-cry . . .'; and Lacombe, in the the preface to René Grousset, *Les philosophies indiennes* (Paris, 1931) 'Il ne faut pas conclure, à notre avis, que le Vedānta soit panthéiste, ou même moniste, surtout au sens que ces mots ont chez nous. Il se nomme lui-même *advaita,* non-dualiste. Sa pre-occupation d'assurer la transcendance de Brahman non moins que son immanence, de maintenir l'intériorité de son Gloire, est manifesté. Position irréductible . . .'; and Coomaraswamy, *A New Approach to the Vedas: An Essay in Translation and Exegesis,* 1933, p. 42.

It may be added that similar objection can be made to the word 'Monotheism' in the title of the present essay. *Tad ekam* in *ṚV*, X.129.2 is much rather 'Supreme Identity' than 'only God'. It is as 'only God', with aspects as many as the points of view from which He is regarded, that 'That One' becomes intelligible; but what That One may be in itself can only be expressed in terms of negation, for example, 'without duality'. See Erwin Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus* (New Haven, 1940), p. 105.

That these conceptions of the identity of the First Principle with all its powers are current in the Brāhmaṇas and the *Atharvaveda* is well known. There may be cited, for example, *ŚB*, X.5.2.16, 'As to this they say, 'Is then Death one or many?' One should answer, 'One and many'. For, inasmuch as He is That (Person in the Sun), He is one; and inasmuch as He is multiply distributed (*bahudhā vyàviṣṭiḥ*) in His children, He is many', to be read together with verse 20: 'As He is approached, even such He becomes (*yathopāsate tad eva bhavati*)';[7] and *AV*, VIII.9.26, 'One Bull, one Prophet, one Home, a single Ordinance, one simplex Yakṣa in His ground, one Season that is never emptied out'; and *AV*, I.12.1, where Agni is described as 'One energy whose procession is threefold (*ekam ojas tredhā vicakrame*)'.

It is more often overlooked that the same point of view is so explicitly and repeatedly affirmed in the *Ṛgveda* as to leave no room for any misunderstanding. A full discussion of the Vedic formulation of the problem of the one and the many would require an extended study of Vedic exemplarism

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[6] [In 'dividing Himself (*ātmānaṁ vibhajya*) to fill these worlds' (*MU*, VI.26, etc.), He remains 'undivided in these divisions' (*avibhakta vibhhakteṣu*, *BG*, XVIII.20, cf. XIII.16), 'unmeasured, i.e. im-material, amongst the measured' (*vimite'mita*, *AV*, X.7.39; *amātra*, *BU*, III.8.8, etc.); the immanent gods, the Spirations (*prāṇaḥ*), are 'measures of Fire' (*tejo-mātrāḥ*, *BU*, IV.4.1), viz., 'the ever-lasting Fire, in measures being kindled and in measures dying out' (Heracleitus, *Fr.* 30). 'In other words, there are not in Him many existences, but only one sole existence, and his various names and attributes are merely his modes and aspects' (Jāmī, *Lawā'iḥ* XV).]

[7] [E.g. *AB*, III.4, 'In that one resorts to (*upāsate*) Him as one to be made a friend of (*mitrakṛtyaiva*), that is his form as the Friend (*mitra*)'. In the *Kailāyamalai*, Śiva is addressed as 'Thou that take the forms imagined by thy worshippers' (see *Ceylon National Review*, January 1907, p. 285).]

(see Coomaraswamy, 'Vedic Exemplarism' [in the present volume—Ed.], but we may call attention to the expression *viśvam ekam*, 'integral multiplicity', in *ṚV*, III.54.8. All that we propose now is to assemble some of the most conspicuous of the Vedic texts in which the identity of the one and the many is categorically affirmed; adding that, even were none of these explicit statements available, the law expressed in them could have been independently deduced from an analysis of the functions attributed to the various powers, for although these functions are characteristic of particular deities, they are never entirely peculiar to any one of them.[8]

Familiar passages, often dismissed as 'late', include *ṚV*, I.164.46: 'The priests refer in many different ways (*bahudhā vadanti*) to That that is but one, they call Him Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan: they call Him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, who is the heavenly eagle (*suparṇa*) Garutmān'; *ṚV*, X.114.5, 'Ecstatic shapers (*viprāḥ kavayaḥ*) conceive of Him in many ways (*bahudhā kalpayanti*) the eagle that is one'; and X.90.11, where, after the First Sacrificers have divided up (*vyadadhuḥ*) the Person, the question is posed in *brahmodya* fashion, 'How many-fold did they think Him out?' (*katidhā vyakalpayan*).[9] It is precisely this goal (*artham*) of being made to dwell in many places (*bahudhā niviṣṭā*) that Agni dreads, as He lingers in the darkness (*tamasi kṣeṣi*, X.51. 4-5), although, in fact, even while He proceeds He still remains within (*anu agraṁ carati kṣeti budhnaḥ*, III.55.7 = *kṛṣṇe budhne*, IV.17.14 = *vṛṣabhasya nīḷe*, IV.1.12, etc.). As Eckhart expresses it, 'the Son remains within as essence and goes forth as person . . . the divine nature steps forth into relation of otherness, other but not another, for this distinction is rational, not real'. 'To the Shapers He is manifested as the Sun of men' (*āvir . . . abhavat sūryo nṛn*, *ṚV*, I.146.4).[10] CF. Plotinus, V.8.9, 'He who is the one god . . . what place can be named to which He does not reach?'

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[8] Max Müller invented the term 'henotheism' to describe this method, which he apparently imagined to have been peculiar to the Vedas. Christianity, as a matter of fact, is 'henotheistic' insofar as it affirms that whatever is done by one of the Persons is done by all, and *vice versa*. A fully developed 'henotheism' is even more characteristic of Stoicism and of Philo, cf. Émile Bréhier, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1925), pp. 112, 113: 'La conception de dieux myrionymes, d'un dieu unique auquel sous ses différentes formes s'addressent les priéres des initiés était familière au stoïcisme . . . de méme que dans les hymnes orphiques, la toutepuissance de chaque Dieu n'empêche pas leur hiérarchie, de même ici [that is, according to Philo] les êtres sont classés bién souvent hiérarchiquement comme s'il s'agissait d'êtres distincts'. [And Plotinus, V.8.9, 'He and all have one existence, while each again is distinct. It is distinction by state without interval: there is no outward form to set one here and another there and to prevent any from being an entire identity; yet there is no sharing of parts from one to another. Nor is each of these divine wholes a power in fragment . . . the divine is one all-power'. The second passage might have been written of the Christian Trinity.] Here also, then, we meet with that superficial appearance of polytheism by which the apologist of some other religion than that under discussion is so conveniently deceived, the Muslim for example, when he calls the Christian doctrine of the Trinity 'polytheistic'.

[9] Vāc, the Magna Mater, is similarly 'divided' by the gods, and made to occupy multifarious stations (*mā devā vyadadhuḥ purutrā bhūristhātrāṁ bhūryā-veśayantīm*, *ṚV*, X.125.3). It is made abundantly clear throughout that the divine unity is essential, the multiplicity conceptual.

Equally explicit, however, are the statements scattered through the other books. In particular, He is often said to have two different forms, according to His being in the Day or Night, and this is 'as He wills' (*yathā vaśam*, *ṚV*, III.48.4, VII.101.3; cf. X.168.4 abd *AV*, VI. 72.1). When this is expressed as 'Now He becometh sterile (*starīr u tvad bhavati*) now begets (*sūte u*)', VII.101.3, the latter expression, like His designation as *sūḥ* in I.146.5, is as much as to say *savitā bhavati*, 'He becomes Savitṛ'. Cf. III.55.19 and X.10.5, where Tvaṣṭṛ and Savitṛ are identified by apposition. In *ṚV*, III.20.3 and VIII.93.17, Agni and Indra are called polynominal (*bhūrīṇi-nāma*, *puru-nāma*) and in II.1, Agni is addressed by the names of nearly all the powers, and there are countless passages in which Indra is a designation of the Sun. In VIII.11.8, Agni is 'to be seen in many different places, or aspects' [cf. 1.79.5 and VI.10.2, *agni purvaṇīkaḥ*]. Although His semblance is the same in many places (*purutrā hi sadṛṅṅ asi*, VIII.11.8, I.94.7), yet His becoming is manifold (*purutrā . . . abhavat* I.146.5), and He is given many names, for 'Even as He showeth, so is He called' (*yādṛg eva dadṛśe tādṛg ucyate*, V.44.6),[11] of which *ŚB*, X.5.2.20, cited above, is hardly more than a paraphrase. *ṚV*, I.146.5, cited above, is based on innumerable texts scattered throughout the *Ṛgveda*, e.g. III.5.4 and 9, where Agni is identified with Mitra, Varuṇa, and Mātariśvan; in IV.42.3, Varuṇa identifieis Himself with Indra and Tvaṣṭṛ; similarly in V.3.1-2, Agni is identified with Mitra, Varuṇa, and Indra. Nor is this a matter of mere suggestion; the particular points of view from which the different names are appropriate is carefully stated.

[In the same way, if Agni as the Sun is the 'face' or 'point' (*anīka*) of the gods (*ṚV*, 1.115.1, V11.88.2, etc.), and at the same time logically 'many-faced' (*purvaṇīkaḥ*), 'this does not put something real in the eternal God, but only something according to our way of thinking' (*Sum. Theol.*, III.35.5c), for 'Men in their sacrificial worship have imposed upon Thee, Agni, the many faces' (*bhūrīṇi hi tve dadhire anīkāgne devasya yājyavo janāsaḥ*, *ṚV*, III.19.4). The 'faces' or 'points' of the solar Agni are in fact his 'rays', those very rays by which the Spiritual Sun supports the being of all things, but by which the solar Gateway is concealed (*JUB*, I.3.6), he who would enter in praying, accordingly, that the rays may be dispersed (*Īśā Up.*, 15, etc.). Otherwise expressed, Agni is the Tree of Life (*vanaspati*, *passim*), 'The "other Fires" are thy branches'

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[10] John 1:4, *et vita erat lux hominum.* [The Spiritual Sun (of *ṚV*, I.115.1, etc.) is the 'Light of lights' (*jyotiṣāṁ jyotis*, *ṚV*, I.113.1, *BU*, IV.4.16, etc.); 'The bright Light of lights is what the knowers of the Spirit (*ātma-vidaḥ*) know', *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.10); the 'Father of lights' (James 1:17).]

[11] As in *Sum. Theol.*, I.13.1 *ad* 3, 'Pronomina vero demonstrativa dicuntur de Deo, secundum quod faciunt demonstrationem ad id quod intelligitur, non ad id quod sentitur. Secundum enim quod a nobis intelligitur, secundum hoc sub demonstrationem cadit'.

(*ṚV*, I.59.1): 'all other Agnis stem from thee, O Agni'; 'All these deities are forms of Agni' (*AB*, III.4).[12]]

In many cases the verb *bhū*, to 'become', as it occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Nirukta* texts already cited, is employed in the *Ṛgveda* to denote in the same sense the passing over from one name and function to another. For example *ṚV*, III.5.4, 'Agni becometh (*bhavati*) Mitra when enkindled, Mitra the priest; and Varuṇa becometh Jātavedas'; cf. IV.42.3, 'I, Varuṇa, am Indra', and V.3.1-2, 'Thou, Agni, art Varuṇa at birth, (*bhuvo varuṇo yad ṛtāya veṣi*, X.8.5), becomest (*bhavasi*) Mitra when enkindled. In thee, O son of strength, abide the Universal Gods; Indra art thou to the mortal worshipper. With respect to maidens thou becomest Aryaman, and as Svadhāvan bearest a secret name' (*nāma . . . guhyam*), probably as Trita of I.163.3, 'Trita art thou by the interior operation (*asi . . . tritoguhyena vratena*)'. Again, *ṚV*, III.29.11, 'As Titan Germ he is called Tanūnapāt,[13] when born abroad is Narāśaṃsa, when fashioned in the Mother he becometh Mātariśvan, the Gale of the Spiritus in its course' (*tanūnapād ucyate garbha āsuro narāśaṁso bhavati yad vijāyate mātariśvā yad amimīta mātari vātasya sargo [garbha] abhavat sarīmaṇi*, cf. III.5.9). That Spiritus is indeed Varuṇa's own Essence (*ātma te vāta*, VII.87.2), and the breath of Vāc (X.125.8), a gale whose form is never seen, but is the Essence (*ātmā*) of all the gods, moving as it listeth (X.168.4).

To the foregoing passages, in which the diversified effects of what is really a single operation are considered, may be added *ṚV*, V1.47.18, 'He is the counterform of every form, it is that form of His that we should look upon; Indra, by virtue of His magic powers proceeds as multiform' (*rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratirūpo babhūva tad asya rūpaṁ praticakṣaṇāya, indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa īyate*), a passage closely corresponding to Eckhart's 'single form that is the form of many different things', resuming the scholastic doctrine of exemplarism. And whereas in X.2.1 Agni alone is *ṛtupati*, in *ṚV*, V1.9.5, 'The Several Gods with one common mind and common will unerring move upon the single season' (*ekam ṛtum*, cf. *eka ṛtu in AV*, VIII.9.26, cited above), closely corresponding to *Sum. Theol.*, III.32.1 ad 3, where what is done by one of the Persons of the Trinity is said to be done by all, 'because there is one nature and one will'.

ŚB, VIII.7.3.10, 'Yonder Sun strings these worlds upon his Spirit as upon a thread', *BG*, VII.7, 'All this is threaded upon me', and X.20, 'I am the Spirit seated in the heart of all beings', merely repeat the thought of *ṚV*, 1.115.1, 'The Sun is the Spirit (*ātman*) of all that is moving or at rest'. In X.121.2, Hiraṇyagarbha (Agni, Prajāpati), is called the 'giver of Spirit', (*ātmadā*), and it is in this sense that Agni in I.149.3, is 'of hundred-fold Essence' (*śatātmā*) [cf. *bhūri nāma vandamāno dadhāti*, V.3.10]. In X.51.7 Agni is called upon to give the gods their 'share' (*bhāgam*); that is his particular function as priest.

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[12] E.g., *AV*, XIII.3.13, 'This Agni becomes Varuṇa in the evening; in the morning he becomes Mitra', etc.; *JUB*, III.21.1-2, where the Gale (Vāyu) blows from the five quarters—east, south, west, north, and above—respectively as Indra, Īśāna, Varuṇa, Soma, and Prajāpati; *JUB*, IV.5.1, where Agni, 'Varuṇa's messenger', becomes Savitṛ at Dawn, Indra Vaikuṇṭha at noon, Yama at night; *J.* IV.137, 'Sujampati in heaven proclaimed, as Maghava on earth is named'.

[13] The name Tanūnapāt, 'Grandson of Himself', formulates the well-known doctrine that 'Agni is kindled by agni' (*ṚV*, I.12.6, VIII.43.14), according to which in ritual the new Gārhapatya must be lit from the old. Cf. *Sum. Theol.*, III.32A *ad* 1, 'the taking itself (i.e. the assumption of human nature, taking birth) is attributed to the Son, i.e. it is the Son's own (αὐτογενής) act as well as that of the other Persons.

It is thus clear enough that the *Nirukta* and the *Bṛhad Devatā* are fully justified in saying that the gods are participants (*bhakta*) in the divine Essence or spiration; even the phraseology of the Vedic *mantras* is retained by the expositors. The reference to 'participation' leads us to the consideration of Vedic Bhaga, later *Bhagavān*. Bhaga is not a personal name, but rather a general designation of the active power in any of his aspects, as the 'Free Giver' or 'Sharer-out', who makes his *bhaktas* to participate in his riches. These riches can be only the aspects of his Essence, for assuredly we cannot think of deity as possessing anything more than what He himself is; 'Sharing out himself, He fills these worlds full' (*ātmānaṁ vibhajya pūrayati imān lōkān*). This last is indeed an Upaniṣadic text (*MU*, V1.26), but the concept is Vedic. Bhaga is, in fact, referred to by apposition as the 'Dispenser' (*vibhaktṛ*, *ṚV*, V.46.6); and *bhāga* is 'share' or 'dispensation', as in II.17.7, addressed to Indra, 'I pray thee, Bhaga . . . measure out, bring forward, give me that share (*bhāgam*) whereby the body is empowered (*māmaḥ*)', where *bhāgam* = *amṛtasya bhāgam*, in I.164.21; cf. also VIII.99.3, 'Depending upon him, as upon the Sun, the Several (*viśve*, sc. *devāḥ*) have participated in what is Indra's'; I.68.2, where in a laud addressed to Agni, the Several (*viśve*, sc. *devāḥ*) are said to 'participate in thy deity' (*bhajanta devatvam*); VII.81.2 has the prayer at dawn, 'May we be associated in participation' (*sam bhaktena gamemahi*). From these passages it is sufficiently plain that *bhāga* and *vibhaktṛ* are the dispenser or giver, who bestows himself or his substance; *sambhāja*, the participant who shares in the gift; *bhāga*, *bhakṣa*, and *bhakta* the share that is given or received. While these are Vedic expressions, *bhakti*, the act of distribution, or making to partake of what is given, and *bhakta* as the synonym of *vibhaktṛ*, the giver, occur only later.

The vexed problem of the 'origin of the *bhakti* movement' need never, perhaps, have been posed, if renderings such as these had been retained in the translation of later texts, especially that of *Bhagavad Gītā*. *Bhakta* in the *Ṛgveda* may be either the share of 'treasure' obtained by the sacrificer from the deity (IV.1.10, *ratnaṁ devabhaktam*, etc.), or, conversely, the share that is given or appointed to the deities by the sacrificer (I.91.1, *pitaro . . . deveṣu ratnam abhajanta dhīraḥ*), [and typically by Agni as sacrificial priest (*hotṛ*), 'Convey thou graciously unto the gods their share (*bhāgam*) of the oblation' (X.51.7): *Ita missa est*!]. In the latter case the sacrificer or sacrificial priest is the *vibhaktṛ*, and the substitution of *bhakta* for the Vedic *vibhaktṛ* introduces no new conception.

Bhakti implies devotion, because all giving presupposes love: it does not follow that *bhakti* should be translated by 'love'. It is true that the *bhakti-mārga* is also the *prema-mārga*, the passive 'Way of Love', as distinguished from the *jñāna-mārga*, the active 'Way of Gnosis'; but that the expressions *bhakti-mārga*, and *prema-mārga* have a common reference does not make them synonymous (expressions are only 'synonymous' when they refer to the same thing *under the same aspect*). It can hardly be denied that the *pitaraḥ* who in *ṚV*, I.91.1, *abhijanta*, were *bhaktas* in the later sense, or that theirs was a *bhakti-mārga*. We should render *bhakti-mārga* 'Way of Dedication' or 'Way of Devotion' rather than 'Way of Love'. It is true in the same way that 'participation' implies 'love', and *vice versa*, since a love that does not participate in the beloved is by no means 'love', but rather 'desire'. Love and participation are nevertheless logically differentiated conceptions, each of which plays its own part in the definition of the devotional act; and when the two expressions are confused in an equivocal rendering, not only are these shades of meaning lost, but at the same time the evidence of the continuity of Vedic with later thought is concealed, and an unreal problem is evoked.

We then wish to express ourselves as in full agreement with the views of Franklin Edgerton, who concluded that 'everything contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions is not new to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least *very* clearly foreshadowed, in the older Vedic texts',[14] and those of Maurice Bloomfield, who argued 'that *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech, which are largely contemporaneous. . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times; only the redaction of the *mantra* collections seems on the whole to have preceded the redaction of the Brāhmaṇas. . . . The hymns of *Ṛgveda*, like those of the other three Vedas, were liturgical from the very start. This means that they form only a fragment . . . late texts and commentaries may contain the correct explanation';[15] Bloomfield also, with reference to the oldest parts of the *Ṛgveda*, calls it 'the last precipitate, with a long and tangled past behind it of a literary activity of great and indefinite length'.[16]

We are in agreement with Alfred Jeremias, when he says in the Foreword to his *Altorientalische Geisteskultur* (Berlin, 1929): 'Die Menschenheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistessprache'; with Carl Anders Scharbau (*Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, Stuttgart, 1932), 'die Tiefe und Grösse der theologischen Erkenntnis des *Ṛgvedas* keineswegs hinter der des Vedānta zurücksteht';[17] and finally with Sāyaṇa that none of the Vedic references are historical.

It is precisely the fact that the Vedic incantations are liturgical that makes it ureasonable to expect from them a systematic exposition of the philosophy they take for granted; if we consider the *mantras* by themselves, it is as if we had to deduce the Scholastic philosophy only from the libretto of the Mass. Not that this would be impossible, but that we should be accused of reading into the Mass meanings that could not possibly have been present to the mentality prevailing in 'Dark Ages', of yielding, as Professor Keith expresses it (who cannot himself be accused of any such weakness), to 'our natural desire . . . to find reason prevailing in a barbarous age'. In fact, however, the *mantras* and the Latin hymns alike are so closely wrought, their symbolism is employed with such mathematical exactitude (Emile Mâle speaks of Christian symbolism as a 'calculus'), that we cannot possibly suppose that their authors did not understand their own words; it is *we* who misunderstand, if we insist on reading algebra as though it were arithmetic. All that we can learn from literary history is that the doctrines which are taken for granted in the *mantras* were not, perhaps, published until after a certain amount of linguistic change had already taken place; we may find some new words, but we do not meet with new ideas. It is our own fault if we cannot see that Mitrāvaruṇau, of whom the latter is 'the immortal brother of the mortal' former, are none other than the *apara* and the *para* Brahman to whom the Upaniṣads refer as mortal and immortal respectively.

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[14] *JAOS*, XXXVI (1917), 197.
[15] *JAOS*, XV (1893), 144.
[16] *JAOS*, XXIX (1908), 288.
[17] P. 168, n. 166.

Just as, in relation to the Babylonian liturgies, there must also have existed a 'wisdom literature . . . not written to be repeated in temples',[18] and as it must be assumed that there existed the concept of a 'single God . . . [whose] various aspects were not yet considered separate deities in the Sumero-Accadian pantheon',[19] so in the case of the Vedic liturgies, where the occurrence of the concepts of a 'One, that is equally spirated, despirated' (*ānīt avātam*, X.129.2), and of Agni as 'being and non-being in one' (*sadasat*, X.5.7) cannot be called surprising. We see then in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, *Bhagavad Gītā*, and even in Buddhism, nothing but an ultimate recension and publication of what had always been taught, whether to initiates or in those circles the existence of which is implied by the *brahmodya* form of many hymns, and by such Brāhmaṇas as the one who is *ṚV*, X.71.11 is referred to as expounding the lore of the genesis (*vadati jāta-vidyām*), and whom we may assume to have been, like Agni himself, a 'comprehensor of the generations of all things (*viśvā veda janimā*, VI.15.13; cf. IV.27.1)'.

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[18] Stephen Herbert Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar* (Oxford, 1914), p. 11.

[19] Henri Frankfort, *Iraq Excavations of the Oriental Institute, 1932/1933* (Chicago, 1934), I. 47.

[*Addendum*: Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., II, 153, 'Were there an hundred Persons in the Godhead, the man who sees distinctions apart from time and number would apprehend no more than one.']

BHAKTA ASPECTS OF THE ĀTMAN DOCTRINE

Bhakta Aspects of the Ātman Doctrine

> But when the sun has set . . . moon has set . . . fire gone out, and speech hushed, what light does a person here have?
>
> *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV.3.6

A sharp distinction is often drawn between the Way of Gnosis (*jñāna-mārga*) on the one hand and the Way of Dedication (*bhakti-mārga*) or Way of Love (*prema-mārga*) on the other, this distinction corresponding at the same time to that of the Contemplative Life (*sāṁkhya yoga* and *saṁnyāsa* of *BG*) from the Active Life (*karma yoga* of *BG*). The distinction, which is made as if the operations of the intellect and will could be isolated as clearly in the subject as they can be in logic, is one in any case of procedure and, under certain conditions, also one of ends; and such a distinction is certainly not without meaning insofar as it corresponds to one of mysticism from gnosticism, that is, of devotional faith and religious exercises from initiatory teaching and metaphysical practice, of a 'deification' in the sense of assimilation with a perfect consent of will from a 'deification' in which the distinction of knower from known is past.

On the other hand, whatever may be the facts about the devotional works generally attributed to Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, there can be no doubt that Indians whose thought and mode of being is traditional have never found any difficulty in thinking of this greatest and most intellectual exponent of nondualistic (*advaita*) metaphysics as having been at one and the same time a *bhakta* and *jñānī*. Consider in this connection also the markedly devotional phraseology of certain hymns included in V.P. Bhatta's *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* (J.R. Ballantyne, tr., Calcutta, 1851), where, for example, we find, addressed to the spirit (*ātman*), 'Now that I have gotten Thee, I shall never let Thee go' (*idānīṁ tvām ahaṁ prāpto na tyajāmi kadācana*); it is only the academic scholar to whom such an expression of feeling on the part of a Vedāntist can seem incongruous. The *Bhagavad Gītā*, V.2-4, indeed, plainly affirms that for one perfected (*āsthitaḥ samyak*) in either Way, one and the same fruition (*ekaṁ . . . phalam*) and *summum bonum* (*niḥśreyasa*) results, nor can this *summum bonum* intended be any other than the 'despiration in Brahman' (*brahma-nirvāṇam*) of *BG*, V.24-5, *nirvāṇām* here corresponding to *anātyam* in *TU*, 11.7. *BG*, VIII.22 is equally explicit: 'That supernal Person is to be gotten by an exclusive self-dedication' (*puruṣaḥ sa paraḥ . . . bhaktyā labhyas tu ananyayā*), that is to say, by an undivided or 'pure' love as defined by St. Bernard.

[Internal evidence points only to a date after 1936 for the composition of this paper—Ed.]

'Perfected' (*samyak*) in the passage just cited implies an important reservation, since it is not to be supposed that the reward (*phala*) of one who has followed either path halfway will be the same as that of one who reaches its end.[1] One who goes but halfway, whether by a movement of the will as in mysticism, or by means of an intellectual contemplation as in theology, guided only by 'faith', may indeed attain to the highest level of contingent human being and to the vision of the Face of God, but has not yet reached the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam*), and is still in multiplicity.

The Christ as such, as a Person, is not the final goal, but rather the Path itself.[2] The Christ is the Axis of the Universe, Agni 'columnar [*skambhaḥ* = σταυρός] in the nest of proximate life,[3] standing in His ground at the parting of the ways' (*pathāṁ visarge, ṚV,* X.5.6), the Sun (*savitā satyadharmendraḥ*) to Whom all paths converge (*samare pathīnām, VS,* XII.66), and by the same token the Gate of the World, the way out into time and way back into eternity. 'I am the door, by Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out and find pasture. . . .[4] I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life: no man cometh to the Father but by Me' (John, 10:9 and 14:6). Similarly, in the Vedic tradition the Supernal-Sun, the 'Truth' (*satyam*), is the Portal of the Universe and Heaven's only Opening (Cleft, *loka-dvāra, divās-chidra*), as it were the 'Hub of the Chariot Wheel' (*rathasya kha*) passing through which (*ādityaṁ samaye,* 'through the midst of the Sun') the Comprehensor (*vidvān*) is 'wholly liberated' (*atimucyate*) (*JUB,* I.3.5 and III.33, *CU,* VIII.6.5, *Īśā Up.,* 15.16, etc.). 'There is no approach by a side path here in the world' (*MU,* VI.30).[5]

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[1] 'According as men approach me, so do I deal unto them' (*BG*, IV.11), i.e. I give them whatever they seek, whether it be mundane welfare, or 'salvation', or 'liberation': 'Whatever desire he has, that is bestowed upon him', i.e. by the Sun (*ŚB*, I.9.3.16). How the wayfarer's attainment is thus self-determined is admirably stated in the *Abhidharmakośa*, VI.45d: 'Whatever desire is bound up with a given Way, cannot be eradicated by that Way'; the exoteric Christian Way, for example, cannot lead to anything but a 'personal immortality', cannot lead beyond 'salvation' to 'liberation'. No way can be thought of as extending beyond the goal to which it is actually directed.

It may be remarked that although deliverance (*mokṣa, nirvāṇa*) involves a cessation (*nirodha*) of intellection (*vijñāna, citta*, cf. *viññānassa nirodha* = *ceto vimutti*, *D*, I.223), a sharp distinction of *citta, mana, viññāna*, from *atta* is maintained: 'This (*citta, mano, viññāna*) is not 'mine' this is not 'I', this is not my Spirit (*atta*)', *S*, II.94-5. Cf. also *mano niroddhavyaṁ hṛdi*, *MU*, VI.34; *ātmasaṁsthaṁ manaḥ kṛtvā na kiñcid api cintayet*, *BG*, VI.25; and 'The mind must be de-mented' (Eckhart, Evans ed., I, 243). Such a cessation can be of two sorts, (1) a state of real unconsciousness (*asaṁjñi*), or (2) a state of peace (*śānti*) and sameness or perfect simplicity (*samtata*). The former is expressly described (*Abhidharmakośa*, 42-64) as a mistaken conception of deliverance (*niḥsaraṇa*) entertained by certain of the profane (*pṛthagjana*), who may indeed attain to such a condition, but will reawaken to contingent being (cf. *Īśā Up.*, 12, where those who are attached to an ideal of non-entity, *asambhūta*, go to realms of darkness no less than those who are attached to the concept of entity, *sambhūta*); while others of the profane shrink from the idea of 'deliverance' just because they understand that by deliverance is meant 'annihilation'. The quoted passages and whole context show that it is not a destruction of the intellect that is implied by *amanībhāva*, but rather that when the intellect no longer intelligizes, i.e. when there is no longer any distinction of knower and known, of being and knowledge, but only knowledge as being and being as knowledge (in our text, *yac cittas tan mayo bhavati*), 'One *is* what he thinks' and is no longer one who thinks *of* anything; that is Gnosis. Cf. Indra in *CU*, VIII.11, with *Kauṣ. Up.*, IV.20 and Eckhart's, 'What the tyro fears is the expert's delight; the kingdom of God is for none but the thoroughly dead' (Evans ed., I.419). On the other hand, by a dementation in the second sense is implied that form of beatitude to which the Transmundane or Aryan Path is ordered; cf. *BG*, II.71, 'The man who rejects all desires and proceeds apart, absolved from "I and mine", he reaches Peace' (*śāntim gacchati*), and *BG*, VI.15, *śāntiṁ nirvāṇam aparamāṁ matsaṁsthām adhigacchati; matsaṁsthām* = *ātmasaṁsthām*, cf. *BG*, X.20, *ahamātmā*).

[2] See Coomaraswamy, *A New Approach to the Vedas*, 1933.

[3] 'Nest', the sacrificial fire-altar; the seat of the Sacrifice accomplished in the

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beginning and perpetuated in the ritual. 'Columnar': Vedic *skambha,* coincident with the trunk of the Tree of Life and axle-tree of the Chariot of Light, corresponds to the Gnostic σταυρός by which Heaven and Earth are at the same time parted and connected, and to the vertical of the Cross as well as (in the present connection especially) to the Pillar of Fire by night and Pillar of Smoke by day.

[4] 'Shall . . . pasture', as in *CU,* VIII.5.4; when the knowers of Spirit are possessed of the Brahma world, it is said that 'theirs is a movement at will in every world' (*sarveṣu lokeṣu kāmacāraḥ*), i.e. independent of local motion; cf. *TU,* III.10.5, etc., quoted in Coomaraswamy, *A New Approach to the Vedas.*

[5] There is an apparent contradiction is *ŚB,* XI.4.1, where six 'doors' of access to Brahman are described. But of these, the first five lead only to an acquisition of great possessions; it is only by means of what is 'perfect in the Sacrifice' (*yajñasya sampannam*) that the sacrificer 'enters the Sundoor of Brahman' (*āditya ha sa brahmaṇo dvārena pratipadyate*) and becomes a 'Fellow of the World of Heavenly-light (*svargalokaḥ*)'; cf. *BG,* VII.22, 23. The foregoing is one of many passages in which it is clear that *svarga* does not necessarily mean an inferior heaven on the hither side of the Sun, but may denote the Empyrean.

In *Kauṣ. Up.,* I.2, it is the Moon that is the Door of the World of Heavenly-light which admits some and returns others. The question is evidently put, 'Who art thou?' but the abbreviated text has only, according to various readings, either (1) 'One who answers Him, obtains Him completely' (*taṁ yaḥ pratyāha tam atisṛjate*), taking *atisṛj* as in *KU,* I.11 (cf. *sṛj* in the sense 'receive' [interest] in *Manu,* VIII.140, and *atisṛṣṭi* in *BU,* I.4.6), or (2) with the same reading, 'One who answers Him, him He sets free', taking *tāṁ atisṛjate* as repeated at the end of *Kauṣ. Up.,* I.2, probably with the Moon as subject, or (3) 'One who answers Him, saying "Thou", He liberates' (*taṁ yaḥ pratyāha tvam iti sṛjate*), where we adopt the variant *iti sṛjate* and make the emendation obviously needed in this case, of *tvaṁ* for *tam.* In any case translators, ignoring the parallel with *JUB,* III.14 and *JB,* I.18, have missed the point. 'But one who does not answer thus' (*ya enam na pratyāha*), or much less plausibly 'does not answer' (*atha yo na pratyāha*), 'descends with the rains to birth in this world as animal or person (*puruṣa*) according to his works and his wisdom' (*pratyājāyate yathā karma yathā vidyam,* cf. *AĀ,* II.3.2, *yathā prajñaṁ hi sambhavāḥ*; the list of animals in *Kauṣ. Up.,* corresponds to *itareṣāṁ paśūnām* in *AĀ,* and is to be taken in a purely symbolic sense, distinction being made of animal men from those *puruṣaḥ* in whom the form of Humanity is actually realized). *Kauṣ. Up.,* now twice cites the question assumed above, 'Who art thou?' (*ko'si*), and to this

The 'Cleft' or 'Hub' is enveloped by Rays of Light (*raśmibhis saṁchannaṁ dṛsyate*, *JUB*, I.3), which must be withdrawn before the Orb (*maṇḍala*) can be clearly seen (*Īśā Up.*, 16 *vyūha raśmin*, *JUB*, I.6 *raśmin . . . vyūhatī*;[6] cf. *BU*, V.5.2, where it is a prognostication of death when 'he sees that orb quite clear, those rays no longer reach him', *śuddham evaitan maṇḍalaṁ paśyati nainam ete raśmayaḥ pratyāyayanti*).[7] One sees the 'Golden Disk' (*hiraṇya pātra*, *Īśā Up.*,

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two answers are given: (1) one which is evidently that of the man destined to be reborn includes the words, addressed to the Seasons (who in *JUB*, III.14, 'drag him away caught by the foot on the verge of success'), 'Send ye me forth in man as a doer (*mā puṁsi kartary irayadhvam*), through a man as agent inseminate me in a mother', this answer being appropriate for those of whom it is said that they who go to the Moon in the dark fortnight 'He makes to be born' (*prajanayanti*); and (2) 'I am Thou' (*tvam asmīti*), corresponding the *tvam iti* assumed above, and appropriate to the Comprehensor who actually makes this answer (*enam . . . pratyāha*), as cited above, and accordingly 'obtains the Moon', or 'whom the Moon sets free (*tam atisṛjate*)'. The Path is often formulated as leading to the Sun, thence to the Moon, and thence into the Lightning (e.g. *CU*, IV.11-12 and V.10.2) or Fire (*MU*, V1.38), i.e. Agni Vaidyuta, the Lightning; notwithstanding that the Sun and Moon are Heaven and Earth, Oṁ and Vāc, the world of the divinities and world of men respectively (*JUB*, III.13 and *BU*, III.8.9). It is explained in *MU*, V1.38 that 'in the midst of the Sun is the Moon, in the midst of the Moon, Fire', and in any case it must be remembered that unification of the Sun and Moon is a concomitant of death (*candramā ivāditya dṛśyate*, *AĀ*, III.2.4). there must be borne in mind the '*Liebesgeschichte des Himmels*': it is a constant theme throughout our sources that the Sun and Moon, Heaven and Earth, were 'once' united, are separated in the beginning when time and space come into being, and are reunited at the End of the Worlds, End of the Heaven, End of the Year, where Heaven and Earth embrace; cf. *Zohar*, *Shelah Lecha* section: 'When the light of the Sun arrives, the Moon is embraced in it; but the Sun and Moon cannot shine together; the Moon cannot shine till the Sun is gathered in'. When the Sun and Moon are unified, the worlds are as it were closed up, the 'middle space' (*antarikṣa*, *rajas*) is closed up; for one who sees them thus there is no more place for any 'world'. And so it is said that one 'climbs the Tree, conjoining these two Divinities pairwise' (*ete dvedve devate saṁdhāye*, *JUB*, I.3.2), and it is indeed at the Treetop that 'the Eagle-pair of conjoint lovers are embraced together' (*dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānaṁ vṛkṣaṁ pariṣasvajāte*, *ṚV*, I.164.20; cf. *VS*, XXXVIII.25 and *TS*, VII.4.19), who are at once the Sun and Moon, Mitra and Varuṇa, Heaven and Earth, and as in *BU*, IV.3.19 and 21, the Spirit of God and self-same Spirit in Man (*prājñenātmanā saṁpariṣvaktaḥ*, ibid.), which Foreknowing Spirit, even though embodied itself, is bodiless and consubstantial with the Sun (*yas cāyam aśarīraḥ prajnātmā yas cāsav āditya ekam*, *AĀ*, III.2.3 and 4 which, as remarked by Keith, is 'the most common doctrine in the Upaniṣads').

[6] Misunderstood alike by Oertel ('parts his rays') and by Hume ('Spread forth thy rays'). Sāyaṇa's *vyūha* = *vigamaya* is correct; *vyūh* is here indeed to 'scatter', but in the sense 'dispel', 'remove', 'withdraw'.

The formulation in *AĀ*, III.2.4 is foolproof: 'The Sun's rays are no longer manifest' (*na raśmayaḥ prādur bhavanti*). The Sun's rays are extended and withdrawn in accordance with the 'spider' symbolism explained in Coomaraswamy, 'Angel and Titan', 1935.

[7] The rays are often spoken of as the 'feet' of the Sun, who is thus (1) *ekapāda* with

15) that is represented in the cosmic rite by a golden disk (*rukma*), which is analogically the Sun (*āditya*), the Truth (*satya*), and is provided with twenty-one peripheral knobs, which represent the solar Rays extended to the thrice seven 'worlds' (*ŚB*, III, and *passim*). The Golden Disk, the Orb itself, is an operculum by which the Mouth or Inlet (*mukha, Īśā Up.*, 15, *JUB*, III.33.8, cf. *BG*, XI.25, *mukhāni*, cf. *anīka*)[8] is covered up (*apihitam*).[9] That is, the Intelligible Truth conceals what God is in Himself, 'The Immortal veiled by Truth': the Immortal, i.e. Spiration (*prāṇa = ātman*); truth, i.e. Form and Aspect (*nāmarūpa*) in Him as forms or ideas or eternal reasons or 'hidden names' (*nāmāni guhyāni*), which are ontologically speaking the causes of the being of things as they are in themselves. In this there is no contradiction, inasmuch as the knowledge of God by which He 'creates' cannot be distinguished from His essence; 'It knew only Itself, that 'I am Brahman', thereby It became the All', *BU*, I.4.9-10. We are thus brought back to the ultimate problem of 'distinction in identity', and it would appear that 'things as they are in God', in their 'own form' which is also His form, are at the same time 'themselves' as being capable of a distinct manifestation and of specific pleasures (*TU*, III.10.5, like John, 10:9, and in our text cited here), although this is neither a local motion nor a physical experience, since 'He circles there (*sa tara paryeti*) taking his pleasure (*ramamāṇaḥ*), regardless of any appended body to which the breath of Life (*prāṇa*) may be yoked', and 'When He, the Spirit, proposes to be aware of this or that, Intellect (*manas*) is His Divine Eye, it is there with that He recognizes and takes his pleasure in loves' (*kāmān apaśyan ramate*), *CU*, VIII.12.3 and 5). 'To know God as He is, we must be

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respect to the single Life-ray by which each being is immediately connected with him, and which is that individual's 'Way' (*devapatha*), and in the case of the Eternal Avatar as manifested at the Navel of the Earth (*nābhir pṛthivyā*) is the *skambha*, or Axis of the Universe; and (2) *sahasrapāda* if we consider all the Rays that reach all beings severally. That those Rays 'no longer reach him' who is dying can then be otherwise expressed by saying that the feet of Death, the person in the solar Orb, which during life are 'deeply planted in the heart' (*hṛdaye padau atihatau ādityasya raśmaya . . . nāḍīṣu sṛptā, sc. hṛdayasya, CU,* VIII.6.2), are cut off, and when He thus departs, the person dies (*ŚB*, X.5.2.13); cf. *AĀ*, III.2.4, where it is a sign of death when the rays of the Sun are no longer seen (*na raśmayaḥ prādur bhavanti*). He then who could not gaze upon the sun in life but only sees his rays (speaking now in terms of the physical analogy), at death no longer sees the rays, but only the well-defined orb.

[8] Literally 'mouth', but here, as commonly also in architectural terminology, 'way in', just as we say 'mouth of a tunnel'. This is, of course, like the 'door' of John, 10:9, both a way in and a way out, and in the latter sense the 'gateway of his emanation'. What the Comprehensor seeks is to be swallowed up. *Mukha* is also 'face' (Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I, 364), 'His countenance whereto He admits no creature and whereinto no creature can get', without, that is, abandoning its creaturehood.

[9] *TU*, I.4.1 addressed to the omniform (*viśvarūpa*) Indra (as the Sun): 'Thou art the sheath (*kośa*) of Brahman, shut in by wisdom (*medhayā apihitam*)'. Also cf. *brahmāvarta* as the land of the Devas, Manu, II.17. The distinction of *āvarta* from *patha* is doubtless intentional; *āvarta* also implies *saṁsaraṇa*.

absolutely free from knowledge' (Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I, 365), that is, from any 'knowledge-of' Him, any theodicy whatever. Accordingly, the Comprehensor prays, or rather being himself of a like nature with the Sun, demands of the Sun to 'gather in His brilliance' (*samūha tejo*), that is, to contract it to a central point without dimension, 'That I may see Thy fairest form' (*rūpaṁ kalyāṇatamam*), and exclaims triumphantly, 'He that is yonder, yonder Person in the Sun, That am I', *Īśā Up.*, 15, 16.

This Person in the Sun, who is in fact the 'Truth of Truth' (*satyasya satyaṁ*), is otherwise called Death (*mṛtyu*, sometimes *yama*): 'Death is the Person in the Orb (*maṇḍale*); the Light that shines (*arcir dīpyate*) is what does not die (*amṛtam*). Accordingly, Death does not die, forasmuch as He is within (*na mriyate hy antaḥ*), nor is He seen (*na dṛśyate*), being within what does not die' (*ŚB*, X.5.2.3), viz., the Light of the Unconquerable Sun, who really 'neither rises nor sets, but only inverts Himself' (*AB*, III.44). It is precisely with this Death, Privation (*mṛtyu, aśanāya*) that the Comprehensor is unified, and so forever escapes contingent death (*BU*, I.2.7), though He dogs the Wayfarer's steps until he reaches the Treetop and escapes through the midst of the Sun (*JUB*, 1.3).

What lies beyond, within, is a 'Divine Darkness', blinding to all human faculties by its excess of light, and 'hidden from all knowledge' (Dionysius, *Epist. ad Caium monachum*; cf. Vedic *guhā nihitam*, etc.), the 'Darkness where God was' of Exodus 20:21, 'the City [that] had no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon, to shine in it' (Rev., 21:23ff.); 'There the Sun does not shine' (*KU*, V.15, *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.10, etc.), 'neither Sun, nor Moon, nor Fire' (*BG*, XV.6). 'What the soul grasps in the light, she loses in the darkness. Yet she makes for the cloud, deeming His darkness better than her light' (Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I. 364).

Here in the empyrean (*parama vyoman, brahma-loka*, etc.), corresponding to the 'third Heaven' of St. Paul, 'there is no more any guidance robed in human likeness (*puruṣo'mānavaḥ*[10] *sa enān brahma gamayatyeṣa devapatho brahmapathaḥ*, *CU*, IV.15.5), nor do those who enter there any more return to this human wayfaring' (*etena pratipadyamānā imaṁ mānavaṁ āvartaṁ nāvartante*), *CU*, IV.15.5, cf. V.10.2; *paramāṁ gatiṁ yaṁ prāpya na nivartante*, *BG*, VIII.21.

The interior and exterior operations, respectively hidden and revealed (*guhya, āvis*), infinite and finite (*aditi, diti*), inexplicit and explicit (*anirukta, nirukta*, etc.), are divided by an opaque screen[11] ('veiled by my Māyā', *BG*), penetrable (*nirvedhya*) only through the Sun. Divinity, if we think of it objectively as far away, is there beyond, or if we think of it as very near is here within us (*antarbhūtasya khe, hṛdayākāśe guhā nihitam*, etc.). But these two natures, of God as He is in Himself, and as He is in us, are really one, and as explained in *JUB*, III.33 (and less clearly in *AĀ*, II.1.5), he only really attains to the Persons who know them both ways, as transcendent and as immanent (*adhidevatām, adhyātmam*) in identity (*ekadhā*); 'he knows the Spirit (or very self), he knows Brahman, the Gate or Face (cf. *anīka*) accepts him, he getteth all and overcometh all, his every desrie is fulfilled' (*sa ātmānāṁ veda, sa brahma veda . . . mukha ādhatte,*[12] *tasya sarvam āptaṁ bhavati, sarvaṁ jitaṁ; na hāsya kaścana kāmo'nāpto bhavati*; cf. *BU*, IV.3.21). And whereby or wherein these Persons 'become one' (*ekaṁ bhavanti*) is called a 'super-human wayfaring' (*brahmaṇa āvarta*), evidently identical with the *devapatha* or *brahmapatha* of *CU*, IV.15.5[13] and *devayāna* of *Kauṣ. Up.*, I.3.[14] In the same way, in *AV*, XIII.4.20, 'All the Devas become simplex in Him' (*ekavṛto bhavanti*), and similarly in *AĀ*, II.3.8 (*ekaṁ bhavanti*), and *AĀ*, V.12, where a 'becoming onefold' is equated with 'attainment of the highest' (*ekadhā bhūyaṁ bhūtva paramatāṁ gacchataḥ*). Such a 'becoming one' implies a 'dying to oneself ' (*suum et proprium = ahaṁ ca mama*, cf. *MU*, VI.17), and in fact 'to be unified' acquires the specific meaning 'to die' (they say of the dying man in *BU*, IV.4.2, *ekī bhavati*), in the same way that to effect the unification of any creature is to 'kill' (*AĀ*, III.2.3, where the Year is said to 'separate some things and unify [*aikya bhāvayan*] others', i.e. to bring into being some and to bring about the death of others).[15]

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[10] Cf. *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.1.2 *puruṣaḥ . . . aprāṇo hy amanāḥ*; in *JB*, I.50, *na manusyaḥ = devānām ekaḥ*; cf. *BU*, I.2.7 = Agni Vaidyuta, the Lightning, and see *Kena Up.*, IV.4.

[11] Islamic 'murity' (*jidāriyyā*); Eckhart's 'boundary line between united and separated creatures' (Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I. 464).

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[12] The whole passage reads *sa yo ha evaṁ vidvān prāṇena prāṇya apānena apānya manasā, etā ubhayīr devatā ātmany etya, mukha ādhatte*, etc. (the arrangement as a *pada* text and the punctuation are mine). Oertel's rendering (*JAOS*, XVI, 1894, 193) is imperfect: the conspiration, or return of the breath of life (*prāṇa, spiraculum vitae*) to its source is to be effected 'intellectually' (*manasā*), cf. *KU*, IV.11, 'This is only to be gotten intellectually' (*manasaivedam āptavyam*); it takes the accusative of the goal, and this is 'these divinities under both aspects' (*eta ubhayīr devatā*), *ātmani* being 'in the Spirit'; cf. Rev., 4:2, 'immediately I was in the Spirit, and behold', etc. *Mukha*, as in *Īśā Up.*, 15, is the Sun or Face of God, hidden from human vision by the 'golden disk' of manifested Truth (*satyam*); Oertel translates as if the reading were *mukhe*. That the manifested truth is in the last analysis a veil explains the designation of the 'nonproceeding' or 'inexhaustible' (*akṣara*) Brahman within as the 'Truth of Truth' (*satyasya satyaṁ*, *AĀ*, II.3.8 = *veritas veritatis*).

[13] Merely to pass through the Sun is not then forthwith to have reached that end in which all progress ends: as pointed out by Sāyaṇa, there is still to be accomplished that union which is implied by the words 'being Brahman one attains to Brahman'. the stations of the unseen path that leads beyond the 'Door of the world of Heavenly-light, to the throne of Brahmā', (*Kauṣ. Up.*, I.3) are described symbolically.

[14] *Devapatha*, in *BU*, V.5.2 *devayānaḥ pathaḥ*; cf. *Kauṣ. Up.*, I.3, 'Having entered upon this *devayāna* he comes . . . to the Brahma world'. The 'two paths' are those of *ṚV*, X.88.15, repeated in *BU*, VI.2.2. the *devapatha* is also the same as the *sāmapatha* of *JUB*, I.6. These two paths are further analyzed in *BG*, VIII.23-7 (distinction of *yogīs* who are 'returners' and 'Nonreturners'. Also in *AĀ*, II.1.5, *etaddha tat* corresponds to *ekadhā bhavanti*). The same idea is expressed in *JUB*, III.33 in a simpler form; here one ascends the worlds 'uniting these divinities pairwise' (Sun and Moon, etc.).

[15] As also formulated in *MU*, VI.15, 'From the Year indeed are they engendered . . . and in the year they go home' (*astaṁ yanti*, 'go to their rest', 'die').

Two Ways or Cycles (*āvarta*)[16] are thus distinguished, a 'human' and a 'superhuman' Way, *mānavāvarta* and *brahmapatha*, one of return (*pitṛyāna*) and one of nonreturn (*devayāna*); corresponding exactly to what is called in Mahāyāna Buddhism[17] respectively, the 'Mundane' or 'Taught' (*laukika, śaikṣa*) and 'Transmundane', 'Untaught', 'Pure', or 'Aryan' (*lokottara, aśaikṣa*,[18] *anāsrava, ārya*) paths, of which the former leads the Wayfarer to the 'Summit of Contingent Being' (*bhavāgra*), which is the highest ground attainable by a Bodhisattva as such, whence he proceeds by the latter to omniscience and Buddhahood. It is not to be inferred that having reached the Sumit of contingent Being one there abandons the Mundane and enters the Transmundane Path. On the contrary, although the Mundane Path alone is available in the lowest of the 'Three Worlds', or rather 'States of Contingent Being' (*kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu, ārūpyadhātu*), beyond this level of reference the Paths run side by side, but end at different points—'Only the Transmundane or Aryan Path can destroy the passions that remain at the Summit of Contingent Being' (*Abhidharmakośa*, VI.47). Nor must the 'Worlds', although the sphere of transmigration, be conceived of only in a spatial or temporal sense (the *Ārūpyadhātu* in particular is 'placeless', *asthāna*); they are rather, at least in the present connection, states of being by which the whole of time and space are permeated, and are distinguishable somewhat as one distinguishes the 'Life of Pleasure' from the 'Active Life' and 'contemplative Life', or the 'Householder's' from the 'Homeless' life. The Buddha, for example, is considered to have attained the *bhavāgra* when he took his seat beneath the Tree, and to have attained to omniscient Buddhahood then and there, in virtue of the Aryan Path that had been previously trodden.

These two sharply distinguished Paths correspond, on the one hand, to the exoteric, religious, and passively mystical means of approach to God and, on the other, to the esoteric, initiatory, and metaphysical means of access to the Supreme Identity. But it would be begging the question to assume that they are to be identified with mutually exclusive paths of dedication (*bhakti*) and of Gnosis (*jñāna*); the question is rather whether these two Paths are not inseparably connected, if not in their beginning then in any case in their development. Can we imagine a perfected ardor apart from understanding, or a perfected understanding without ardor? Can any qualitative distinction be drawn between a consummated union of lover and beloved and a consummated union of knower and known? It is precisely a consideration of the *ātman* doctrine that may lead us to a conclusion in agreement with the negative answer that had already been foreshadowed. It is not by any means to be supposed that such a negative answer implies that there can be any transcendence of or liberation from human substantiality, both physical and psychic, apart from initiation (*dīkṣā*) and gnosis (*jñāna*); what is implied is, rather, that a perfected Gnosis necessarily involves a Beatification (*anirdeśyaṁ paramaṁ sukham, KU,* V.14; *paramo hy eṣa ānandaḥ, ŚB,* X.5.2.11; *sukham uttamam upaiti . . . brahmabhūtam, BG,* V1.27; Dante's *piacere eterno, Paradiso,* XVIII.16).

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[16] *Āvarta* is 'Way' in the sense of course or cycle, or even eddy, with an implication of turning or spiral motion; both the centrifugal and centripetal motions of consciousness with respect to its centre are, in fact, of this sort; cf. René Guénon, 'La Double Spirale', *Études traditionnelles*, XLI (1936).

[17] *Abhidharmakośa*, II.12 and 42-4, VI.45, 47, etc., VIII.5, etc. (see the summarized account of the Way, Poussin ed., vol. IV, *avant-propos*).

[18] Cf. *Kena Up.*, I.3, *yathaitad anuśiṣyāt*, 'How would one teach it?'

The *bhavāgra* may be more fully explained. Broadly speaking, this 'Summit of Contingent Being' corresponds to the Christian concept of Heaven, where there is a direct vision of God, but by no means necessarily a 'mystic union'. But, as Eckhart expresses it, 'As this is not the summit of divine union, so it is not the soul's abiding place' (Evans ed., I, 276), and this is in perfect agreement with the words of *SP,* V.74, 'That is a resting-place (*viśrāma*), not an involution' (*nivṛti*)—not, that is, what Eckhart means by the 'Drowning'.

Those who reach the Summit of Contingent Being are, strictly speaking, 'saved', since their essence (*ātmabhāva,*[19] individual substance considered as a 'naturing of the Spirit' or as a 'state of selfhood') is indestructible (*Abhidharmakośa,* II.45B), though they may or may not be reborn when their term of being on the plane is completed, those who still have 'connections' (*saṁyojanāni*) being 'returners' and those who have not, 'Nonreturners'. A Bodhisattva, for example, 'returns' to the lower worlds of contingent being, being drawn thereunto by the force of his messianic vows, while a Buddha does not return at the end of time, but is 'wholly despirated' (*parinirvṛta*).

The Summit of Contingent Being corresponds to the station otherwise called the 'Treetop' (*vṛkṣāgra*): 'Those who ascend to the Top of the Great Tree, how do they fare thereafter? Those who have wings fly away, those without wings fall down' (*JUB,* III.13). The latter correspond to the 'fallen from *yoga*' (*yogabhraṣṭaḥ*) of *BG,* VI.41ff., i.e. those whose vision of the Truth is obscured by an imperfect fixation (stabilization) of the Intellect in *yoga* (*yogāc calita mānasaḥ*) by which they have fallen short of perfection (*saṁsiddham*); consider in Buddhism the six kinds of *Arhats,* of whom only the 'Immovable' (*akupya-dharman*) cannot fall, while the deliverance of the others is temporal (*Abhidharmakośa,* VI.56ff.), a 'going and coming' as in *BG,* IX.21.

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[19] *Bhūtātman* as distinct logically but not really from *ātman* in *MU,* II.7 and III.1.

MAHĀ PURUṢA:
‘SUPREME IDENTITY’

Mahā Puruṣa : 'Supreme Identity'

That the word *puruṣa,* of uncertain derivation, but probably from *pṛ,* 'to fill', (cf. *puru,* 'many') is properly rendered by and corresponds to 'person' can be readily established by a confrontation of texts. In *AĀ,* II.2.2-3, 'the more clearly one knows the Essence (*ātman*), the more one is fully in being'. Consciousness of the Essence is wanting in minerals, perceptible in plants and trees, more evident in animated things (*prāṇabhṛt*), and 'though there are sundry in whom no intelligence is apparent, [it is] most evident in a 'person' (*puruṣa*). For a 'person' is most endowed with understanding (*prajñā*), he speaks of what has been discriminated (*vijñāta*), he perceives distinctions (*vijñātaṁ paśyati*), he comprehends (*veda*) the future, he comprehends what is and what is not mundane (*lokālokau*),[1] and is so endowed that by the mortal he seeks the immortal.[2] But as for the sundry, mere animals (*paśu*),[3] theirs is an estimative understanding (*abhivijñāna*) merely according to hunger and thirst, they do not speak what has been discriminated. . . . Their becoming is only so far, they have being (*sambhavāḥ = habent esse*) only in the measure of their understanding (*yathā prajñaṁ hi*). The 'person' thus defined (*sa eṣa puruṣaḥ*) is the sea, and transcends the whole universe (*sarvaṁ lokam ati*)'.[4]

The use of 'person' in the sense proper to *puruṣa,* above, can be cited in

[Coomaraswamy's translation of *ātman* as Essence indicates that this paper was written *ca.* 1935; the 'experimental translation', as he called it, was proposed in 'Two Vedāntic Hymns from the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*', *BSOS,* VIII (1935), 91-9, and withdrawn in 'Vedic Exemplarism', 1936 (see pp. 366-7 in this volume)].

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[1] Worldly and superworldly, i.e. what is in time and space, and what is apart from time and space.

[2] That is, he sees contingent things eternalwise, for him the world is a theophany, he can employ the *via analogia,* and can follow the *vestigium pedis, padaṁ na gorapagūḷham,* *ṚV,* IV.5.3.

[3] *Paśu,* in the same sense of 'human being that is no better than an animal', occurs in *BU,* I.4.10, where he who worships any angel otherwise than as his own Essence (*ātman*) is called a 'mere animal', and in *Siddhāntamuktāvalī,* verse xxxvi, where the author in the same way designates as 'mere animals' those who refrain from the Essence that is man's last end (*puruṣārtha*). The distinction of *puruṣa* from *paśūn* (pl.) is like that between a 'proper man', German *Mensch,* and 'the herd'.

[4] *Ati,* as denoting transcendence, is discussed below. The 'sea' is of infinite possibility, cf. *ṚV,* X.5.1 *ekaḥ samudro dharuṇo rayīṇām* (Agni), VIII.41.8 *samudro apīcyaḥ* (Varuṇa), and for the idea, St. John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa* I, 'HE WHO IS (=*asti* in *KU,* VI.12) is the principal of all names applied to God; for comprehending all in itself, it contains existence itself as an infinite and indeterminate sea of substance'.

Boethius, *Contra Evtychen* II, 'There is no person of a horse or ox or any other of the animals which, dumb and unreasoning, live a life of sense alone, but we say there is a person of a man, of God, or an Angel', as well as in his better known definition, ibid. III, 'Person is an individual substance of a rational nature', and in St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.39.1c, where Person is defined as referring to the divine Essence when regarded as subject, i.e. 'concretely' and in relation to the world as object. St. Thomas also wrote, *Sum. Theol.*, I.29.3 and *ad* 2, 'Person signifies what is most perfect in all nature—that is, a subsistent individual of a rational nature. Hence . . . forasmuch as His Essence contains every perfection, this name "person" is fittingly applied to God; not, however, as it is applied to creatures, but in a more excellent way . . . the dignity of the divine nature excels every other dignity; and thus the name "person" pre-eminently belongs to God.'

It is thus clear that the words *puruṣa* and 'person' are as nearly as possible synonymous in reference. In the last passage, 'more excellent' and 'pre-eminently' exactly correspond to the designation *Mahā Puruṣa*, 'Great Person', in *AĀ*, III.2.3, where four *puruṣas* are distinguished as follows: (1) the corporeal (*śarīra-*), which is the 'embodied essence' (*dehika ātmā*) and of which the principle (*rasa*) is the 'comprehending Essence' (*prajñātmā*); (2) the aggregate of syllables of which the principle is 'A' (cf. II.3.6, 'A is the whole Word'); (3) that by which one comprehends (*veda*) the Four Vedas, and of which the principle is the Brahman priest as being filled with the spiritual power (*brahman*); and (4) the *Mahā Puruṣa*, the Year (*saṁvatsara*) which 'distinguishes some things and unifies others.[5] And be it known that the incorporeal comprehending Essence and the Sun are one and the same, and thus it comes about that the Sun is present to every "person" (*puruṣaṁ puruṣaṁ pratyāditya*).'[6] The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, continuing, cites *Ṛ*V, I.115.1, 'The bright face of the Angels has arisen (*ud agāt*), the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni. It hath filled (*āprā*, from √*pṛ*) Heaven, Earth, and Midgard. The Sun is the Essence (*ātman*) of all that is motionless or mobile (*jagataḥ tasthuṣaḥ*).'

This evidently, and sentence for sentence, corresponds to *Ṛ*V, X.90.4, where 'With three-fourths the *Puruṣa* went upwards (*ūrdhva ud ait*).[7] One-fourth of Him became recurrent (*abhavat punaḥ*) here.[8] Thence He proceeded universally (*viśvaṁ vy akramat*) unto what eats and does not eat (*sāśanānaśane*)'.[9]

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[5] I.e. brings life to some and death to others, and is thus the author of the being of all beings, cf. X.121.2 (Hiraṇyagarbha, Prajāpati) *yasya chāyā amṛtaṁ, yasya mṛtyuḥ*, 'Whose overshadowing is of life, and likewise of death.'

[6] The identity of the 'person in the heart' with the 'Golden Person in the Sun', is, of course, a fundamental doctrine in the Upaniṣads, e.g. *MU*, VI.1, 'He bears Himself two-fold, as the breath of life (*prāṇa*) here, and as yonder Āditya . . . Yonder Āditya is verily the outer-Essence (*bahir-ātmā*), the breath of life the inner-Essence (*antar-ātmā*).' The form *pratyāditya* in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* corresponds to *pratyagātman, passim. Pratyagātman* is almost literally 'hypostasis', *ātman* is never 'body'.

[7] As remarked by W. Norman Brown, 'the verb *ud i* is almost exclusively a Sūrya word'.

[8] That is, as Agni Vaiśvānara, 'Universal Man', and/or Soma, etc., who as the fire

The *Puruṣasūkta* affirms the transcendence of the *Puruṣa* in terms that can be closely paralleled in other hymns, as well as in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. That one-fourth of Him which, as we have seen, is the 'Person in the Sun', 'is all existences' (*viśvā bhūtāni*), 'this entire world (*evaṁ sarvam*) both past and future (*bhūtaṁ yac ca bhavyam*)'. The latter expression corresponds to 'what has been done and shall be done' (*kṛtāni yā ca kṛtvā*) in I.25.11: here Varuṇa is described as operating *ab extra*, in the Sun, as the expressions 'far-seeing (*uru-cakṣasa*)', 'diffusing a golden garb, wearing a glistening-robe (*vibhrad drāpiṁ hiraṇyaṁ varuṇo vasta nirṇijam, ṚV*, I.25.13)',[10] 'enthroned for universal empire (*niṣasāda . . . sāmrājyāya*)', clearly show; and being seated thus, *ṚV*, I.25.10,[11] 'thence He who knows all hidden things

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(or water) of life in the worlds takes on death (*nirṛtim ā viveśa, ṚV*, I.164.32), is subject to inveteration (*jujurvān*, II.4.5), and is born again and again (*muhur . . . ā bhūta*, ibid; *janman janman nihitaḥ*, III.1.20: *bhūrijanmā*, X.5.1; *jāyate punaḥ . . . navo navo bhavati jāyamāna*, X.85.18-19); or as the Sun, the eighth Āditya, whom Aditi 'bore hitherward unto repeated life and death' (*prajāyai mṛtyave . . . punaḥ*, X.72.9), cf. II.5.2, 'Agni, eighth in place'. In the same way, Prajāpati, is 'stupified by eld' (*jīryyā mūra, PB*, XXV.17.3), Agni, Soma, and Varuṇa 'sink down' (*cyavante*, X.124.4), Cyavana's youth and potency are lost, and must be renewed (*ṚV*; *passim*). Agni's mortalities and resurrections are both daily and aeviternal. It is with reference to the indefinite duration of aeviternity that Agni is commonly called 'undying amongst those that die' (*amartyaṁ marteṣu*, IV.1.1, etc.), that he is said to bestow upon the Angels their aeviternity (VI.7.4, cf. IV.54.2), and that the latter are themselves referred to as 'aeviternal' (*amṛta, passim*). It does not appear that the *Ṛgveda* anywhere attributes an absolute immortality to any manifested aspect of deity, but rather assumes that 'God comes and goes, God passes away' (Eckhart). But expressions such as *amṛtattva uttama*, I.31.1, may refer to what Śaṅkara calls 'absolute immortality' (*ātyantika amṛtattva*) conceived of as an end attainable by men or angels, and in any case the *Ṛgveda*, in stressing the doctrine of resurrection, assumes an eternal principle underlying all its formal manifestations. That, for example, which surveys the past and future at once, cannot be thought of as itself belonging to the past or future; He who looks through the Sun, is not himself the Sun.

[9] Adopting Sāyaṇa's perfectly intelligible explanation of *sa-aśana* and *an-aśana* as designating respectively 'the intelligent animated and generated, that partakes of food', and 'the motionless and unintelligent, such as a mountain'; which corresponds exactly to *jagataḥ tasthuṣaḥ* (motionless and moving), in *ṚV*, I.115.1. In view of Sāyaṇa's explanation (Monier-Williams also gives 'not eating' as the meaning of *anaśana*), I do not see how *sāśanānaśane* can have come to be called 'obscure'. W. Norman Brown does not think it worthwhile even to mention Sāyaṇa in the present connection. Not that Sāyaṇa is always right, but he is always worth considering, and here the confrontation of texts proves him right beyond doubt.

[10] *Nirṇija* implies 'washed white'. Cf. *ṚV*, VIII.41.10, where Varuṇa, manifested as the Sun, is said to have 'made by his operation, the blacks to be glistening white (*śvetān adhi nirṇijaḥ cakre kṛṣṇān*)'.

[11] In verse 6, the dual *venantā* implies Mitrāvaruṇa; calling them in effect, the 'dual solar being', *ven* being typically a 'sun word'.

(*viśvani adbhutā cikitvān*)[12] surveys what has been done and shall be done (*abhi paśyati kṛtāni yā ca kartvā*)'. In X.88.13-14, this 'ancient star, the Yakṣa's outlook, Agni Vaiśvānara', is said to have 'exceeded Heaven, and Earth in power (*mahimnā pari babhūva urvī*)', and called 'an Angel here below and there beyond (*uta avastāt uta deva parastāt*)'. Neglecting many other parallels that could be cited, this takes us back to the *Puruṣasūkta*, where in verses 2 and 3, we have 'Great as is the power (*mahimā*) of the Lord of Aeviternity (*amṛtasya īśānaḥ,* the Sun) when he rises up with food (*annena-ati rohati*), still more (*jyāyaś ca*) is the Person', as also in verses 1 and 5, it is said that He 'transcends the ten-finger-space (*aty atiṣṭhad daśāṅgulam*)',[13] and 'surpasses Earth (*aty aricyata . . . bhūmim*)', where, as usual, 'Earth' means the whole 'ground' of existence. *AĀ*, II.3.3, where the *Puruṣa* transcends the whole universe (*sarvaṁ lokam-ati*), cited above, evidently depends on the foregoing texts, nor is there anything that the Upaniṣadic statements, though more detailed, can be said to add to this.

At this point a digression will be necessary, in order to speak of the two different ways in which a knowledge of the divine nature has been sought. The Upaniṣads employ these two ways, those of the *via analogia* (the technique of symbolism) and the *via remotionis* (the technique of abstraction) in precisely the same way as Christianity, which inherited the positive (*καταφατιχή*) and negative (*ἀποφατιχή*) methods from Neo-platonism through pseudo-Dionysius, who employed them in the *De divinis nominibus.* The positive method consists in the attribution to God, in a superlative and absolute manner, of all the perfections and beauties conceivable in existing things; these absolute perfections in Him, although distinguishable logically, are regarded as inexplicable in Him and as identical with His essence. Each of these attributions constitutes an 'essential name', such essential names being as many as the perfections that can be enumerated. Examples of this method may be cited in the designation of God as Light, Love, Wisdom, Being, etc., and in the Brāhmaṇas' *sac-cid-ānanda.* On the other hand, the negative method proceeds to the definition of the divine nature by the way of abstraction and the assertion of transcendence with respect to antitheses. From this point of view, the highest understanding that we can have of God is expressed by a denial in Him of any of those attributes the notion of which is derived from things external to His superessential unity. According to this method, God may be spoken of as Nonbeing, No-thing, or Darkness, or as in the Upaniṣads by the famous expression *neti, neti,* 'No, no', or as That 'from which words turn back, together with the intellect, not finding Him' (*TU*, II.4), and 'where high fantasy falls short of power' (Dante, *Paradiso,* XXXIII.142). Eckhart follows this method when he says that 'Nothing true can be said of God'. Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely from all kinds of sources, Christian, Sūfī, Hindu, Taoist, and others. In Upaniṣadic metaphysics, no less than in Christian theology, 'C'est la voie négative qui a la primauté sur l'autre, Dieu n'est pas un objet. Il est par delà tout ce qui est, donc par delà le connaissable, puisque la connaissance a l'être pour limite. A ce point de vue suréminent, Dieu n'est pas seulement au-dessus d'affirmations et de négations contradictoires, mais sa nature super-substantielle est enveloppée de ténèbres' (M. de Wulf, *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale*, 6th edn., Paris, 1934, p. 107). 'He does not know what He Himself is, because He is not any thing. . . . Wherefore it is said that God is Essence, but more truly that He is not Essence' ('Deus itaque nescit se quid est, quia non est quid. . . . Essentia ergo dicitur Deus, sed proprie essentia non est'), Erigena, *De div. naturae,* II.13 and I.14; or putting this into Indian terms, 'The Brahman is called *ātman*, but more properly *anātmya*'. These reflections may prepare us to consider the nature of the *Puruṣa* in greater detail according to the Vedic and Upaniṣadic formulations, which seem strange only to those who are unfamiliar with the methodology of theology and metaphysics universally. The main point to be realized is that if, indeed, His nature transcends all logical antitheses, He cannot be found as He is in Himself by the seeker who regards only His being, that is, His 'Face' or 'Light', but only by the Comprehensor who sees also His 'Back' or 'Darkness'. He is not only Love and Life but also Dread and Death, the omnipresent (*vyāpaka*) and uncharacterized (*aliṅga*) person (*puruṣa*), 'by knowing whom a man is liberated and attains eternity (*amṛtatvam*)'.[14]

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[12] *Adbhuta,* equivalent to *adṛṣṭa,* 'invisible', as in IV.2.12, where Agni is said to behold both what is evident and what is hidden (*dṛśyan agne etān . . . paśye adbhutān*). *Adbhuta* is often rendered by 'marvelous', but the things past and future are here thought of as marvelous, not as being miraculous in themselves, but as being mysterious, unknown, and inaccessible to observation.

[13] *Daśāṅgulam* has been much discussed. Here I merely adduce VI.44.24 *daśayantram utsam,* X.51.3 *daśāntaruṣyāt,* and *PB,* XXV.15.1, 'the Year consists of tens and tens', to suggest that 'ten' may have reference to the directions of space. [Also see Coomaraswamy, '*ṚV,* X.90.1 *aty atiṣṭhad daśāṅgulam*', 1946—Ed.]

The similar list of concepts in *KU*, III.10-13 interpolates 'beyond the sense are their values or meanings (*arthā*)',[15] substitutes *buddhi* for 'pure being of

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[14] Here evidently not 'aeviternity', but as also in *KU*, IV.1, *ātyantikam amṛtatvam*, 'eternity'.

[15] R.E. Hume and J.N. Rawson render *artha* by 'sense objects', and the latter naturally finds a lesion in the logical sequence of thought—a characteristic result of want of 'trust' (*śraddhā*) in the scriptural text. *Artha* means the value or significance that is attached to the sense-perceptions. From our empirical point of view, such values are introduced *post factum* and cannot be thought of as causal principles: but ontologically, *artha* as last end in this sense is the same as the *raison d'être* of the thing in its inception; cf. the Scholastic view that 'the ultimate end of the work is ever the same as the real intention of the work's first cause' (Eckhart, Evans ed., I, 252), and similarly *AĀ*, III.2.6, 'What is the inception, that indeed is the fulfilment (*yo hy eva prabhavaḥ sa eva āpya yaḥ*).'

We say, moreover, with Abelard that *nomen est vox significativa,* with *BD*, II.117 that 'the word which designates a thing is derived from its significance (*arthāt padaṁ svābhidheyam . . . jam*)', with *Nirukta* II.1 that 'names have their basis in subsistence (*sattva-pradhānāni nāmāni*)', and scarcely need to demonstrate that from the Vedic point of view, 'names' are the immediate causes of the coming into being of things, the intellect (*manasaḥ sattvam uttamam*)', affirms that there is 'nothing whatever beyond the Person', and employs the expression 'Essence at rest (*śānta ātman*)'[16] as another designation of the superessential Person.

The series in *TU*, II.6 begins with vegetative (*anna-maya*) essence (equivalent to 'senses' above); beyond this is the pneumatic (*prāṇa-maya*) essence which is our life (*āyus*) and All-life (*sarvāyuṣa*); beyond this the *mano-maya* essence, consisting of the Vedas and exegesis; beyond this the discriminating (*vijñāna-maya*) essence, identified with Eternal Law (*ṛta*) and Power or Glory (*mahas*), and corresponding to *buddhi* in *KU*, III.10; beyond this the beatific (*ānanda-maya*) essence (the last four modalities of essence are said to be in the similitude of 'person' (*puruṣa-vidhaḥ*),[17] as in *AĀ*, III.2.3); and this is supported by the Brahman, whether as nonbeing (*asat*) or as being (*sat*).

An over-anxious scholarship seems to have made a needless mystery out of these only slightly varied formulations. That the vegetative manifestation of the sense-life depends immediately upon 'food' is obvious. The pneumatic, or sometimes 'fiery' (*tejo-maya*), essence is evidently represented in Agni Vaiśvānara, Universal Man (*ṚV*, I.35.6 *ekāyus*, IV.28.2 *viśvāyus*, IV.58.11 *antaḥ āyuṣi*). The practical intellect (*manas*) and the pure or possible intellect (*manasaḥ sattvam, buddhi, vijñāna-maya*) are distinguished, the latter being identified with the Great (*mahat*, etc.) and consequently with the Sun [*TU*, I.5.2, 'Mahas, the Sun; the worlds are all empowered (*mahīyante*) by the Sun']. This is of particular importance for the understanding of *KU*, VI.8, where 'beyond the unshown' (*avyakta*)[18] requires as logical antecedent 'beyond the

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viz., in virtue of their being the ideas or forms of things. It is the knower who projects the known beyond himself; and where *esse est percipi*, the significance of the thing is thus the formal cause of its becoming, as well as the final cause of its existence. Cf. Erigena, 'Finis enim totius motus est principium sui' (*De div. naturae*, V.3, *c.* 866). In this way, then, significance is logically prior to perception.

[16] The 'end' of any motion is defined as that in which this motion is brought to rest; cf. *AĀ*, I.5.3, 'rest is full-support' (*śāntir vai pratiṣṭhā*), or as rendered inversely by Keith, 'atonement is rest'. Cf. Eckhart, 'There no work is done at all'.

[17] It may appear strange to speak of 'form' (*vidha, svarūpa*, etc.) in connection with the superessential and unmanifested Essence. But cf. Boethius, *De Trinitate* II.21, 'Omne namque esse ex forma est', 'All being is formal'. The form that is predicated of the superessential Essence is not a form, but the principle of form, altogether simple and immutable in Itself, although the form of all things; cf. Boethius again, 'esse ipsum, forma essendi', Being in itself is the form of being', and 'Thierry of Chartres (*Der kommentar des Clarenbaldus von Arras zu Boethius De Trinitate*, ed. Wilhelm Jansen [attributed to Clarenbaldus of Arras, but more probably by Thierry of Chartres], Breslau, 1926, p. 108), 'divinitas singulis rebus forma essendi est', 'Godhood is the (exemplary) form of the being that is in singular things'. This 'Sovereign Form' (*rūpamaiśvaram*) of the Most-Personal (*puruṣottama*) can only be apprehended in its multiplicity (*pravibhaktam anekadhā*), though one in Itself (*ekastham*), hence the nature of Arjuna's vision in *BG*, XI (the terms cited are from verses 3 and 13).

[18] That Rawson, *KU*, p. 21, renders *avyakta* by 'matter' shows that he has in mind the customary renderings of the Sāṁkhyan *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* by 'spirit and matter'. But

shown' (*vyakta*): for it is precisely the Great, the Person in the Sun, that as the light and eye of the divine understanding is the divine manifestation of all that can be manifested (*vyakta*). What the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* then, affirms is that the uncharacterized Person is 'beyond' both the shown and the unshown, transcending their distinction, not to be thought of merely as one or the other, but rather as *vyaktāvyakta,* 'shown-unshown'; and thus interpreted, the Person 'beyond whom there is naught whatever' coincides in reference with the Upaniṣadic superessential Essence (*paramātman*) and the Brahman as transcending the distinction of *sadasat,* being and nonbeing alike.

'spirit and matter' represents an antithesis unknown to Indian thought, which rather distinguishes essence from nature or substance, or act from potentiality, in the Supreme Identity. Indian *avyakta,* like the 'unshown' of pure metaphysics in general, cannot be identified with Christian 'primary matter', which is as 'potentiality only with respect to the reception of natural forms' (*Sum. Theol.,* I.7.2 *ad* 3); *avyakta* embraces all possibilities, not only those of being, but also those which are not in any sense of manifestation. This metaphysically infinite possibility (*aditi, mūla-prakṛti,* etc.), as being the divine nature (*svabhāva*) and the matrix (*yoni*) of the divine essence, becomes the means whereby (*śakti, māyā, svadhā,* etc.) the latter operates, the distinction of essence from nature arising simultaneously with the divine act which presupposes it.

NIRUKTA = HERMENEIA

Nirukta = Hermeneia

Every student of Vedic literature will be familiar with what are called by modern scholars 'folk etymologies'. I cite, for example, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VIII.3.3). 'Verily, this Spirit is in the heart[1] (*eṣa ātmā hṛdi*). The hermeneia (*niruktam*) thereof is this: 'This is in the heart' (*hṛdayam*), and that is why the 'heart' is called '*hṛdayam*'. Whoever is a comprehensor of this reaches Heaven every day'. Specimens, of course, abound in Yāska—for example, *Nirukta,* V.14, '*Puṣkaram* means "mid-world", because it "fosters" (*poṣati*) things that come to be.[2] Water is *puṣkaram* too, because it is a "means of worship" (*pūjākaram*), and 'to be worshipped' (*pūjayitavyam*). Otherwise as "lotus" (*puṣkaram*) the word is of the same origin, being a "means of adorning" (*vapuṣkaram*); and it is a "bloom" (*puṣyam*) because it "blossoms" (*puṣpate*).' Explanations of this kind are commonly dismissed as 'etymological triflings' (J. Eggeling), 'purely artifiicial' (A.B. Keith), and 'very fanciful' (B.C. Mazumdar), or as 'puns'. On the other hand, one feels that they cannot be altogether ignored, for as the last-mentioned author says, 'There are in many Upaniṣads very fanciful explanations . . . disclosing bad grammar and worse idiom, and yet the grammarians who did not accept them as correct, did not say anything about them';[3] that is, the early Sanskrit grammarians, whose 'scientific' abilities have been universally recognized, did not embody these 'explanations' in their 'grammar', but at the same time never condemned them.

Nirukta is not, in fact, a part of philology in the modern sense; a hermeneutic explanation may or may not coincide with the actual pedigree of a word in question. *Nirukta = hermeneia* is founded upon a theory of language of which philology and grammar are only departments, one may even say the most humble departments, nor do I say this without a real and genuine respect for those 'omniscient impeccable leviathans of science that headlong sound the linguistic ocean to its most horrid depths, and (in the intervals of ramming each other) ply their flukes on such audacious small fry as even on

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[1] I.e. 'within you', in the sense that 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you'.

[2] The space between Heaven and Earth, being and not-being, light and darkness, essence and nature, being precisely the locus, opportunity, and 'promised land' of all birth and becoming.

[3] B.C. Mazumdar, review of J.N. Rawson, *The Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* in *Indian Culture,* II (1935/1936), 378.

the mere surface will venture within their danger',[4] and whose advice in matters of verbal genealogy I am always ready to accept. Etymology, an excellent thing in its place, is nevertheless precisely one of those 'modern sciences which really represent quite literally "residues" of the old sciences, no longer understood'.[5] In India the traditional science of language is the special domain of the *pūrvamīmāṁsā*, of which the characteristic is that 'It lays stress on the proposition that articulate sounds are eternal,[6] and on the consequent doctrine that the connection of a word with its sense is not due to convention, but is by nature inherent in the word itself'. When, however, A.A. Macdonell adds to this excellent characterization that 'Owing to its lack of philosophical interest, the system has not as yet much occupied the attention of European scholars',[7] he only means that the subject is not of interest to himself and his kind; it is implausible that he should have had in mind deliberately to exclude Plato from the category of 'philosophers'. For not only does Plato employ the hermeneutic method in the *Cratylus*—for example, when he says '"to have called" (τὸ καλέσαν́) things useful is one and the same thing as to speak of "the beautiful" (τὸ καλόν)'—but throughout this dialogue he is dealing with the problem of the nature of the relation between sounds and meanings, inquiring whether this is an essential or an accidental one. The general conclusion is that the true name of anything is that which has a natural (Skr. *sahaja*) meaning—i.e. is really an 'imitation' (μίμησις) of the thing itself in terms of sound, just as in painting things are 'imitated' in terms of color—but that because of the actual imperfection of vocal imitation, which may be thought of as a matter of inadequate recollection, the formation of words in use has been helped out by art and their meaning partly determined by convention. What is meant by natural meaning can be understood when we find that Socrates and Cratylus are represented as agreeing that 'the letter *rho* (Skr. *ṛ*, *r*) is expressive of rapidity, motion, and hardness'. Cratylus maintains that 'he who knows the names knows also the things expressed by them', and this is as much as to imply that 'He who first gave names to things did so with sure knowledge of the nature of the things'; he maintains in so many words that this first giver of names (Skr. *nāmadhāḥ*) must have been 'a power more than human' and that the names thus given in the beginning are necessarily their 'true names'. The names themselves are dualistic, implying either motion or rest, and are thus descriptive of acts, rahter than of the things that act; Socrates admits that the discovery of real existence, apart from denotations, may be 'beyond you and me'.

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[4] Standish Hayes O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (London and Edinburgh, 1892), II, V.

[5] René Guénon, *La Crise du monde moderne* (Paris, 1927), p. 103.

[6] What is meant by the 'eternity of the Veda' is sometimes misunderstood. 'Eternal' is 'without duration', 'not in time' (*akāla*), therefore ever present. The 'eternity' of tradition has nothing to do with the 'dating' of a given scripture, in a literary sense. As St. Thomas Aquinas expressed it, 'Both the Divine Word and the writing of the Book of Life are eternal. But the promulgation cannot be from eternity on the part of the creature that hears or reads' (*Sum. Theol.*, II.1.91.1 *ad* 2).

[7] *History of Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1900), p. 400.

It is likewise the Indian doctrine (*BD,* I.27ff., *Nirukta,* I.1 and 12, etc.) that 'Names are all derived from actions'; insofar as they denote a course of action, names are verbs, and insofar as someone or something is taken to be the doer of the action, they are nouns. It must not be overlooked that Skr. *nāma* is not merely 'name', but 'form', 'idea', and 'eternal reason'.[8] Sound and meaning (*śabdārtha*) are inseparably associated, so that we find this expression employed as an image of a perfect union, such as that of Śiva-śakti, essence and nature, act and potentiality *in divinis.* Names are the cause of existence; one may say that in any composite essence (*sattva, nāmarūpa*), the 'name' (*nāma*) is the form of the 'phenomenon' (*rūpa*) in the same sense that one says that 'the soul is the form of the body'. In the state of nonbeing (*asat*) or darkness (*tamas*), the names of individual principles are unuttered or 'hidden' (*nāmāni guhyā, apīcyā,* etc.; *ṚV, passim*);[9] to be named is to proceed from death to life. The Eternal Avatar himself, proceeding as a child (*kumāra*) from the unfriendly father, demands a name, because it is 'by name that one strikes away evil' (*pāpmānam apahanti, ŚB,* VI.1.3.9); all beings on their way dread most of all to be robbed of their names by the powers of Death, who lies in wait to thieve (*krivir nāmāni pravaṇe muṣayati, ṚV,* V.44.4). 'It is by his deathless name (*amartyena nāmnā*) that Indra overliveth human generations' (*ṚV,* VI.18.7). So long as an individual principle remains in act, it has a name; the world of 'names' is the world of 'life'. 'When a man dies, what does not go out of him is 'name', that is 'without end', and since what is 'without end' is the Several Angels, thereby he wins the 'world without end'' (*BU,* III.2.12).

It is by the enunciation of names that a 'more than human power' not merely designates existing things correctly but endows them with their being, and the All-maker can do this because He is omniscient of the hidden or titanic names of things that are not yet in themselves; it is by the foreknown names of mediate causes that He does all that must be done, including the creation of all separated beings. For example, *ṚV,* I.155.6, 'He by the names of the Four [Seasons] has set in motion the rounded wheel [of the Year] that is furnished with ninety steeds'; X.54.4, 'Thy titan names, all these, O Maghavan, thou surely knowest, whereby thou hast performed thy mighty deeds'; VIII.41.5, 'Varuṇa knoweth the hidden names remote, many a locution maketh he to blossom (*kāvyā purū . . . puṣyati*), even as the light of heaven (*dyauḥ,* here the Sun, *pūṣan, savitṛ,* as in V.81.2) bringeth into blossom all kind (*puṣyati . . . rūpam*)'. It is by the same token that all words of power are efficacious—for example, *PB,* VI.9.5 and VI.10.3, 'By the word "born" (*jātam*) he "brings to birth" (*jījanat*) . . . In saying "lives" he enlivens them that "live".'

It is thus by a divine providence that all things are brought forth in their variety: 'Varuṇa knows all things speculatively' (*viśvaṁ sa veda varuṇo yathā dhiyā, ṚV,* X.11.1). 'All-maker, supernal seer-at-one-glance (*saṁdṛk*), of whom they speak as "One beyond the Seven Prophets", who is the only one Denominator of the Angels (*yo devānāṁ nāmadhā eka eva*), to him all other things turn for information (*sampraśnam*)', *ṚV*, X.82.2-3,[10] should be read in connection with I.72.3, where the Angels, by their sacrificial service, 'obtained their names of worship, contrived their high-born bodies'; to be named—to get a name, in other words—is to be born, to be alive. This denominative creation is a dual act: on the part of the One Denominator, the utterance is as single as himself; on the part of the individual principles, this single meaning that is pregnant with all meanings is verbally divided, 'by their wordings they conceived him manifold who is but One' (*ṚV*, X.114.5). And inasmuch as such a sacrificial partition is a contraction and identification into variety, it must be realized that to be named, while indispensable to wayfaring, is not the goal: 'Speech (*vāc*) is the rope, and names the knot whereby all things are bound' (*AĀ*, II.1.6). The end is formally the same as the beginning; it is as one 'no longer fed by form or aspect (*nāmarūpād-vimuktaḥ*) that the Comprehensor reaches the heavenly Person beyond the yon, knowing the Brahman becomes the Brahman' (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.2.8-9). 'As these flowing rivers tend towards the sea, their name and aspect are shattered, it is only spoken of as "sea"' (*Praśna Up.*, VI.5). 'The fastidious soul', as Eckhart says, 'can rest on nothing that has name'; 'On merging into the Godhead all definition is lost', and this is also why he says, 'Lord, my welfare lies in thy never calling me to mind'; for all of these quotations innumerable parallels could be cited from other Christian as well as from Sūfī and additional Indian sources.

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[8] See Coomaraswamy, 'Vedic Exemplarism' [in the present volume—Ed.], also René Guénon, 'Le Symbolisme du théâtre', *Le Voile d'Isis,* XXXVII (1932), 69.

[9] 'When names were not, nor any sign of existence endowed with name' (Rūmī, *Dīvan,* Ode XVII).

One thus begins to glimpse a theory of expression in which ideation, denomination, and individual existence are inseparable aspects, conceptually distinguishable when objectively considered, but coincident in the subject. What this amounts to is the conception of a single living language, not knowable in its entirety by any individual principle but in itself the sum of all imaginable articulations, and in the same way corresponding to all imaginable acts of being: the 'Spoken Word' of God is precisely this 'sum of all language' (*vācikaṁ sarvavāṅmayam; Abhinaya Darpaṇaṁ*, 1). All existing languages are partially remembered and more or less fragmented echoes of this universal tongue, just as all modes of vision are more or less obscure refractions of the world-picture (*jagaccitra; Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 95) or eternal mirror (*speculum aeternum*; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XII.29) which, if one knew and saw in their entirety and simultaneity, would be to be omniscient. The original and inexhaustible (*akṣara*) affirmation (OṀ) is pregnant with all possible meaning; or, thought of not as sound but as 'omniform light' (*jyotir-viśvarūpam, VS,* V.35), is the exemplary form of very different things, and either way is precisely 'that one thing by which when it is known, all things are known' (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, I.3, *BU,* I.4.5). The paternal comprehension and the mother tongue which are, thus, in their identity the first principle of knowledge are evidently inaccessible to empirical observation;[11] as long as an individual consciousness can be distinguished as such, an omniscience is inconceivable, and one can only 'turn to the One Denominator for instruction' (*ṚV,* X.82.3)—namely, to Plato's 'more than human power', to recover lost potentialities by acts of recollection, raising our level of reference by all available dispositive means. The metaphysical doctrine of universal language is, thus, by no means to be thought of as asserting that a universal language was ever actually spoken by any people under the sun; the metaphysical concept of a universal speech is, in fact, the conception of a single sound, not that of groups of sounds to be uttered in succession, which is what we mean when we speak of 'a spoken language', where in default of an *a priori* knowledge of the thought to be expressed, it may be 'difficult to tell whether it is the thought which is defective or the language which has failed to express it' (Keith, *AĀ*, p. 54).

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[10] It is quite right for us to think of 'names as the *consequences* of things' (Aristotle, as quoted by Dante in the *Vita nuova*), because our knowledge of things, is not essential, but accidental; aspiring to essential knowledge, names are for us a means to knowledge and not to be confused with knowledge itself. But let us not forget that from the point of view of the Creator, Plato's 'more than human power' which was the First Denominator, names (ideas) *preceded* things, which He *knew* before they *were*. Already possessed of essential knowledge, for Him to *name* is the same as to *create*, from the point of view of the First Mind, 'things are the consequences of names'.

The assumption more immediately underlying the traditional science of hermeneutics (*nirukta*) is that there remains in spoken languages a trace of universality, and particularly of natural *mimesis* (by which, of course, we do not mean a merely onomatopoetic likeness but one of true analogy); that even in languages considerably modified by art and by convention, there still survives a considerable part of a naturally adequate symbolism. It is assumed, in other words, that certain assonances, which may or may not correspond to the actual pedigrees of words, are nevertheless indications of their affinities and meanings, just as we recognize family likeness, both of appearance and of character, apart from the line of direct inheritance. All of which is anything but a matter of 'folk etymology'; it is not a matter of etymology at all in the narrowest sense of the word, but rather of significant assonance,[12] and in any case the 'folk' tradition is a matter of the 'folk' only in respect to its transmission, not its origin; 'folklore' and Philosophia Perennis spring from a common source.

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[11] And thus, as a modern scholar would say, 'meaningless to us and should not be described as knowledge' (A.B. Keith's edition of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka,* Oxford, 1909, p. 42), where, however, it should be borne in mind that the kind of knowledge intended corresponds to Skr. *avidyā,* as being a relative knowledge or opinion, as distinguished from an ascertainment. [Augustine, *Confessions,* X1.4, 'Scientia nostra scientiae tua ecomparata ignorantia est . . . Ignorantia divisiva est erratium'.] It is not, as Macdonell pretends, because the theory of an adequate symbolism of sound is devoid of philosophical (or, rather, metaphysical) interest, but because the modern scholar is not interested in principles but only in 'facts', not in truth but only in statistical prediction, that 'the [Pūrva Mīmāṁsā] system has not as yet much occupied the attention of European scholars'. The same might be said with respect to any other traditional science.

All tradition proposes means dispositive to absolute experience. Whoever does not care to employ these means is in no position to deny that the proposed procedure can lead, as asserted, to a principle that is precisely *aniruktam,* no thing and no where, at the same time that it is the source of all things everywhere. What is most repugnant to the nominalist is the fact that, granted a possibility of absolute experience, no rational demonstration could be offered in a classroom, no 'experimental control' is possible, very much as *cogito ergo sum* is to every individual an adequate proof of his own conscious existence, of which, however, no demonstrative proof could be offered to the solipsist because he cannot directly experience the consciousness of another who also claims to be a 'person'.

To neglect the *nirukta* is, indeed, to impose upon oneself a needless handicap in the exegesis of doctrinal content. Compare in this connection the more intelligent procedure of 'Omikron': A further decision led me constantly to consult such ancient lexika and fragments of lexika as were obtainable; for I believed that in these original dictionaries of the Hellenes, the ancient scholars would have given apposite meanings, as well as clues to symbolic and allegoric expression. I paid particular attention to the strange *Hermeneia* of the old grammarians, supposing that they had good reasons for it, and even for giving, usually, more than one *Hermeneia* for the same word'.[13]

From an empirical point of view, it can hardly be claimed that the connection of sounds with meanings has been seriously investigated in modern times; we have the word of Macdonell that 'the system has not much occupied the attention of European scholars'. Even if such investigation had been made, with indefinite or negative results, it would still hold that *hermeneia* (*nirukta*) as actually employed by ancient authors presents us with an invaluable aid to the understanding of what was actually intended by the verbal symbols that are thus elucidated. The words of Scripture are for the most part highly technical and pregnant with many meanings on various levels of reference, so that even the nominalist should feel himself indebted to the hermeneutist from a semantic point of view.

ADDENDUM

In the preceding article, I described the Oṁkāra as the 'sum of all language' (*vācikaṁ sarvavāṅmayam*), and 'that one thing by which when it is known, all things are known'. There is a remarkable text exactly to this effect in *CU*, II.23.3, 'As all the leaves [of a book] are pinned together by a spike (*śaṅkunā*), so all speech (*sarvā vāc*) is pinned together by the Oṁkāra; verily, the Oṁkāra is all this, the Oṁkāra verily [is] all this'; and for this, too, there is a striking parallel in Dante (*Paradiso,* XXXIII.85-92): 'Within its depths I saw ingathered, bound by love in one volume, the scattered leaves of all the universe . . . after such fashion that what I tell of is one simple flame. The universal form of this complex I think that I beheld'. The parallel is all the closer because in the first case the universal form is that of the eternal sound, in the other, that of the eternal light; for light and sound are coincident *in divinis* (cf. *svar* and *svara*), and just as Dante speaks of 'these singing suns' (*Paradiso,* X.76; cf. XVIII.76, 'So within the lights the flying sacred creatures sang'), so *JUB,* III.33 has 'The Sun is sound, therefore they say of this Sun "It is as sound that He proceeds" (*svara eti*)', and in *CU,* I.5.1, 'The Sun is OṀ, for he is ever sounding forth "OṀ".'

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[12] 'For example, we do not mean to imply that as between the words *Agnus* and *Ignis* (Latin equivalent of *Agni*) there is anything more than one of those phonetic similarities to which we referred above, which very likely do not correspond to a line of linguistic descent, but are not therefore to be regarded as purely accidental' (René Guénon, *L'Esotérisme de Dante*, Paris, 1925, p. 92, n. 2).

[13] Omikron, *Letters from Paulos* (New York, 1920), Introduction.

Incidentally, the *Chāndogya* passage cited above, 'As all the leaves are pinned together by a spike (*yathā śaṅkunā sarvāṇi parṇāni saṁtṛṇṇāni*)', affords very strong evidence for the contemporaneity of writing with the redaction of this Upaniṣad, for everyone who has seen a South Indian palm-leaf manuscript of many leaves held together by a spike passed through one of the string-holes will recognize the aptness of the simile.

THE FLOOD IN HINDU TRADITION

The Flood in Hindu Tradition

The primary object of the present note is to present the Indian flood legend[1] as a special case of the Patriarchal Voyage (*pitṛyāna*), and at the same time in coherent and intelligible relation with other fundamental conceptions of Vedic cosmology and eschatology. Some analogies with other traditional aspects of the flood legend are incidentally noted. Whatever grounds may or may not exist for belief in an historical flood, the doctrine of *manvantaras* is, like that of *kalpas*, an essential part of Hindu tradition, and can no more be explained by any historical event than can the Vedic angels be explained by the deification of heroes. Further, the Flood legend clearly belongs to a tradition older than any existing Indian redaction or reference, older than the Vedas in their present form; these Indian redactions must be thought of as having, with the Sumerian, Semitic, and perhaps also Eddaic versions, a common source, the correspondences being ascribable not to 'influence' but to transmission by inheritance from the common source.

'Floods' are a normal and recurrent feature of the cosmic cycle, i.e. the period (*para*) of a Brahmā's life, amounting to 36,000 *kalpas*, or 'days' of Angelic time. In particular, the *naimittikapralaya* at the end of every *kalpa* (close of a 'day' of Angelic time, and equivalent to the Christian 'Last Judgment'), and *prākṛtikapralaya* at the end of the lifetime of a Brahmā (close of a 'day' of Supernal Time) are essentially resolutions of manifested existences into their undetermined potentiality, the Waters; and each renewed cycle of manifestation is a bringing forth on the next 'day' of forms latent as potentiality in the floods of reservoir of being. In each case the seeds, ideas, or images of the future manifestation persist during the interval or inter-Time of resolution on a higher plane of existence, unaffected by the destruction of manifested forms.

As to this, it will be understood, of course, that the chronological symbolism, inevitable from the empirical point of view, cannot be thought of as really characterizing the timeless actuality of all the possibilities of existence in the indivisible present of the Absolute, for Whom all multiplicity is mirrored in a single image. As, then, there can be no destruction of things as they are in the Self, but only of things as they are in themselves, the eternity, or rather timelessness, of ideas is a metaphysical necessity. Hence, indeed, the conception of another type of transformation, an *ātyantika pralaya,* ultimate

[This essay appears to have been written in the mid-1940s—Ed.]

[1] For the principal texts see Adam Hohenberger, *Die indische Flutsage und das Matsyapurāṇa* (Leipzig, 1930).

or absolute resolution, to be accomplished by the individual, when or wherever he may be, as Realization: when, in fact, by self-naughting a man effects for himself the transformation of things as they are in themselves, and knows them only as they are in the Self, he becomes immortal—not relatively, as are the Devas, enduring merely to the end of Time—but absolutely, as independent of time and of every other contingency. It should be noted that the ideas (images, types) in question are not exactly Platonic ideas, but ideas or types of activity, the knowledge and being of the Self consisting in pure act; in the chronological symbolism their creative efficacy is expressed in terms of *adṛśya* or *apūrva karma*, 'unseen' or 'latent consequence'.

While the creation of a cosmos (Brahmāṇḍa) at the commencement of a *para*, and the recreation of resolved elements of the cosmos at the commencement of every *kalpa*, are the work of Brahmā (Prajāpati), the All-Father, the more proximate genesis and guidance of humanity in each *kalpa* and *manvantara* is brought about by a Patriarch (*pitṛ*) of angelic ancestry, and designated Manu or Manus. In each *kalpa* there are fourteen *manvantaras*, each presided over by an individual Manu as progenitor and lawgiver; so also the *ṛṣis*, and Indra and other (*karma-*) *devas*, are individual to each *manvantara*. The first Manu of the present *kalpa* was Svāyambhuva, 'child of Svayambhū'; the seventh and present Manu, Vaivasvata, 'child of the Sun'. Each Manu is a determined and conscious survivor from the previous *manvantara*, and through him the sacred tradition is preserved and transmitted. The particular Manu intended is not always stated in the texts, and in such cases it is generally to be understood that the reference is to the present (Vaivasvata) Manu. It is not expressly stated that a flood arises at the conclusion of each *manvantara*, but this may be assumed on the analogy of 'the' flood connected with Vaivasvata Manu (*ŚB*, I.8.1-10), and the analogy of the greater 'flood' that marks the conclusion of a *kalpa*; but whereas in the latter case the principle of continuity is provided by the creative Hypostasis, floating recumbent asleep on the surface of the waters, supported by the Nāga 'Eternity' (Ananta), in the case of the partial resolution or submergence of manifested forms which takes place at the close of a *manvantara*, the connecting link is provided by the voyage of a Manu in an ark or ship. It may be observed that this is essentially a voyage up and down the slope (*pravat*) of heaven rather than a voyage to and fro, and quite other than the voyage of the *devayāna*, which is continuously upwards and towards a shore whence there is no return.

We are not informed of the chronological duration of the flood and Manu's voyage. From the analogy of the greater *pralayas*, a duration equal to that of the preceding *manvantara* might be inferred, but a more plausible analogy is perhaps to be found in the 'twilights' of the *yugas*, and this would suggest a relatively much shorter period of submergence. As to the depth of the flood, we have better information. In the first place it is evident that the resolution of manifested forms at the close of a *manvantara* will be less in cosmic extent than that, namely of the 'three Worlds', which takes place at the close of a *kalpa*, and this will mean necessarily that of the 'three Worlds', *svar* (the 'Olympian' heavens) at least, and perhaps also *bhuvar* (the 'atmospheric' spheres) are exempt from submergence; we know in any case that Dhruva (the Pole Star) remains unaffected throughout the *kalpa*. The earth (*bhur*) is submerged completely. Now the voyage of a Manu, typically a Patriarch (*pitṛ*), is a special case of the Patriarchal Voyage (*pitṛyāna*), and this as we know is a voyage to and from the 'Moon', those regularly travelling by this route being the Patriarchs (usually spoken of collectively as *pitaras*), and the Prophets (*ṛṣayaḥ*) 'desirous of descendants' (*prajā-kāmāḥ, Praśna Up.*, I.9). The flood, therefore, on which Manu's ship is borne upwards, must rise at least to the level of the sphere of the Moon, though it is not necessary to suppose that the Moon itself is submerged.

While it is out of the question that the flood waters should extend to the Empyrean heavens, Mahar-loka or therebeyond, there is good reason to suppose that in rising to the level of the Moon they must also touch the shores of the Olympian heavens (Indra-loka, deva-loka). For, notwithstanding that Indra- or deva-loka is regarded as a station, not of the Patriarchal, but of the Angelic Voyage, it is undeniable that Indra-loka is continually thought of as a place of reward of the worthy[2] dead, warriors in particular, who reside there enjoying the society of *apsarasas* and other pleasures until in due course the time comes for their return to human conditions. And while it is said that the latent effect of Works remains effective in the last analysis throughout a *kalpa* (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II.8), it would appear from the fact that the occupancy of Indra's office lasts only during the period of a *manvantara*[3] (hence a *kalpa* may as well be called a period of fourteen Indras as a period of fourteen Manus)[4] that reward in Indra-loka generally must be of the same duration; therefore at the commencement of any *manvantara* a general descent from the Angelic World must be initiated, no less than from the Patriarchal. It is clear that the two Worlds, Indra- or deva-loka and the Moon as *pitṛ-loka,* are psychologically equivalent, both being stations of the reward of *kāmya* Works; in fact, the Patriarchs are constantly spoken of as enjoying Soma in company with the Angels, and it is specifically stated in *Vālakhilya,* IV.1 that Manu drank Soma in company with Indra. One might express the situation by saying that whereas the Moon is naturally *pitṛ-loka* from the (*Brāhmaṇa*) point of view, as the posthumous abode of 'those who in the village reverence a belief in sacrifice, merit, and alms-giving' (*CU,* V.10.3), Indra- or deva-loka is naturally the home of the dead from the (*Kṣatriya*) point of view of the warrior. And if Indra-loka is listed *only* as a station of the *devayāna,* this is because it represents actually a station from which there is not only the necessity of return for those who have performed Works only, but also the possibility of a passing on by way of the Sun to the Empyrean heavens in the course of *Krama mukti* and without return, in the case of those 'who understand this and in the forest truly worship' (*BU,* VI.2.15). When it is said in *ṚV,* X.14.17 that the two kings whom the dead meet on reaching 'heaven' are not Indra and Yama, but Varuṇa and Yama, that is, Varuṇa in the case of the Angelic Voyage (since he who has reached the level of the heavenly waters is confronted with the possibility of future being only under heavenly conditions), and Yama in the case of the Patriarchal Voyage, it may be supposed that Indra (-loka) is omitted as being only a stage on the way to Varuṇa.

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[2] 'Worthy', i.e. due to receive the reward of *kāmya* Works, though not qualified by Understanding for either gradual or immediate Enfranchisement (*mukti*).

[3] Those who, as individuals, are particular to a given *manvantara* are the presiding Angels (*devāḥ*), Prophets (*ṛṣayaḥ*), and Manu and his descendants, i.e. kings and other men. The Angels in question cannot, of course, be thought of as any of those of the *ājānaja* ('by birth', e.g. Kāmadeva) order, but will be of the *karma* class, holding positions to which a qualification by Works has entitled them; and of these *karma-devaḥ* or Work Angels the chief is Indra. Hence it is constantly assumed that an individual duly preparing himself here and now may become the Indra (or for that matter even the Brahmā) of a future age; and jealousy is often attributed to the Angels with respect to those who will thus succeed them in office.

There is some inconsistency of detail, though not of principle, as between *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II.8, where it is said that the 'immortality' of the Angels means a survival without change of state until the end of the *kalpa*, and ibid., III.1, where the lifetime of an Indra and other (*karma*) Angels is restricted to the *manvantara*.

In any case, the Hindu view of the nature of angelic offices is identical with that of orthodox Christian theology, cf. St. Gregory and St. Augustine, *Angelus nomen est officii, non naturae*, for which, and the rendering of *deva* by 'Angel', see Coomaraswamy, 'On translation: *Māyā, Deva, Tapas*', 1933.

[4] Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III.1, and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, C.44.

Now with respect to Yama, as he is the brother of Manu (Vaivasvata) at the present time, it must be understood that 'Yama' implies always the Yama of a given *manvantara.* Yama and Manu, both designated Patriarchs (*pitṛ*), are contrasted in this respect, that whereas Yama, being the first man to die, was also the first to find out the way to the other world, in other words to map out the outward passage on the *pitṛyāna,* and thereby, as first settler, became king and ruler of all those who followed him, Manu is at once the last and only survivor of the previous *manvantara* and progenitor and lawgiver in the present. Hillebrandt's view (*Vedische Mythologie,* I.394; II.368, etc.) of Yama as original ruler of the sphere of the Moon, perhaps at one time simply the Moon-god, his realm or paradise being specifically that of the dead, is naturally acceptable. In any case, in one way or another, Yama and the Moon are regarded as dividers out of the dead, appointing their course (*yāna*) according as they are qualified by Works or by Understanding. This 'judgment' is expressed exceptionally in *Kauṣ. Up.,* I.2 as a selection effected by the Moon itself, qua door of the heavenly world.[5] More characteristically, the dividing out is accomplished by the two dogs of Yama, Śabala and Śyāma ('Iridescent' and 'Dark'), who correspond to the Sun and Moon, as argued by Bloomfield (*JAOS,* XV. 171) with reference to *ṚV,* X.14.10; and this is supported by *Praśna Up.,* I.9 and 10 (and Śaṅkarācārya's Commentary), where the Sun, considered as a station on the *devayāna,* is not merely in a passive sense impassible by those devoid of Understanding, but actually and actively a barrier (*nirodha*) restraining those unqualified from passing on to a paradise (*amṛtam āyatanam*) whence there is no returning. Incidentally, this also enables us to establish the correspondence of the Hebraic Angel with the Flaming Sword with the Vedic Sun qua *nirodha*; the 'Flaming Sword' being the Angel's natural weapon, in virtue of his solar character. The analogy of the *pitṛyāna* with Jacob's ladder may also be noted.

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[5] Cf. *BU,* III.1.6 where the Moon, reached through the efficacy of the Brāhmaṇa priest, now identified with the Intellect, is in turn identified with Intellect, Brahman, 'complete release'.

While the partial Understanding which constitutes the Wayfarer's ship on the Angelic Voyage absolves him from the necessity of return to human corporeal conditions, the latent effect of Works necessitates a return course of the Patriarchal Voyage. In other words, the *pitṛyāna* is a symbolic representation of what is not called the doctrine of reincarnation, and is bound up with the notion of latent (*adṛṣṭa* or *apūrva*) causality. The purely symbolic character of the whole conception is made all the more apparent when we reflect that from the standpoint of very truth, and in the absolute Present, there can be no distinctions made of cause and effect; and that what is often spoken of as the 'destruction of *karma*', or more correctly as a destruction of the latent effects of Works, effected by Understanding and implied with *mukti*, is not really a destruction of valid causes (as though it were possible to make that which has been not to have been, or to conceive of any potentiality of being unrealized in the Self), but simply a Realization of the identity of 'cause' and 'effect'. It must be similarly understood with reference to the designation of states of being in spatial terms, for example as 'the Sun' or 'the Moon', that these are no more to be taken literally with respect to visible luminaries than are the analogous designations, of states of being as time phases, for example, those of the light or dark fortnight, cf. *Praśna Up.*, I.12. It does not appear, in fact, that the Vedic tradition really propounds any doctrine of reincarnation in the highly individual and literal Buddhist, Jaina, and modern sense, nor in any case an individual return to identical conditions,[6] such as those of any one *manvantara*, but merely a return to analogous conditions in another age, *manvantara* or *kalpa* as the case may be. Divested thus of a too literal interpretation, the Vedic (Upaniṣadic) doctrine of 'reincarnation' bears a certain resemblance to modern conceptions of 'heredity': we too speak of the continuity of 'germ-plasm', of relatively everlasting 'genes', and the possibility that the characteristics of a remote ancestor may recur in any descendant; we know only too well that 'Man is born like a garden ready planted and sown', and few of us can always discard the conviction that 'a man gets what is coming to him'.

One further point of importance in this connection: while the Vedic point of view necessarily presumes an immortality, that is to say timelessness, of all potentialities of being typally subsistent in the Self (and this may be thought of from the standpoint of the Self as an eternal existence in the world picture not merely of every individual, but of every act of every individual on whatsoever plane of being), an immortality of this kind is in no way to be thought of as an immortality from the standpoint of any individual consciousness. It is clearly enough brought out that both the relative immortality of the Angels, and the absolute immortality of Realization are conditions which are altogether dependent on individual effort; or, as it is expressed from a more limited point of view in the Christian tradition, every individual must work out his own salvation. There can be no 'immortality' for the individual monad who has not, so to speak, either acquired a 'soul' by the due performance of Works, or realized the Self either partially as a Wayfarer or wholly as a Comprehensor. As to the infrahuman beings, 'the small, continually returning creatures' of whom it is said 'Be born, and die', theirs is a 'third state'; their course is ephemeral, and neither by the *devayāna* nor the *pitṛyāna*, though the possibility is not excluded that even an animal, under special circumstances, could develop a consciousness with survival value. And as to those beings human in form but so little *menschlich* in nature that they do not achieve even any virtuosity (*kauśalya*) in Works, their Psyche is said to be reborn in animal wombs, or alternatively to be lost. Hence (of course only from the human point of view, there being no superiority of one state over another in the eyes of the Self) the primary importance of birth in human form; for here and now it is determined whether or not the individual shall inherit Eternal Life, or at least a renewed possibility of winning Eternal Life. Furthermore, Veda is the body of Truth in which is set forth the way of life; and this Truth, eternal in the consciousness of the Self (without distinction of 'knowledge' from 'being'), is transmitted as it has been 'heard', by a succession of Prophets (*ṛṣayaḥ*) from *manvantara* to *manvantara*.[7]

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[6] An exact repetition of any past experience would be inconceivable metaphysically, since any two identical experiences, regarded from the standpoint of the absolute present, in which all potentialities of being are simultaneously realized, must be one and the same experience. Metaphysics asserts the unique character of every monad, and it is precisely this uniqueness which makes the individual unknowable as he is in himself, though intelligible as he is in and of the Self.

While the *pitṛyāna* is thus manifested in the succession of *manvantaras*, the *devayāna* is primarily a course whereon the individual is removed ever farther and farther from the 'storm of the world-flow' (Meister Eckhart, Evans ed., I, 192), those who journey by the ship of Knowledge normally 'never returning' (*punar na āvartante*). The only exception to this is in the case of an *avatāra*, whose return or descent is indeed inevitable, like that of the Patriarchs, but with this difference, that in this case the necessity arises from a purely voluntary self-commitment (as is brought out so clearly in the case of the Bodhisattvas, whose appearance as a Buddha is a consequence of previous *praṇidhāna*), and with this further distinction that in such cases the descent is not so much an actual embodiment or helpless subjection to human conditions, as a manifestation (*nirmāṇa*) not infringing the centering of consciousness in the higher state of being from which the *avataraṇa* takes place.[8] In the case of an *avataraṇa* of the Supreme Lord, this has to be thought of as an immediate act of will or grace;[9] and here *a fortiori* the doctrine of *nirmāṇa* or that of merely partial (*aṁśa*) incarnation must be invoked.[10]

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[7] In some other versions of the flood legend, the continuity of tradition is more mechanically explained.

We have seen that every procedure from one state of being to another, though formally 'death again' (*punar mṛtyu*), is envisaged from the Vedic point of view as a passing from one station to another of a voyage on the sea of life. This sea can only be thought of as having a horizontal surface for so long as our attention is confined to any one and the same state of being; whenever a change of state is involved, as in the Angelic or Patriarchal Voyages, the surface of the sea of life is necessarily conceived of as a slope[11] or limiting form of a succession of degrees, leading upwards or downwards as the case may be, and as though from a valley to a height and *vice versa*. The slope, steep, or height is designated *pravat*, contrasted with *nivat*, descent or depth. *Pravat* is met with frequently in the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*. Here it will suffice to note *AV*, VI.28.3, where it is said that Yama was the first to achieve the scarp (*pravat*), spying out the way for many; *AV*, X.10.2, where the steeps are said to be seven in number, evidently with reference to the seven planes of being, that is to say the 'three Worlds' and four Empyrean heavens, Mahar, Janas, Tapas and Satyam; and *AV*, XVIII.4.7, where the crossing of the fords (*tīrtha*) of the great steeps is said to be by means of the sacrificial Works of the worthy. All this is consistent with the Angelic Voyage of the enlightened in the ship of Understanding, and the Patriarchal Voyage of those whose ship is Works.

The conception of the sea of life as an ocean and of its 'surface' as a slope further explains much of the terminology of the pasthumous voyages, and that of a Manu. For example, the attainment of the level of any state of being, a port of call on the voyage, is thought of as a tying up in harbor: hence in *AV*, XIX.39.7, where there is an incidental allusion to the Angelic Voyage, the sky-faring vessel is provided with a golden hawser (*bandhana*), and corresponding notions are found in *ŚB*, I.8.1.6 in the injunction to Manu, *vṛkṣe nāvaṁ pratibandhīṣva tam*, 'tie up the ship to a tree'; in *Mbh.*, III.187.48, 'tie up the ship to the summit of Himālaya'; and III.187.50 *nau-bandhana*, 'ship-tying', denoting the summit of Himālaya, where Manu's ship made land as the Flood subsided. In the same way the conception of a slope or 'up' contrasted with a 'down' explains the constant use of the verbal prefix *ava*, 'down', whenever a descent on the sea of life is envisaged, as in *AV*, XIX.39.8, where it is said that for those (wayfarers on the *devayāna*) who 'see immortality' there is 'no gliding down', *na'avaprabhraṁśana*,[12] and *ŚB*, I.8.1.6, where the descent of Manu's ark is spoken of as *avasarpaṇa*, with the same sense of 'downward gliding'.

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[8] For an explanation of *avataraṇa* with reference to the Vedic Apāntaratamas and others, reference should be made to Śaṅkarācārya's Commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, III.3.30-1. The *nirmāṇa* doctrine corresponds to the Docetic Heresy in Christianity, and has its equivalent in Manichaeism.

[9] As in *BG*, *passim*.

[10] Just as from the Christian point of view it is not supposed that the whole being of the Son was by the fact of Incarnation imprisoned in Mary's womb.

[11] A general consideration of traditional symbolism would lead us to identify this 'slope' with the pitch of a spiral having for its centre the vertical axis of the universe; or as that of the phyllotaxy of the Tree of Life.

The general parallel with Biblical tradition is very close; the account of creation in Genesis corresponding to the creation at the commencement of the present *kalpa*, that of the Flood and Noah to that of the Flood and Manu Vaivasvata. Manu, however, is not thought of as taking with him into the ark a wife and pairs of creatures after their kind; in other words, the apparatus of the Hebraic version in this respect is more mechanical. Manu is a progenitor of mankind in the sense that all men are of the seed of Manu; and as the reincarnation of the Patriarchs is not all at once, but day by day in the natural course of events, it must be understood not that they descended in Manu's ark literally, but by the *pitṛyāna* in its general connotation, their genealogy from Manu being, as it were, implicit and by seminal virtue. Their actual birth from day-to-day is somewhat obscurely described in various accounts of return on the Patriarchal Voyage as a descent of *rasa* with the rain, and a subsequent evolution.

The Eddaic Götterdämmerung and subsequent restoration of the world may also represent the original tradition of a flood at the close of a world period: in *Völuspa*, such expressions as *vepr oll válynd, ragna rok, verold steypesk, skelfr Yggdrasels, snysk jormongandr, himenn klofnar*, followed by *Sér upp koma opro sinne jorth ór aegre ipjagroena . . . sás á fjalle fiske veiper*, and the assembly of the Aesir calling to mind the *fornar rúnar*, all closely parallel Indian descriptions of the end of a world age and subsequent restoration. The finding of the *gollnar toflor paers í árdaga átta hofpo* recalls the Berosus version of the flood legend (Isaac Preston Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, London, 1832, pp. 26ff.), where a history of the beginning, procedure, and conclusion of all things (a veritable *Purāṇa*!) is buried at Sippara before the submergence of the earth, and found again after the subsidence of the flood, and then again made known to mankind.

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[12] This word, divided *nāva-prabhraṁśana*, was at one time interpreted as equivalent to *nau-bandhana*, but this has been rightly rejected on grammatical and other grounds. The *AV* passage does not refer to the descent of Manu's ark, but is an incidental reference to a voyage upwards on the *devayāna*.

THE VEDĀNTA AND WESTERN TRADITION

The Vedānta and Western Tradition

> These are really the thoughts of all men in all ages and lands, they are not original with me.
>
> Walt Whitman

There have been teachers such as Orpheus, Hermes, Buddha, Lao-tzu and Christ, the historicity of whose human existence is doubtful, and to whom there may be accorded the higher dignity of a mythical reality. Śaṅkara, like Plotinus, Augustine, or Eckhart, was certainly a man among men, though we know comparatively little about his life. He was of south Indian Brahman birth, flourished in the first half of the ninth century AD, and founded a monastic order which still survives. He became a *sannyāsin*, or 'truly poor man', at the age of eight, as the disciple of a certain Govinda and of Govinda's own teacher Gauḍapāda, the author of a treatise on the Upaniṣads in which their essential doctrine of the non-duality of the divine Being was set forth: Śaṅkara journeyed to Benares and wrote the famous commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* there in his twelfth year; the commentaries on the Upaniṣads and *Bhagavad Gītā* were written later. Most of the great sage's life was spent wandering about India, teaching and taking part in controversies. He is understood to have died between the ages of thirty and forty. Such wanderings and disputations as his have always been characteristically Indian institutions; in his days, as now, Sanskrit was the lingua franca of learned men, just as for centuries Latin was the *lingua franca* of Western countries, and free public debate was so generally recognized that halls erected for the accommodation of peripatetic teachers and disputants were at almost every court.

The traditional metaphysics with which the name of Śaṅkara is connected is known either as the Vedānta, a term which occurs in the Upaniṣads and means the 'Vedas' ends', both as 'latter part' and as 'ultimate significance'; or as Ātmavidyā, the doctrine of the knowledge of the true 'self' or 'spiritual essence'; or as Advaita, 'Nonduality', a term which, while it denies duality, makes no affirmations about the nature of unity and must not be taken to imply anything like our monisms or pantheism. A gnosis (*jñāna*) is taught in this metaphysics.

Śaṅkara was not in any sense the founder, discoverer, or promulgator of a new religion or philosophy; his great work as an expositor consisted in a

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demonstration of the unity and consistency of Vedic doctrine and in an explanation of its apparent contradictions by a correlation of different formulations with the points of view implied in them. In particular, and exactly as in European Scholasticism, he distinguished between the two complementary approaches to God, which are those of the affirmative and negative theology. In the way of affirmation, or relative knowledge, qualities are predicated in the Supreme Identity by way of excellence, while in the way of negation all qualities are abstracted. The famous 'No, no' of the Upaniṣads, which forms the basis of Śaṅkara's method, as it did of the Buddha's, depends upon a recognition of the truth—expressed by Dante among many others—that there are things which are beyond the reach of discursive thought and which cannot be understood except by denying things of them.

Śaṅkara's style is one of great originality and power as well as subtlety. I shall cite from his commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā* a passage that has the further advantage of introducing us at once to the central problem of the Vedānta—that of the discrimination of what is really, and not merely according to our way of thinking, 'myself'. 'How is it', Śaṅkara says, 'that there are professors who like ordinary men maintain that "I am so-and-so" and "This is mine"? Listen: it is because their so-called learning consists in thinking of the body as their "self".' In the Commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* he enunciates in only four Sanskrit words what has remained in Indian metaphysics from first to last the consistent doctrine of the immanent Spirit within you as the only knower, agent, and transmigrant.

The metaphysical literature underlying Śaṅkara's expositions consists essentially of the Four Vedas together with the Brāhmaṇas and their Upaniṣads, all regarded as revealed, eternal, datable (as to their recension, in any case) before 500 BC, together with the *Bhagavad Gītā* and *Brahma Sūtra* (datable before the beginning of the Christian era). Of these books, the Vedas are liturgical, the Brāhmaṇas are explanatory of the ritual, and the Upaniṣads are devoted to the Brahma-doctrine or *Theologia Mystica,* which is taken for granted in the liturgy and ritual. The *Brahma Sūtra* is a greatly condensed compendium of Upaniṣad doctrine, and the *Bhagavad Gītā* is an exposition adapted to the understanding of those whose primary business has to do with the active rather than the contemplative life.

For many reasons, which I shall try to explain, it will be far more difficult to expound the Vedānta than it would be to expound the personal views of a modern 'thinker', or even such a thinker as Plato or Aristotle. Neither the modern English vernacular nor modern philosophical or psychological jargon provides us with an adequate vocabulary, nor does modern education provide us with the ideological background which would be essential for easy communication. I shall have to make use of a purely symbolic, abstract, and technical language, as if I were speaking in terms of higher mathematics; you may recall that Emile Mâle speaks of Christian symbolism as a 'calculus'. There is this advantage: the matter to be communicated and the symbols to be employed are no more peculiarly Indian than peculiarly Greek or Islamic, Egyptian or Christian.

Metaphysics, in general, resorts to visual symbols (crosses and circles, for example) and above all to the symbolism of light and of the sun—than which, as Dante says, 'no object of sense in the whole world is more worthy to be made a type of God'. But I shall also have to use such technical terms as essence and substance, potentiality and act, spiration and despiration, exemplary likeness, aeviternity, form and accident. Metempsychosis must be distinguished from transmigration and both from 'reincarnation'. We shall have to distinguish soul from spirit. Before we can know when, if ever, it is proper to render a given Sanskrit word by our word 'soul' (*anima, psyche*), we must have known in what manifold senses the word 'soul' has been employed in the European tradition; what kind of soul can be 'saved'; what kind of soul Christ requires us to 'hate' if we would be his disciples; what kind of soul Eckhart refers to when he says that the soul must 'put itself to death'. We must know what Philo means by the 'soul of the soul'; and we must ask how we can think of animals as 'soulless', notwithstanding that the word 'animal' means quite literally 'ensouled'. We must distinguish essence from existence. And I may have to coin such a word as 'nowever' to express the full and original meanings of such words as 'suddenly', 'immediately' and 'presently'.

The sacred literature of India is available to most of us only in translations made by scholars trained in linguistics rather than in metaphysics; and it has been expounded and explained—or as I should rather say, explained away—mainly by scholars provided with the assumptions of the naturalist and anthropologist, scholars whose intellectual capacities have been so much inhibited by their own powers of observation that they can no longer distinguish the reality from the appearance, the Supernal-Sun of metaphysics from the physical sun of their own experience. Apart from these, Indian literature has either been studied and explained by Christian propagandists whose main concern has been to demonstrate the falsity and absurdity of the doctrines involved, or by theosophists by whom the doctrines have been caricatured with the best intentions and perhaps even worse results.

The educated man of today is, moreover, completely out of touch with those European modes of thought and those intellectual aspects of the Christian doctrine which are nearest those of the Vedic traditions. A knowledge of modern Christianity will be of little use because the fundamental sentimentality of our times has diminished what was once an intellectual doctrine to a mere morality that can hardly be distinguished from a pragmatic humanism. A European can hardly be said to be adequately prepared for the study of the Vedānta unless he has acquired some knowledge and understanding of at least Plato, Philo, Hermes, Plotinus, the Gospels (especially John), Dionysius, and finally Eckhart who, with the possible exception of Dante, can be regarded from an Indian point of view as the greatest of all Europeans.

The Vedānta is not a 'philosophy' in the current sense of the word, but only as the word is used in the phrase *Philosophia Perennis,* and only if we have in mind the Hermetic 'philosophy' or that 'Wisdom' by whom Boethius was consoled. Modern philosophies are closed systems, employing the method of dialectics, and taking for granted that opposites are mutually exclusive. In modern philosophy things are either so or not so; in eternal philosophy this depends upon our point of view. Metaphysics is not a system, but a consistent doctrine; it is not merely concerned with conditioned and quantitative experience, but with universal possibility. It therefore considers possibilities that may be neither possibilities of manifestation nor in any sense formal, as well as ensembles of possibility that can be realized in a given world. The ultimate reality of metaphysics is a Supreme Identity in which the opposition of all contraries, even of being and non-being, is resolved; its 'worlds' and 'gods' are levels of reference and symbolic entities which are neither places nor individuals but states of being realizable within you.

Philosophers have personal theories about the nature of the world; our 'philosophical discipline' is primarily a study of the history of these opinions and of their historical connections. We encourage the budding philosopher to have opinions of his own on the chance that they may represent an improvement on previous theories. We do not envisage, as does the *Philosophia Perennis,* the possibility of knowing the Truth once and for all; still less do we set before us as our goal to become this truth.

The metaphysical 'philosophy' is called 'perennial' because of its eternity, universality, and immutability; it is Augustine's 'Wisdom uncreate, the same now as it ever was and ever will be'; the religion which, as he also says, only came to be called 'Christianity' after the coming of Christ. What was revealed in the beginning contains implicitly the whole truth; and so long as the tradition is transmitted without deviation, so long, in other words, as the chain of teachers and disciples remains unbroken, neither inconsistency nor error is possible. On the other hand, an understanding of the doctrine must be perpetually renewed; it is not a matter of words. That the doctrine has no history by no means excludes the possibility, or even the necessity, for a perpetual explicitation of its formulae, an adaptation of the rites originally practised, and an application of its principles to the arts and sciences. The more humanity declines from its first self-sufficiency, the more the necessity for such an application arises. Of these explicitations and adaptations a history is possible. Thus a distinction is drawn between what was 'heard' at the outset and what has been 'remembered'.

A deviation or heresy is only possible when the essential teaching has been in some respect misunderstood or perverted. To say, for example, that 'I am a pantheist' is merely to confess that 'I am not a metaphysician', just as to say that 'two and two make five' would be to confess 'I am not a mathematician'. Within the tradition itself there cannot be any contradictory or mutually exclusive theories or dogmas. For example, what are called the 'six systems of Indian philosophy' (a phrase in which only the words 'six' and 'Indian' are justified) are not mutually contradictory and exclusive theories. The so-called 'systems' are no more or less orthodox than mathematics, chemistry, and botany which, though separate disciplines more or less scientific amongst themselves, are not anything but branches of one 'science'. India, indeed, makes use of the term 'branches' to denote what the Indologist misunderstands to be 'sects'. It is precisely because there are no 'sects' within the fold of Brahmanical orthodoxy that an intolerance in the European sense has been virtually unknown in Indian history—and for the same reason, it is just as easy for me to think in terms of the Hermetic philosophy as in terms of Vedānta. There must be 'branches' because nothing can be known except in the mode of the knower; however strongly we may realize that all roads lead to one Sun, it is equally evident that each man must choose that road which starts from the point at which he finds himself at the moment of setting out. For the same reasons, Hinduism has never been a missionary faith. It may be true that the metaphysical tradition has been better and more fully preserved in India than in Europe. If so, it only means that the Christian can learn from the Vedānta how to understand his own 'way' better.

The philosopher expects to prove his points. For the metaphysician it suffices to show that a supposedly false doctrine involves a contradiction of first principles. For example, a philosopher who argues for an immortality of the soul endeavours to discover proofs of the survival of personality; for the metaphysician it suffices to remember that 'the first beginning must be the same as the last end'—from which it follows that a soul, understood to have been created in time, cannot but end in time. The metaphysician can no more be convinced by any so-called 'proof of the survival of personality' than a physicist could be convinced of the possibility of a perpetual motion machine by any so-called proof. Furthermore, metaphysics deals for the most part with matters which cannot be publicly proved, but can only be demonstrated, i.e. made intelligible by analogy, and which even when verified in personal experience can only be stated in terms of symbol and myth. At the same time, faith is made relatively easy by the infallible logic of the texts themselves—which is their beauty and their attractive power. Let us remember the Christian definition of faith: 'assent to a credible proposition'. One must believe in order to understand, and understand in order to believe. These are not successive, however, but simultaneous acts of the mind. In other words, there can be no knowledge of anything to which the will refuses its consent, or love of anything that has not been known.

Metaphysics differs still further from philosophy in having a purely practical purpose. It is no more a pursuit of truth for truth's sake than are the related arts a pursuit of art for art's sake, or related conduct the pursuit of morality for the sake of morality. There is indeed a quest, but the seeker already knows, so far as this can be stated in words, what it is that he is in search of; the quest is achieved only when he himself has become the object of his search. Neither verbal knowledge nor a merely formal assent nor impeccable conduct is of any more than indispensable dispositive value—means to an end.

Taken in their materiality, as 'literature', the texts and symbols are inevitably misunderstood by those who are not themselves in quest. Without exception, the metaphysical terms and symbols are the technical terms of the chase. They are never literary ornaments, and as Malinowski has so well said in another connection, 'Technical language, in matters of practical pursuit, acquires its meaning only through personal participation in this type of pursuit'. That is why, the Indian feels, the Vedāntic texts have been only verbally and grammatically and never really understood by European scholars, whose methods of study are avowedly objective and noncommittal. The Vedānta can be known only to the extent that it has been lived. The Indian, therefore, cannot trust a teacher whose doctrine is not directly reflected in his very being. Here is something very far removed from the modern European concept of scholarship.

We must add, for the sake of those who entertain romantic notions of the 'mysterious East', that the Vedānta has nothing to do with magic or with the exercise of occult powers. It is true that the efficacy of magical procedure and the actuality of occult powers are taken for granted in India. But the magic is regarded as an applied science of the basest kind; and while occult powers, such as that of operation 'at a distance', are incidentally acquired in the course of contemplative practice, the use of them—unless under the most exceptional circumstances—is regarded as a dangerous deviation from the path.

Nor is the Vedānta a kind of psychology or Yoga a sort of therapeutics except quite accidentally. Physical and moral health are prerequisites to spiritual progress. A psychological analysis is employed only to break down our fond belief in the unity and immateriality of the 'soul', and with a view to a better distinguishing of the spirit from what is not the spirit but only a temporary psycho-physical manifestation of one of the most limited of its modalities. Whoever, like Jung, insists upon translating the essentials of Indian or Chinese metaphysics into a psychology is merely distorting the meaning of the texts. Modern psychology has, from an Indian point of view, about the same values that attach to spiritualism and magic and other 'superstitions'. Finally, I must point out that the metaphysics, the Vedānta, is not a form of mysticism, except in the sense that with Dionysius we can speak of a Theologia Mystica. What is ordinarily meant by 'mysticism' involves a passive receptivity—'we must be able to let things happen in the psyche' is Jung's way of putting it (and in this statement he proclaims himself a 'mystic'). But metaphysics repudiates the psyche altogether. The words of Christ, that 'No man can be my disciple who hateth not his own soul', have been voiced again and again by every Indian guru; and so far from involving passivity, contemplative practice involves an activity that is commonly compared to the blazing of a fire at a temperature so high as to show neither flickering nor smoke. The pilgrim is called a 'toiler', and the characteristic refrain of the pilgrim song is 'keep on going, keep on going'. The 'Way' of the Vedāntist is above all an activity.

II

The Vedānta takes for granted an omniscience independent of any source of knowledge external to itself, and a beatitude independent of any external source of pleasure. In saying 'That art thou', the Vedānta affirms that man is possessed of, and is himself, 'that one thing which when it is known, all things are known' and 'for the sake of which alone all things are dear'. It affirms that man is unaware of this hidden treasure within himself because he has inherited an ignorance that inheres in the very nature of the psycho-physical vehicle which he mistakenly identifies with himself. The purpose of all teaching is to dissipate this ignorance; when the darkness has been pierced nothing remains but the Gnosis of the Light. The technique of education is, therefore, always formally destructive and iconoclastic; it is not the conveyance of information but the education of a latent knowledge.

The 'great dictum' of the Upaniṣads is, 'That art thou'. 'That' is here, of course, Ātman or Spirit, Sanctus Spiritus, Greek *pneuma,* Arabic *rūh,* Hebrew *ruah,* Egyptian *Amon,* Chinese *ch'i*; Ātman is spiritual essence, impartite whether transcendent or immanent; and however many and various the directions to which it may extend or from which it may withdraw, it is unmoved mover in both intransitive and transitive senses. It lends itself to all modalities of being but never itself becomes anyone or anything. That than which all else is a vexation—that art thou. 'That', in other words, is the Brahman, or God in the general sense of Logos or Being, considered as the universal source of all Being—expanding, manifesting and productive, font of all things, all of which are 'in' him as the finite in the infinite, though not a 'part' of him, since the infinite has no parts.

For the most part, I shall use the word Ātman hereafter. While this Ātman, as that which blows and enlightens, is primarily 'Spirit', because it is this divine Eros that is the quickening essence in all things and thus their real being, the word Ātman is also used reflexively to mean 'self'—either 'oneself' in whatever sense, however gross, the notion may be entertained, or with reference to the spiritual self or person (which is the only knowing subject and essence of all things, and must be distinguished from the affected and contingent 'I' that is a compound of the body and of all that we mean by 'soul' when we speak of a 'psychology'). Two very different 'selves' are thus involved, and it has been the custom of translators, accordingly, to render Ātman as 'self', printed either with a small or with a capital 's' according to the context. The same distinction is drawn, for example, by St. Bernard between what is my 'property' (*proprium*) and what is my very being (*esse*). An alternative Indian formulation distinguishes the 'knower of the field'—viz., the Spirit as the only knowing subject in all things and the same in all—from the 'field', or body-and-soul as defined above (taken together with the pastures of the senses and embracing therefore all things that can be considered objectively). The Ātman or Brahman itself cannot be thus considered: 'How couldst thou know the knower of knowing?'—or in other words, how can the first cause of all things be one of them?

The Ātman is impartite, but it is apparently divided and identified into variety by the differing forms of its vehicles, mouse or man, just as space within a jar is apparently signate and distinguishable from space without it. In this sense it can be said that 'he is one as he is in himself but many as he is in his children', and that 'participating himself, he fills these worlds'. But this is only in the sense that light fills space while it remains itself without discontinuity; the distinction of things from one another thus depending not on differences in the light but on differences in reflecting power. When the jar is shattered, when the vessel of life is unmade, we realize that what was apparently delimited had no boundaries and that 'life' was a meaning not to be confused with 'living'. To say that the Ātman is thus at once participated and impartible, 'undivided amongst divided things', without local position and at the same time everywhere, is another way of stating what we are more familiar with as the doctrine of Total Presence.

At the same time, everyone of these apparent definitions of the Spirit represents the actuality in time of one of its indefinitely numerous possibilities of formal manifestation. The existence of the apparition begins at birth and ends at death; it can never be repeated. Nothing of Śaṅkara survives but a bequest. Therefore though we can speak of him as still living power in the world, the man has become a memory. On the other hand, for the gnostic Spirit, the Knower of the field, the Knower of all births, there can never at any time cease to be an immediate knowledge of each and everyone of its modalities, a knowledge without before or after (relative to the appearance or disappearance of Śaṅkara from the field of our experience). It follows that where knowledge and being, nature and essence are one and the same, Śaṅkara's being has no beginning and can never cease. In other words, there is a sense in which we can properly speak of 'my spirit' and 'my person' as well as of 'the spirit' and 'the Person', notwithstanding that Spirit and Person are a perfectly simple substance without composition. I shall return to the meaning of 'immortality' later, but for the present I want to use what has just been said to explain what was meant by a nonsectarian distinction of points of view. For, whereas the Western student of 'philosophy' thinks of Sāṁkhya and Vedānta as two incompatible 'systems', because the former is concerned with the liberation of a plurality of Persons and the latter with the liberty of an inconnumerable Person, no such antinomy is apparent to the Hindu. This can be explained by pointing out that in the Christian texts, 'Ye are all one in Christ Jesus' and 'Whoever is joined unto the Lord is one spirit', the plurals 'ye' and 'whoever' represent the Sāṁkhya and the singular 'one' the Vedānta point of view.

The validity of our consciousness of being, apart from any question of being So-and-so by name or by registrable characters, is accordingly taken for granted. This must not be confused with the argument, 'Cogito ergo sum'. That 'I' feel or 'I' think is no proof that 'I' am; for we can say with the Vedāntist and Buddhist that this is merely a conceit, that 'feelings are felt' and 'thoughts are thought', and that all this is a part of the 'field' of which the spirit is the surveyor, just as we look at a picture which is in one sense a part of us though we are not in any sense a part of it. The question is posed accordingly: 'Who art thou?' 'What is that self to which we should resort?' We recognize that 'self' can have more than one meaning when we speak of an 'internal conflict'; when we say that 'the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak'; or when we say, with the *Bhagavad Gītā,* that 'the Spirit is at war with whatever is not the Spirit'.

Am 'I' the spirit or the flesh? (We must always remember that in metaphysics the 'flesh' includes all the aesthetic and recognitive faculties of the 'soul'.) We may be asked to consider our reflection in a mirror, and may understand that there we see 'ourself'; if we are somewhat less naive, we may be asked to consider the image of the psyche as reflected in the mirror of the mind and may understand that this is what 'I' am; or if still better advised, we may come to understand that we are none of these things—that they exist because we are, rather than that we exist inasmuch as they are. The Vedānta affirms that 'I' in my essence am as little, or only as much, affected by all these things as an author-playwright is affected by the sight of what is suffered or enjoyed by those who move on the stage—the stage, in this case, of 'life' (in other words, the 'field' or 'pasture' as distinguished from its aquiline surveyor, the Universal man). The whole problem of man's last end, liberation, beatitude, or deification is accordingly one of finding 'oneself ' no longer in 'this man' but in the Universal Man, the *forma humanitatis*, who is independent of all orders of time and has neither beginning nor end.

Conceive that the 'field' is the round or circus of the world, that the throne of the Spectator, the Universal Man, is central and elevated, and that his aquiline glance at all times embraces the whole of the field (equally before and after the enactment of any particular event) in such a manner that from his point of view all events are always going on. We are to transfer our consciousness of being, from our position in the field where the games are going on, to the pavilion in which the Spectator, on whom the whole performance depends, is seated at ease.

Conceive that the right lines of vision by which the Spectator is linked to each separated performer, and along which each performer might look upward (inward) to the Spectator if only his powers of vision sufficed, are lines of force, or the strings by which the puppet-master moves the puppets for himself (who is the whole audience). Each of the performing puppets is convinced of its own independent existence and of itself as one amongst others, which it sees in its own immediate environment and which it distinguishes by name, appearance, and behaviour. The Spectator does not, and cannot, see the performers as they see themselves, imperfectly, but he knows the being of each one of them as it really is—that is to say, not merely as effective in a given local position, but simultaneously at every point along the line of visual force by which the puppet is connected with himself, and primarily at that point at which all lines converge and where the being of all things coincides with being in itself. There the being of the puppet subsists as an eternal reason in the eternal intellect—otherwise called the Supernal-Sun, the Light of lights, Spirit and Truth.

Suppose now that the Spectator goes to sleep: when he closes his eyes the universe disappears, to reappear only when he opens them again. The opening of eyes ('Let there be light') is called in religion the act of creation, but in metaphysics it is called manifestation, utterance, or spiration (to shine, to utter, and to blow being one and the same thing *in divinis*); the closing of eyes is called in religion the 'end of the world', but in metaphysics it is called concealment, silence, or despiration. For us, then, there is an alternation or evolution and involution. But for the central Spectator there is no succession of events. He is always awake and always asleep; unlike the sailor who sometimes sits and thinks and sometimes does not think, our Spectator sits and thinks, and does not think, nowever.

A picture has been drawn of the cosmos and its overseeing 'Eye'. I have only omitted to say that the field is divided by concentric fences which may conveniently, although not necessarily, be thought of as twenty-one in number. The Spectator is thus at the twenty-first remove from the outermost fence by which our present environment is defined. Each player's or groundling's performance is confined to the possibilities that are represented by the space between two fences. There he is born and there he dies. Let us consider this born being, So-and-so, as he is in himself and as he believes himself to be—'an animal, reasoning and mortal; that I know, and that I confess myself to be', as Boethius expresses it. So-and-so does not conceive that he can move to and fro in time as he will, but knows that he is getting older everyday, whether he likes it or not. On the other hand, he does conceive that in some other respects he can do what he likes, so far as this is not prevented by his environment—for example, by a stone wall, or a policeman, or contemporary *mores.* He does not realize that this environment of which he is a part, and from which he cannot except himself, is a causally determined environment; that it does what it does because of what has been done. He does not realize that he is what he is and does what he does because others before him have been what they were and have done what they did, and all this without any conceivable beginning. He is quite literally a creature of circumstances, an automaton, whose behavior could have been foreseen and wholly explained by an adequate knowledge of past causes, now represented by the nature of things—his own nature included. This is the well-known doctrine of *karma*, a doctrine of inherent fatality, which is stated as follows by the *Bhagavad Gītā,* XVIII.20, 'Bound by the working (*karma*) of a nature that is born in thee and is thine own, even that which thou desirest not to do thou doest willy-nilly'. So-and-so is nothing but one link in a causal chain of which we cannot imagine a beginning or an end. There is nothing here that the most pronounced determinist can disagree with. The metaphysician—who is not, like the determinist, a 'nothing-morist' (*nāstika*)—merely points out at this stage that only the working of life, the manner of its perpetuation, can thus be causally explained; that the existence of a chain of causes presumes the logically prior possibility of this existence—in other words, presumes a first cause which cannot be thought of as one amongst other mediate causes, whether in place or time.

To return to our automaton, let us consider what takes place at its death. The composite being is unmade into the cosmos; there is nothing whatever that can survive as a consciousness of being So-and-so. The elements of the psycho-physical entity are broken up and handed on to others as a bequest. This is, indeed, a process that has been going on throughout our So-and-so's life, and one that can be most clearly followed in propagation, repeatedly described in the Indian tradition as the 'rebirth of the father in and as the son'. So-and-so lives in his direct and indirect descendants. This is the so-called Indian doctrine of 'reincarnation'; it is the same as the Greek doctrine of metasomatosis and metempsychosis; it is the Christian doctrine of our preexistence in Adam 'according to bodily substance and seminal virtue'; and it is the modern doctrine of the 'recurrence of ancestral characters'. Only the fact of such a transmission of psycho-physical characters can make intelligible what is called in religion our inheritance of original sin, in metaphysics our inheritance of ignorance, and by the philosopher our congenital capacity for knowing in terms of subject and object. It is only when we are convinced that nothing happens by chance that the idea of a Providence becomes intelligible.

Need I say that this is not a doctrine of reincarnation? Need I say that no doctrine of reincarnation, according to which the very being and person of a man who has once lived on earth and is now deceased will be reborn of another terrestrial mother, has ever been taught in India, even in Buddhism—or for that matter in the Neoplatonic or any other orthodox tradition? As definitely in the Brāhmaṇas as in the Old Testament, it is stated that those who have once departed from this world have departed forever, and are not to be seen again amongst the living. From the Indian as from the Platonic point of view, all change is a dying. We die and are reborn daily and hourly, and death 'when the time comes' is only a special case. I do not say that a belief in reincarnation has never been entertained in India. I do say that such a belief can only have resulted from a popular misinterpretation of the symbolic language of the texts; that the belief of modern scholars and theosophists is the result of an equally naive and uninformed interpretation of texts. If you ask how such a mistake could have arisen I shall ask you to consider the following statements of Saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas: that we were in Adam 'according to bodily substance and seminal virtue'; 'the human body preexisted in the previous works in their causal virtues'; 'God does not govern the world directly, but also by means of mediate causes, and were this not so, the world would have been deprived of the perfection of causality'; 'As a mother is pregnant with the unborn offspring, so the world itself is pregnant with the causes of unborn things'; 'Fate lies in the created causes themselves'. If these had been texts extracted from the Upaniṣads or Buddhism, would you not have seen in them not merely what is really there, the doctrine of *karma*, but also a doctrine of 'reincarnation'?

By 'reincarnation' we mean a rebirth here of the very being and person of the deceased. We affirm that this is an impossibility, for good and sufficient metaphysical reasons. The main consideration is this; that inasmuch as the cosmos embraces an indefinite range of possibilities, all of which must be realized in an equally indefinite duration, the present universe will have run its course when all its potentialities have been reduced to act—just as each human life has run its course when all its possibilities have been exhausted. The end of an aeviternity will have been reached without any room for any repetition of events or any recurrence of past conditions. Temporal succession implies a succession of different things. History repeats itself in types, but cannot repeat itself in any particular. We can speak of a 'migration' of 'genes' and call this a rebirth of types, but this reincarnation of So-and-so's character must be distinguished from the 'transmigration' of So-and-so's veritable person.

Such are the life and death of the reasoning and mortal animal So-and-so. But when Boethius confesses that he is just this animal, Wisdom replies that this man, So-and-so, has forgotten who he is. It is at this point that we part company with the 'nothing-morist', or 'materialist' and 'sentimentalist' (I bracket these two words because 'matter' is what is 'sensed'). Bear in mind the Christian definition of man as 'body, soul and spirit'. The Vedānta asserts that the only veritable being of the man is spiritual, and that this being of his is not 'in' So-and-so or in any 'part' of him but is only reflected in him. It asserts, in other words, that this being is not in the plane of or in any way limited by So-and-so's field, but extends from this field to its center, regardless of the fences that it penetrates. What takes place at death, then, over and above the unmaking of So-and-so, is a withdrawal of the spirit from the phenomenal vehicle of which it had been the 'life'. We speak, accordingly, with strictest accuracy when we refer to death as a 'giving up of the ghost' or say the So-and-so 'expires'. I need, I feel sure, remind you only in parenthesis that this 'ghost' is not a spirit in the Spiritualist's sense, not a 'surviving personality', but a purely intellectual principle such as ideas are made of; 'ghost' is 'spirit' in the sense that the Holy Ghost is Sanctus Spiritus. So then, at death, the dust returns to dust and the spirit to its source.

It follows that the death of So-and-so involves two possibilities, which are approximately those implied by the familiar expressions 'saved' or 'lost'. Either So-and-so's consciousness of being has been self-centered and must perish with himself, or it has been centered in the spirit and departs with it. It is the spirit, as the Vedāntic texts express it, that 'remains over' when body and soul are unmade. We begin to see now what is meant by the great commandment, 'Know thyself'. Supposing that our consciousness of being has been centered in the spirit, we can say that the more completely we have already 'become what we are', or 'awakened', before the dissolution of the body, the nearer to the center of the field will be our next appearance or 'rebirth'. Our consciousness of being goes nowhere at death where it is not already.

Later on we shall consider the case of one whose consciousness of being has already awakened beyond the last of our twenty-one fences or levels of reference and for whom there remains only a twenty-second passage. For the present let us consider only the first step. If we have taken this step before we die—if we have been to some degree living 'in the spirit' and not merely as reasoning animals—we shall, when the body and soul are unmade into the cosmos, have crossed over the first of the fences or circumferences that lie between ourselves and the central Spectator of all things, the Supernal-Sun, Spirit and Truth. We shall have come into being in a new environment where, for example, there may still be a duration but not in our present sense a passage of time. We shall not have taken with us any of the psycho-physical apparatus in which a sensitive memory could inhere. Only the 'intellectual virtues' survive. This is not the survival of a 'personality' (that was a property bequeathed when we departed); it is the continued being of the very person of So-and-so, no longer encumbered by the grossest of So-and-so's former definitions. We shall have crossed over without interruption of consciousness of being.

In this way, by a succession of deaths and rebirths, all of the fences may be crossed. The pathway that we follow will be that of the spiritual ray or radius that links us with the central Sun. It is the only bridge that spans the river of life dividing the hither from the farther shore. The word 'bridge' is used advisedly, for this is the 'causeway sharper than a razor's edge', the Cinvat bridge of the Avesta, the 'brig of dread', familiar to the folklorist, which none but a solar hero can pass; it is a far-flung bridge of light and consubstantial with its source. The Veda expresses it 'Himself the Bridge'—a description corresponding to the Christian 'I am the Way'. You will have divined already that the passage of this bridge constitutes, by stages that are defined by its points of intersection with our twenty-one circumferences, what is properly called a transmigration or progressive regeneration. Every step of this way has been marked by a death to a former 'self' and a consequent and immediate 'rebirth' as 'another man'. I must interpolate here that this exposition has inevitably been oversimplified. Two directions of motion, one circumferential and determinate, the other centripetal and free, have been distinguished; but I have not made it clear that their resultant can be properly indicated only by a spiral.

But the time has come to break down the spatial and temporal materialism of our picture of the cosmos and of man's pilgrimage from its circumference to its center and heart. All of the states of being, all of the So-and-sos that we have thought of as coming into being on superimposed levels of reference, are within you, awaiting recognition: all of the deaths and rebirths involved are supernatural—that is, not 'against Nature' but extrinsic to the particular possibilities of the given state of being from which the transmigration is thought of as taking place. Nor is any time element involved. Rather, since temporal vicissitudes play no part in the life of the spirit, the journey can be made in part or in its entirety, whether before the event of natural death, at death, or thereafter. The Spectator's pavilion is the Kingdom of Heaven that is within you, viz., in the 'heart' (in all Oriental and ancient traditions not only the seat of the will but of the pure intellect, the place where the marriage of Heaven and Earth is consummated); it is there only that the Spectator can himself be seen by the contemplative—whose glance is inverted, and who thus retraces the path of the Ray that links the eye without to the Eye within, the breath of life with the Gale of the Spirit.

We can now, perhaps, better understand all that is meant by the piognant words of the Vedic requiem, 'The Sun receive thine eye, the Gale thy spirit', and can recognize their equivalent in 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit', or in Eckhart's 'Eye wherewith I see God, that is the same eye wherewith God sees in me; my eye and God's eye, that is one eye and one vision and one knowing and one love', or St. Paul's 'shall be one spirit'. The traditional texts are emphatic. We find, for example, in the Upaniṣads the statement that whoever worships, thinking of the deity as other than himself, is little better than an animal. This attitude is reflected in the proverbial saying, 'To worship God you must have become God'—which is also the meaning of the words, to 'worship in spirit and in truth'. We are brought back to the great saying, 'That art thou', and have now a better idea, though a far from perfect understanding (because the last step remains to be taken), of what 'That' may be. We can now see how traditional doctrines (distinguishing the outer from the inner, the worldly from the other-worldly man, the automaton from the immortal spirit), while they admit and even insist upon the fact that So-and-so is nothing but a link in an endless causal chain, can nevertheless affirm that the chains can be broken and death defeated without respect to time: that this may happen, therefore, as well here and now as at the moment of departure or after death.

We have not even yet, however, reached what is from the point of view of metaphysics defined as man's last end. In speaking of an end of the road, we have so far thought only of a crossing of all the twenty-one barriers and of a final vision of the Supernal-Sun, the Truth itself; of reaching the Spectator's very pavilion; of being in heaven face to face with the manifested Eye. This is, in fact, the conception of man's last end as envisaged by religion. It is an aeviternal beatitude reached at the 'Top of the Tree', at the 'Summit of contingent being'; it is a salvation from all the temporal vicissitudes of the field that has been left behind us. But it is a heaven in which each one of the saved is still one amongst others, and other than the Sun of Men and Light of lights himself (these are Vedic as well as Christian expressions); a heaven that, like the Greek Elysium, is apart from time but not without duration; a resting place but not a final home (as it was not our ultimate source, which was in the nonbeing of the Godhead.) It remains for us to pass throrough the Sun and reach the Empyrean 'home' of the Father. 'No man cometh to the Father save *through* me'. We have passed through the opened doorways of initiation and contemplation; we have moved, through a process of a progressive self-naughting, from the outermost to the innermost court of our being, and can see no way by which to continue—although we know that behind this image of the Truth, by which we have been enlightened, there is a somewhat that is not in any likeness, and although we know that behind this face of God that shines upon the world there is another and more awful side of him that is not man-regarding but altogether self-intent—an aspect that neither knows nor loves anything whatever external to itself. It is our own conception of Truth and Goodness that prevents our seeing Him who is neither good nor true in any sense of ours. The only way on lies directly *through* all that we had thought we had begun to understand: if we are to find our way in, the image of 'ourselves' that we still entertain—in however exalted a manner—and that of the Truth and Goodness that we have 'imagined' *per* *excellentiam*, must be shattered by one and the same blow. 'It is more necessary that the soul lose God than that she lose creatures . . . the soul honors God most in being quit of God . . . it remains for her to be somewhat that he is not . . . to die to all the activity denoted by the divine nature if she is to enter the divine nature where God is altogether idle . . . she forfeits her very self, and going her own way, seeks God no more' (Eckhart). In other words, we must be one with the Spectator, both when his eyes are open and when they are shut. If we are not, what will become of us when he sleeps? All that we have learned through the affirmative theology must be complemented and fulfilled by an Unknowing, the Docta Ignorantia of Christian theologians, Eckhart's *Agnosia.* It is for this reason that such men as Śaṅkara and Dionysius have so strongly insisted upon the *via remotionis,* and not because a positive concept of Truth or Goodness was any less dear to them than it could be to us. Śaṅkara's personal practice, indeed, is said to have been devotional—even while he prayed for pardon because he had worshipped God by name, who has no name. For such as these there was literally nothing dear that they were not ready to leave.

Let us enunciate the Christian doctrine first in order the better to understand the Indian. The words of Christ are these: that 'I am the door; by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall pass in and out'. It is not enough to have reached the door; we must be admitted. But there is a price of admission. 'He that would save his soul, let him lose it'. Of man's two selves, the two Ātmans of our Indian texts, the self that was known by name as So-and-so must have put itself to death if the other is to be freed of all encumbrances—is to be 'free as the Godhead in its nonexistence'.

In the Vedāntic texts it is likewise the sun of men and Light of lights that is called the doorway of the worlds and the keeper of the gate. Whoever has come thus far is put to the test. He is told in the first place that he may enter according to the balance of good or evil he may have done. If he understands he will answer, 'Thou canst not ask me that; thou knowest that whatever 'I' may have done was not of 'my' doing, but of thine'. This is the Truth; and it is beyond the power of the Guardian of the Gate, who is himself the Truth, to deny himself. Or he may be asked the question, 'Who art thou?' If he answers by his own or by a family name he is literally dragged away by the factors of time; but if he answers, 'I am the Light, thyself, and come to thee as such', the Keeper reponds with the words of welcome, 'Who thou art, that am I; and who I am, thou art; come in'. It should be clear, indeed, that there can be no return to God of anyone who still is anyone, for as our texts express it, 'He has not come from anywhere or become anyone'.

In the same way, Eckhart, basing his words on the logos, 'If any man hate not father and mother, . . . yea and his own soul also, he cannot be my disciple', says that 'so long as thou knowest who thy father and thy mother have been in time, thou art not dead with the real death'; and in the same way, Rūmī, Eckhart's peer in Islam, attributes to the Keeper of the Gate the words, 'Whoever enters saying "I am so and so", I smite in the face'. We cannot, in fact, offer any better definition of the Vedic scriptures than St. Paul's 'The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, extending even unto the sundering of soul from spirit': 'Quid est ergo, quod debet homo inquirere in hac vita? Hoc est ut sciat ipsum'. 'Si ignoras te, egredere!'

The last and most difficult problem arises when we ask: what is the state of the being that has thus been freed from itself and has returned to its source? It is more than obvious that a psychological explanation is out of the question. It is, in fact, just at this point that we can best confess with our texts, 'He who is most sure that he understands, most assuredly misunderstands'. What can be said of the Brahman—that 'He is, by that alone can He be apprehended'—can as well be said of whoever has become the Brahman. It cannot be said *what* this is, because it is not any 'what'. A being who is 'freed in this life' (Rūmī's 'dead man walking') is 'in the world, but not of it'.

We can, nevertheless, approach the problem through a consideration of the terms in which the Perfected are spoken of. They are called either Rays of the Sun, or Blasts of the Spirit, or Movers-at-Will. It is also said that they are fitted for embodiment in the manifested worlds: that is to say, fitted to participate in the life of the Spirit, whether it moves or remains at rest. It is a Spirit which bloweth as it will. All of these expressions correspond to Christ's 'shall pass in and out, and shall find pasture'. Or we can compare it with the pawn in a game of chess. When the pawn has crossed over from the hither to the farther side it is transformed. It becomes a minister and is called a mover-at-will, even in the vernacular. Dead to its former self, it is no longer confined to particular motions or positions, but can go in and out, at will, from the place where its transformation was effected. And this freedom to move at will is another aspect of the state of the Perfected, but a thing beyond the conception of those who are still mere pawns. It may be observed, too, that the erstwhile pawn, ever in danger of an inevitable death on its journey across the board, is at liberty after its transformation either to sacrifice itself or to escape from danger. In strictly Indian terms, its former motion was a crossing, its regenerate motion a descent.

The question of 'annihilation', so solemnly discussed by Western scholars, does not arise. The word has no meaning in metaphysics, which knows only of the nonduality of permutation and sameness, multiplicity and unity. Whatever has been an eternal reason or idea or name of an individual manifestation can never cease to be such; the content of eternity cannot be changed. Therefore, as the *Bhagavad Gītā* expresses it, 'Never have I not been, and never hast thou not been'.

The relation, in identity, of the 'That' and the 'thou' in the logos 'That art thou' is stated in the Vedānta either by such designations as 'Ray of the Sun' (implying filiation), or in the formula *bhedābheda* (of which the literal meaning is 'distinction without difference'). The relation is expressed by the simile of lovers, so closely embraced that there is no longer any consciousness of 'a within or a without', and by the corresponding Vaiṣṇava equation, 'each is both'. It can be seen also in Plato's conception of the unification of the inner and the outer man; in the Christian doctrine of membership in the mystical body of Christ; in St. Paul's 'whoever is joined unto the Lord is one spirit'; and in Eckhart's admirable formula 'fused but not confused'.

I have endeavoured to make it clear that Śaṅkara's so-called 'philosophy' is not an 'enquiry' but an 'explicitation'; that ultimate Truth is not, for the Vedāntist, or for any traditionalist a something that remains to be discovered but a something that remains to be understood by Everyman, who must do the work for himself. I have accordingly tried to explain just what it was that Śaṅkara understood in such texts as *Atharvaveda,* X.8.44: 'Without any want, contemplative, immortal, self-originated, sufficed with a quintessence, lacking in naught whatever: he who knoweth that constant, ageless, and ever-youthful Spirit, knoweth indeed him-Self, and feareth not to die'.

VEDIC EXEMPLARISM

Vedic Exemplarism

God is the cause of all things by His knowledge.
St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* (Suppl.), III.88.3.

The doctrine of Exemplarism is bound up with that of forms or ideas, and has to do with the intelligible relation that subsists as between the forms, ideas, similitudes, or eternal reasons of things (*nāma,* 'name' or 'noumenon' = *forma*) and the things themselves in their accidental and contingent aspects (*rūpa,* 'phenomenon' = *figura*). This is as much as to say that Exemplarism, in the last analysis, is the traditional doctrine of the relation, cognitive and causal, between the one and the many: the nature of which relation is implied in Vedic Sanskrit by the expressions *viśvam ekam* (*ṚV,* III.54.8), 'the many that are one, the one that is manifold' (= Plotinus, 'integral multiplicity'), *viśvaṁ satyam* (*ṚV,* II.24.12), 'the manifold truth', and *viśvam... garbham* (*ṚV,* X.121.7), 'the germ of all', and more fully enunciated in *ŚB,* X.5.2.16, 'As to this they say, 'Is He then one or many?' One should answer, 'One and many'. For inasmuch as He is That, He is one; and inasmuch as He is multiply distributed (*bahudhā vyaviṣṭiḥ*) in his children, He is many',[1] i.e. as the 'Person in the mirror (*ādarśe puruṣaḥ*), Who is born in his children in a likeness' (*pratirūpaḥ . . . prajāyāmājāyate, Kauṣ. Up.,* IV.11).[2]

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[1] 'He', in the original, 'Death' (*mṛtyu*); 'That', i.e. 'the Person in the Sun'. In order not to complicate the present exposition by a discussion *de divinis nominibus,* the pronoun has generally been substituted for the name of deity actually employed in the passages cited. I have discussed the use of essential names in my 'Vedic "Monotheism"' [in the present volume—Ed.]. The general principle is as follows: deity is everywhere of one and the same form (*ṚV,* VIII.11.8, *purutrā hi sadṛṅṅ asi;* I.94.7, *yo viśvataḥ supratīkaḥ sadṛṅṅ asi*), i.e. is perfectly simple but has many names, the application of which inheres not in Him, but in the percipient; 'Even as He seems, so is He named' (*yādṛg eva dadṛśe tādṛg ucyate, ṚV,* V.44.6); ['He Himself is all the gods', *BU,* II.5.19;] 'As He is approached, so He becomes (*yathopāsate tad eva bhavati, ŚB,* X.5.2.20), for example, 'Indra art Thou to the mortal worshipper' (*ṚV,* V.3.1), 'Thou art Varuṇa at birth, becomest Mitra when kindled' (*ṚV,* III.5.4 and V.3.1).

[2] [*Anurūpaḥ,* conformable by name; *pratirūpa,* corresponding form, *JUB,* I.27, cf. *ṚV,* VI.47.18; *ādarśe pratirūpaḥ,* 'I worship the Being in the mirror . . . I also worship His reflection', *Kauṣ. Up.,* IV.11; *tvam eva pratijāyase,* 'Thou alone art counter born (reborn, born in a likeness)', *Praśna Up.,* II.7. 'All mirrors in the universe, I ween, display Thy image with its radiant sheen', Jāmī, *Lawā'iḥ,* 26; *apratirūpaḥ* is foul,

The doctrine in these respects cannot be better demonstrated than by means of a diagram consisting of two concentric circles, with their common centre and two or more radii, or by the corresponding Vedic symbol of a wheel (*cakra*) with its felly, hub, and spokes. Such a diagram or symbol represents the universe in cross-section, the circles any two levels of reference or 'worlds' (*loka*), or more specifically the individual and intellectual, or human and angelic (*adhyātma* and *adhidaivata*) levels of reference. The whole world, or universe (*viśvam*), thus represented corresponds to the ensemble of all possibilities of manifestation, whether informal, formal, or sensible; a world (*loka* = *locus*) is a given ensemble of possibilities, a given modality. The infinite ocean of all possibility, whether of manifestation or nonmanifestation, is represented by the blank surface of the paper which at the same time interpenetrates and transcends the indefinite extension of the finite universe represented by the diagram; this unlimited surface is unaffected by the extension or abstraction of the diagram, which has no position. Each radius, spoke, or ray represents the whole being of an individual consciousness, its intersection with any circumference the operation of this consciousness at that level of reference; each such point of intersection forming the center of a minor 'world', which must be thought of as a smaller circle struck about its own centre, on the inner surface of the sphere of which the diagram is a cross-section, in a plane, that is, at right angles to the radius or ray that connects the unique centre with the point in question.

The unique centre is, like the whole diagram, without position in its ambient, 'position' having a meaning only upon or within the circumference; and just as this ambient is unaffected by the presumption of a center with or without its dependent radii, so the properties of the unique center once assumed are unaffected by the extension or subtraction of radii. And as the indefinitely numerous points which constitue the surface of indefinitely numerous concentric spheres represent the points of view of individual knowing subjects, so the unique point from which all radii proceed and to which all converge represents an omniscient, supra-individual consciousness, metaphysically the First Principle, theologically God in his intelligible aspect, that the Supernal-Sun, or Light; while what we have called the ambient, at once immanent and transcendent, represents the Godhead or Divine Darkness. Strictly speaking, the diagram should have been drawn not in black on white, but in gold against a black ground, and it is thus in fact that the Vedic *jyotiratha*, 'the chariot of light' (= Biblical 'chariot of fire'), and its wheels are conceived.

In such a diagram, it is obvious that for every point on the outer circumference there is a corresponding and analogous point on the inner

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deformed, *pāpam*, evil, improper, *BU*, I.3.4; *na . . . pratirūpam*, 'unseemly', 'not in good form', *A*, I.148.

Monier-Williams gives *pratimā*, masc. creator, fem. likeness; cf. Augustine, *De spiritu et littera* 37, 'This likeness begins now to be formed again in us'; and *Paradiso*, XXVI.106, XXIX.142ff., for 'mirror'.

circumference, with only this difference, that on the inner circumference the 'points' are more closely packed. If the circumference of the inner circle be reduced, the same condition holds good. In such reduction, there can be no moment at which the 'points' of which the circumeference (or spherical surface represented by it) is composed can be thought of as annihilated; we can only continue to think of them as more and more densely packed, and finally coinciding in a unity without composition. In other words, all of the radii, all individual principles, and in their total extension, are represented at their common center *in principio*, in an inconnumerable principle (*tattva*), which is at the same time an altogether simple substance (*dharma*) and possessed of a multifarious nature (*svabhāva*); a single point, and yet for each radius its own and private starting point. In just this sense, 'The notions of all created things (*kāvyā = kavikarmāṇi*) inhere in Him, who is as it were the hub within the wheel (*cakre nābhir iva śritā, ṚV*, VIII.41.6);[3] 'In Him are all beings, and the eye that oversees; intellect (*manas*), spiration (*prāṇaḥ*), and noumenon (*nāma*) coincident (*samāhitam*, 'being in *samādhi*'); in him when he comes forth all his children enjoy (*nandanti*) (the fulfilment of their ends or purposes, by which their will to life is determined);[4] sent by him, and born of him, it is in him that all this universe is stablished', *AV*, XIX.53.6-9; and in the same way as the Person, or Man, He is called the 'resort of all phenomena' (*rūpāṇy eva yasyāyatanam . . . puruṣam, BU,* III.9.15).

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[3] Similarly, *ṚV*, X.82.6, 'Inherent in the nave(1) of the Unborn, in which insist the several worlds as one' (*ajasya nābhau adhi ekam arpitaṁ yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuḥ*); or *aja* may be rendered by 'Goat', the reference being to the Sun as Viśvakarmā, the 'All-maker', in either case.

As to the rendering of *kāvya* by 'notions of all created things': Vedic *kavi* is 'poet' in the sense of the original Greek πσητής, that is, Philo's sense, and as the word is applied to God in the New Testament. It is as 'creator' that the term *kavi* is used of the Sun, Agni, and others, in the *Ṛgveda*; while *kāvya*, cited above from VIII.41.6, is not as in the later rhetoric merely a 'poem', but 'whatever is made by a *kavi*', whether by way of generation or art. If the word *kāvya* in the sense of 'poem' also implies a diction, expression, and utterance, this corresponds to the Scholastic equation of *rationes* with λόγοι (St. Bonaventura, *83 Quaestiones*, q. 46, n. 2).

If the Vedic *kavayaḥ* are in a certain sense the authors of the *sūktas*, it is rather as finders or inventors (in the etymological sense of *in-venio*, dis-cover) than as composers; theirs is the 'prophetic' faculty; and the *sūktas* themselves are of quickening efficacy; all of which is far removed from conceptions of authorship and 'literature' nowadays current. It is as *kavi* that the Sun 'wears the forms of all things in their kind' (*viśvā rūpāṇi prati muñcate, ṚV*, V.81.2), that is, 'frees his comrades from the curse' (*amuñcat nir avadyāt, ṚV*, III.31.8), from the bonds of Varuṇa (*varuṇyāt, ṚV*, X.97.16), i.e. from the fetter of Death (*bandhanāt mṛtyor, ṚV*, VII.59.12); and because, by the mere act of shining, the Supernal-Sun thus releases all things from darkness to light from potentiality to act, he is called, as Pūṣan, the 'Son of liberation' (*vimuco napāt, ṚV*, I.42.1 and *passim*).

[4] *AV*, XIX.53.7, *kālena sarvā nandanty āgatena*, translated above, reflects *ṚV*, X.71.10, *sarve nandanti . . . āgatena . . . sakhyā*, Kāla ('Time', the 'Year') replacing Sakhi (the 'Comrade', *sc.* Varuṇa, cf. God as the 'Friend' in Sūfī parlance). This variant is omitted in Bloomfield's *Concordance*.

This inherence in the central consciousness is accordingly the means of a 'unified density of cognition' (*ekībhūtaḥ prajñāna-ghana, Māṇḍ. Up.*, 5), a 'cognitive pleroma' (*kṛtsnaḥ prajñāna-ghana, BU,* IV.5.13); 'He knows the whole speculatively' (*viśvaṁ sa veda varuṇo yathā dhiyā,*[5] *ṚV,* X.11.1), and *ab intra,* 'being provident, even before birth, of all the generations of the Angels' (*garbhe nu sann anveṣām avedam ahaṁ devānāṁ janimāni viśvā, ṚV,* IV.27.1);[6] in other words, His knowledge of things is not derived from them objectively and *post factum,* but from their prior likeness in the mirror of His own intellect. Just as the physical sun enjoys a bird's-eye view of this whole earth in its orbit, so the Supernal-Sun 'surveys the whole' (*viśvam, . . . abhicaṣṭe, ṚV,* I.164.44), being the eye or *Aussichtspunkt (adhyakṣa)* of Varuṇa or of the Angels collectively (*vāṁ cakṣur . . . sūrya . . . abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe, ṚV,* VII.61.1; cf. I.115.1, X.37.1, X.129.7; *VS,* XIII.45, etc.), just as, in the Avesta, the Sun (*hvare = svar = sūrya*) is Ahura Mazda's eye, and in Buddhism, the Buddha is still the 'eye in the world' (*cakkhuṁ loke*). What this eye sees in the eternal mirror is the 'world-picture'; 'The Primal Spirant (*paramātman*) sees the world-picture (*jagac-citra,* lit. the "picture of what moves") painted by itself upon a canvas that is nothing but itself, and takes a great delight therein' (Śaṅkarācārya, *Svātmanirūpaṇa,* 95); 'sees all things at once in their diversity and in coincidence' (*abhi vi paśyati* and *abhi saṁpaśyati*, *ṚV*, III.62.9, X.187.4; cf. *VS*, XXXII.8, *sam ca vi ca eti*; and *BG*, VI.29-30).

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[5] Sāyaṇa's paraphrase is admirable: *dhiyā* is *ātmānurūpayā prajñayā,* 'by his foresight (providence) in his own likeness'. *Dhī = dhyāna = contemplatio.* The *dhī* or *dhyāna* of Varuṇa corresponds to the *ādarśa-jñāna* or 'mirror-knowledge' of the *jñāna-dharmakāya,* which in Mahāyāna Buddhism is also a 'knowledge of sameness' (*samatā-jñāna*), e.g. in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (Obermiller, in *Acta Orientalia,* IX), and a simultaneous act; cf. *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* II.115, 'Just as waves arise in the sea simultaneously (*yugapatkāle*), as things are seen simultaneously in a mirror or in dream, so is the mind in its own pasture' [*cittaṁ svagocare* (=*svayonau* in *MU,* VI.34, where *cittaṁ svayonau upaśāmyati*)]. I do not agree with Suzuki that this verse is out of place in its context; the idea is that just as when a breeze springs up, the dawn wind of creation for example, the whole surface of the waters is covered by ripples, which arise all together and not one by one or one after another here and there, so in the world-picture the mind sees all things at one and the same time (*yugapatkāle*); while *svagocare,* 'in its own pasture', does not mean 'in its own sense-fields', but the contrary of this, being equivalent to *svastha-cittaḥ, svastha-buddhiḥ, anāyāsa-cittaḥ,* and such expressions employed in connection with *dhyāna.*

[6] It is as *viśvā veda janimāni* that Agni is called Jātavedas, 'comprehensor of the genesis of things', *ṚV, passim,* and as such that he is identified with Varuṇa, *ab intra* (III.5.4), being indeed the 'comprehensor of Varuṇa' (IV.1.4); and this 'lore of genesis' (*jātavidyā*) which the Brahman knows in X.71.11 is the same thing as the 'hidden names of the Angels' (*devānāṁ guhyā nāmāni,* V.5.10), as will be evident when we turn to the further discussion of *nāma.* This divine providence or wisdom is also spoken of as 'counsel' (*kratu,* often, like *māyā* and *śacī* met with in pl. and then equivalent to 'powers'), e.g. IV.12.1, 'Thou art a Comprehensor by thy counsel, Jātavedas (*tava kratvā jātavedas cikitvān*)'.

Taken in and by itself, this First Spirant, without composition (*advaita*), and at rest (*śayāna*), is the 'living conjoint principle' of St. Thomas (*Sum. Theol.*, I.27.2c), the unity of the 'cohabitant parents' (*sakṣitā ubhā . . . mātarā*, *ṚV*, I.140.3, *parikṣitā pitarā*, III.7.1, etc.) who are innumerably names, but typically 'Intellect' (*manas*) and 'Word (*vāc*),[7] whose conjunction effects what Eckhart calls 'the act of fecundation latent in eternity'. But this unintelligible unity of the Father (Mother)[8] belongs entirely to the darkness of the 'common nest' or 'matrix' wherein all things come to be of one and the same ilk (*yatra viśvam bhavaty ekanīḍam*, *Nārāyaṇa Up.*, II.3, cf. *ṚV*, IV.10.1 *khila*, and *VS*, XXXII.8; *sarve asmin devā ekavṛto bhavanti*, *AV*, XIII.4.21).

Thus, while the divine intellect and the ideas or forms or eternal reasons apparent to it are one simply *secundum rem*, the latter are at the same time manifold *secondum rationem intelligendi sive dicendi* (St. Bonaventura, I *Sent.* d. 35, a. unic., q. 3, concl.). As Plotinus expresses it (IV.4.1) 'The Highest, as a self-contained unity, has no outgoing effect.[9] . . . But the unity of the power is such as to allow of its being multiple to another principle, to which it is all things'.

What is represented in our diagram already presumes the diremption (*dvedhā*, *BU*, I.4.3) of those that had been closely embraced (*saṁpariṣvaktau*, ibid.), that is, of knower and known, subject and object, essence and nature, Heaven and Earth, as indicated by the remotion of the circumference from the center. This diremption and divine procession (*karma* = *dvitva*, *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* XXI.16)[10] is coincident with the birth of the Son (Indrāgnī), of Light (*jyotis*), of the Sun, 'Savitṛ the creator, who wears the visible forms of all things' (*viśvā rūpāṇi prati muñcate kaviḥ . . . savitā*, *ṚV*, V.81.2) 'by the separation of the prior, the latter came forth' (*prathamāḥ . . . kṛntatrād eṣām uparā udāyan*, *ṚV*, X.27.23). In other words, the act of being implied by the words 'I am that I am', 'I am Brahman',[11] although entirely one of self-intention, becomes from an external point of view the act of creation, which is at the same time a generation (*prajanana*) and an intellectual (*mānasa*) creation *per artem* (*taṣṭa*) and *ex voluntate* (*yathā vaśaṁ, kāmya*); for the Son 'in whom were created all things' (Col. 1:16) is also their form and exemplar, the whole occasion of their existence,[12] and it is, accordingly, that species and beauty are appropriated to the Son, whom as being the Word, i.e. as concept, Augustine calls the 'art' of God.[13]

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[7] Manas and Vāc as conjoint pair occur in the *Ṛgveda*, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads, *passim.* Vāc is *verbum*, and as in Italian, feminine (*la parola*). Cf. Eckhart, 'The Father wantons with the Word'; 'From the Father's embrace of his own nature (=*svabhāva*, *prakṛti*, Vāc, Sāvitrī, Sūryā, etc.) comes the eternal playing (=*nitya līā*) of the Son'.

[8] *AV*, VIII.9.10, 'Who knoweth the *mithunatva* of Virāj?' cf. *JUB*, I.54, 'They (dual) becoming Virāj (s.) engendered (yonder sun) (*tau virāḍ bhūtvā prājanayatām*)' [cf. *purutrā . . . abhavat*, *ṚV*, I.146.5; *pururūpa īyate*, VI.47.18; and *AV*, II.1.3].

[9] 'Having no outgoing effect', Skr. *aviśvaminva.*

[10] Conversely, 'There is no procession of one in *samādhi*' (*kramo nāsti samāhite*, *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, II.117). *Samādhi* corresponds to *raptus* or *excessus* in Christian *yoga*, but metaphysically a con-centration must be distinguished from a religious ecstasy in the etymological sense of the latter word, viz., that of a going *outside* oneself.

[11] 'It knew, indeed, itself, that "I am Brahman", thereby it became the All' (*BU*, I.4.10). This does not, of course, represent an empirical consideration of one's own mentality as object, but is the pure act of being, where to be and to know are the same thing; it in no way contradicts Erigena's magnificent words, 'God does not know *what*

The Son or Sun is thus the 'single form that is the form of very different things' (Eckhart, resuming in these words the whole doctrine)[14] all of which are in his likeness, as he is in theirs—but with this very important distinction necessitated by the inconnumerability of the unique center, that while the likeness in the thing depends upon the archetype, the latter in no way depends upon the thing, but is logically antecedent: 'The model of all that is, preexistent, He knows all generations (*sataḥsataḥ pratimānaṁ purobhūr viśvā veda janimā, ṚV*, III.31.8), He smites the Dragon; shining (or 'sounding') forth (*pra . . . arcan*) from Heaven our Leader, cattle-fain, as Comrade frees his comrades from the curse' (*amuñcat nir avadyāt, ṚV*, III.31.8; *pratijūti-varpasaḥ*, III.60.1; *ekaṁ rūpaṁ bahudhā yaḥ karoti, KU*, V.12).[15] The terms

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He himself is, for He is not any what; and this ignorance surpasses all knowledge'.

BU, I.4.10, 'It became the All' (*sa idaṁ sarvaṁ bhavati*), corresponds to *ṚV*, VIII.58.2, 'One only Fire is kindled manifold, one only Sun is present to one and all, one only Dawn illuminates this All; that which is only One becomes this All (*ekaṁ vā idaṁ vi babhūva ṣarvaṁ*)', and is echoed also in connection with the Buddha, *S*, II.212, 'I being One become many, and being many become One (*eko pi bahudhā homi, bahudhā pi hutvā eko homi*)'. Cf. also *MU*, VI.26 and *KU*, V.12, 'who maketh His single form to be manifold' (*ekaṁ rūpaṁ bahudhā yaḥ karoti*).

[12] 'Exemplar means *raison d'etre*' (*exemplar rationem producentis dicit*, St. Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 31, p.11, a.1, q.1 *ad* 3); 'Idea is the likeness of a thing, by which it is known and produced' (ibid. d. 35, a. unic., q. 1, fund. 2); 'Exemplar implies idea, word, art, and reason (*idea, verbum ars, et ratio*); idea, with respect to the act of foresight; word, with respect to the act of statement; art, with respect to the act of making; and reason, with respect to the act of completing, because it adds the intention of the end in view. And because all these are one and the same in God, one is often said in place of another' (*Breviloquium*, p. 1, c. 8). From these definitions the reader will be enabled to judge of the propriety of the employment of the terms in translation.

[13] See *Sum. Theol.*, I.39.7; the artist, accordingly, whether human or divine, works 'by a word conceived in his intellect' (*per verbum in intellectu conceptum*, ibid., 1.45.6c). Cf. St. Bonaventura, 'Agens per intellectum producit per formas, quae non sunt aliquid rei, sed idea in mente sicut artifex producit arcam' (*II Sent.*, d.1, p.1, a.1, q.1 *ad* 3, 4): 'et quia multa sunt cognita, et unum cognoscens, ideo ideae sunt plures, et ars tantum una' (ibid., 1.35, a. unic. q. 3 *ad* 2).

[14] Cf. St. Bonaventura, 'Quia vero (exemplar in Deo) infinitum et immensum ideo extra omne genus. Et hinc est, quod existens unum pot est esse similitudo expressiva [= *sṛjyamāna*] multorum' (*Breviloquium*, p.1, c. 8).

[15] Here the divine providence is directly connected with the act of creation (conquest of the dragon, and release of individual potentialities from the darkness, duress, and deformity or evil of the antenatal tomb, to light and operation). 'Cattle'

'exemplar' and 'image', which imply in strictness 'model' and 'copy', can, however, be used equivocally, and for this reason a distinction is made between the archetype as *imago imaginans* and the imitation as *imago imaginata* (St. Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 31, p. 11, a. 1, q. 1, concl.). A corresponding ambiguity is met with in Sanskrit, where the distination must be made according to the context. As *imago imaginans*, the deity is called 'primordial omniform' (*agriyaṁ viśvarūpam*, *ṚV*, I.13.10), 'the likeness of all things' (*viśvasya pratimānam*, *ṚV*, II.12.9; cf. III.31.8, cited above), 'the omniform likeness of a thousand' (*sahasrasya pratimāṁ viśvarūpam*, *VS*, XIII.41) 'the counterpart of earth' (*pratimānaṁ pṛthivyāḥ*, *ṚV*, I.52.13), 'for every figure He hath been the form (*rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratirūpo babhūva*), that is his likeness that we should regard (*tad asya rūpaṁ praticakṣaṇāya*), it is by His magic powers (*māyābhiḥ*) that He proceeds in a plurality of aspects' (*pururūpa īyate*, *ṚV*, VI.47.18). If it be asked, 'What was the model, what the starting point?' (*kā . . . pratimā nidānaṁ kim*, *ṚV*, X.130.3), the answer is, the sacrificial victim; for this image and this likeness by which the Father proceeds is the sacrifice—'yielding himself up to the Angels, he expressed a likeness of himself, to wit, the sacrifice, hence one says, "Prajāpati is the sacrifice"' (*ātmanaḥ pratimām asṛjata, yad yajñam, tasmād āhuḥ prajāpatir yajñaḥ*, *ŚB*, XI.1.8.3), cf. 'Manu is the sacrifice, the standard (*pramitiḥ*), our Sire', *ṚV*, X.100.5; where the relation of the one and the many is again involved, for the Father remains impassible, although in a consubstantial likeness (that of the 'Year', ibid., XI.1.6.13) sacrificially divisible. But while in these passages there can be no doubt of the priority of the pattern (*pratimāna*, *pratimā*, *pratirūpa*), *pratirūpa* in *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* cited below is no less surely *imago imaginata*; and although He is the model of all things, no one of them can be called His like, 'there is no likeness (*pratimānam*) of him amongst those born or to be born' (*ṚV*, IV,18.4; cf. *BU*, IV.1.6).[16]

The exemplary image, form, or idea is then a likeness in the prior sense of imitable prototype; in fact, 'It is inasmuch as God knows His essence as being imitable by this or that creature, that He knows it as the particular reason and idea of that creature' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.15.2c).[17] An assimilation such as this need not imply a likeness of nature or mode; indeed, *minima assimilatio sufficit ad rationem exemplaris* (St. Bonaventura; *I Sent.*, d. 36, a. 3, q. 2 fund.). For example, if 'He shines upon this world in the aspect of Person' (*puruṣa-rūpeṇa*, *AĀ*, II.2.1), if man is 'made in the image and likeness of God', it does not follow that God as He is in Himself is just like or of the same kind as a man, but only that the form or idea of man is present to his consciousness and

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in the *Ṛgveda* are unrealized potentialities of every kind, of which the proceeding principles desire to take effective possession.

[16] 'No likeness', i.e. no *similitudo univocationis sive participationis* (St. Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 35, a unic., q. 1, concl.); *non est similitudo per unius naturae participationem* (ibid., d. 34, a. unic., q. 4 *ad* 1).

[17] 'Idea non nominat tantum essentiam, sed essentiam imitabilem', St. Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 36, q. 2, *ad* 1.

being, and be it noted, there on equal terms with an amoeba. And it is in the same way that the human artist embodies the single form entertained in his intellect in other natures such as those of stone or pigment; the *imago imaginans* here as before being the formal cause of the becoming of the *imago imaginata*; as is implied in the dictum *ars imitatur naturam in sua operatione*, where *natura* is 'Natura Naturans, Creatrix, Deus'.

In *Kauṣ. Up.*, IV.2, 'The macrocosm in the Sun, the likeness in the mirror' (*āditye mahat . . . ādarśe pratirūpaḥ*), *pratirūpa* is evidently *imago imaginata*. It is, in fact, as a reflection or projection and, as we shall see, expressively (*sṛjyamana*) that the eternal reasons or ideas (*nāmāni*) are represented in their contingent aspects (*rūpāṇi*); a formulation that implies the traditional doctrine of the correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm, as enunciated, for example, in *AB*, VIII.2, 'Yonder world is in the likeness of (*anurūpa*) this world, this world in the likeness of that', a condition that is clearly exhibited in our diagram by the correspondence of circle with circle, point for point. In what manner the ideas are causal with respect to all their contingent aspects will be apparent when we recall that the central consciousness is always thought of as a Light or Sound, of which the contingent forms on any circumference are projections, reflections, expressions, or echoes thrown, as it were, upon the wall of Plato's cave, or upon the screen of a theatre, with only this difference, that the pattern or lantern slide which corresponds to the 'form' or 'idea' of the picture actually seen is not merely close to the source of light, but intrinsic to the light itself, so that we meet on the one hand with such expressions as 'formal light' (Ulrich of Strassburg) and 'image-bearing light' (Eckhart), and on the other such as *VS*, V.35, 'Thou art the omniform light' (*jyotir asi viśvarūpam*).[18] 'He lent their light to other lights' (*adadhāj jyotiṣi jyotir antaḥ*, *ṚV*, X.54.6), 'Ye, Agnīṣomau, found the single light for many'; and in the building of the fire altar, the brick laid down 'for progeny' and representing Agni is called the 'manifold light' (*viśvajyotis*, *ŚB*, VIII.4.2. 25-6).

A subtle problem arises here. For what is meant by the assertion that 'The Spirant is interminable, omniform, and yet no doer of anything' (*anantaś cātmā viśvarūpo hy akartā*, *Śvet. Up.*, I.9), or, as Eckhart expresses it, by the apparent contradiction of the statements that 'He works willy nilly' and 'there no work is done at all'? In view of this, that all the personal powers may be described as reaching out to all things (*viśvaminva*, *ṚV*, *passim*, cf. II.5.2, where Agni *viśvam invati*), what is meant by the assertion, 'At the back of yonder heaven,[19] what they chant is an omniscient word compelling nothing' (*mantrayante divo amuṣya pṛṣṭhe viśvavidaṁ vācam aviśvaminvām, ṚV,* I.164.10, cf. 45), and why is the chariot of the Sun, although by nature directed everywhere (*viṣūvṛtam*), also described as having no effect on anything (*aviśvaminvam, ṚV,* II.40.3)? These questions have an important bearing on the problems of destiny and free will. As follows: the centrifugal procession of individual potentialities depends upon the central unity essentially; their becoming, life, or spiration depends entirely upon the being and spiration of the Primal Spirant, in this sense, that the very existence of individual radii or rays becomes unthinkable if we abstract the central luminous point;[20] and this dependence is constantly asserted, for example, in the designation of Agni as 'all-supporting' (*viśvambhara*).

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[18] In Scholastic philosophy, the nature of the divine exemplarism is constantly illustrated by means of the likeness of light, e.g. 'which although it is numerically one, nevertheless expresses many and different kinds of colour' (St. Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 35, a. unic., q. 2 *ad* 2); 'Exemplary cause, just as physical light is one in kind, which is nonetheless that of the beauty that is in all colours, which the more light they have the more beautiful they are, and of which the diversity is occasioned by the diversity of the surfaces that receive the light' (Ulrich of Strassburg); see Coomaraswamy, 'The Mediaeval theory of Beauty'; cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, XXXIII.82-90, 'One simple light, that in its depths encloses, as in a single volume, all that is scattered on the pages of the universe'.

On the other hand, it is not the single form of all potentialities, making arbitrary dispositions ('Heaven gives no orders'), but the specific[21] form of each potentiality that determines each thing's individual mode or character, and gives to it its 'proper likeness' (*sva-rūpam*). In other words, God or Being is the common cause of the becoming of all things, but not immediately of the distinctions between them, which distinctions are determined by 'the varying works inherent in the respective personalities' (Śaṅkarācārya, on *Vedānta Sūtra,* II.1, 32, 35); they are born according to the measure of their understanding (*yathā-prajñam, AĀ,* II.3.2); or, as more commonly implied in the *Ṛgveda,* according to their several ends or purposes (*anta, artha*); 'they live dependent on (*upajīvanti*) their such-and-such desired ends' (*yaṁ yam antam abhikāmaḥ, CU,* VIII.2.10). So it is said, 'Now run ye forth your several ways' (*pra nūnaṁ dhāvatā pṛthak, ṚV,* VIII.100.7).[22] 'In fine', as Plotinus expresses it (IV.3.13 and 15), 'the law is given in the entities upon whom it falls; these bear it about with them. Let but the moment arrive, and what it decrees will be brought to act by those beings in whom it resides; they fulfil it because they contain it; it prevails because it is within them; it becomes like a heavy burden, and sets up in them a painful longing to enter the realm to which they are bidden from within,' and thus 'all diversity of condition in the lower spheres is determined by the descendant beings themselves.'[23]

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[19] I.e., 'In the world beyond the falcon', *JB,* III.268, 'there the Sun does not shine' (*Muṇḍ. Up.,* II.2, 10 and *KU,* V.15); in the divine darkness (*tamas, passim*); 'Things belonging to the state of glory are not under the sun' (*Sum. Theol.,* III.91.1), 'One escapes altogether through the midst of the Sun' (*JUB,* I.3); 'No man cometh to the Father save through me' (John, 14:6) who as the Sun is the 'gateway of the worlds' (*lokadvāra, CU,* VIII.6.6).

[20] In this case, that of *pralaya* absolutely, all things are returned to the condition of potentiality, and even the first assumption in Godhead, that of light or being, has not been made. The individual is then 'drowned', losing 'name and aspect', and, if a Comprehensor, is completely enlarged from all necessity without residual elements of existence; or if not wholly and consciously perfected, must await the opportunities of manifestation and experience in a succeeding aeon, when the dawning of another day again effects the Harrowing of Hell.

[21] Form, idea, reason, species, truth, virtue, and beauty, although not synonymous, are interchangeable terms in Scholastic exemplarism, because one at their source. Species, however, in this sense, does not imply a group within a genus, but what is individually specific, and similarly as regards goodness (or perfection) and beauty, things being good or beautiful in their kind (and there is only one of each kind), and not indefinitely.

[22] In this connection may be noted *KU,* IV.14, 'Just as water rained upon a lofty peak

A doctrine of this kind, which makes each creature the source and bearer, not of its own being but of its own destiny (and this is what one means by 'free will', although this is in reality a state of bondage, viz., to the idiosyncrasy of the individual will), is common to all tradition, and has been everywhere expressed in almost the same way: for example, 'It is manifest that fate is in the created causes themselves' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.116.2); 'God's being is bestowed on all creatures alike, only each receives it according to its receptivity' (Johannes Tauler, *The Following of Christ*, tr. J.K. Morrell, London, n.d., §154, p. 135); 'As is the harmony, so also is the sound or tone of the eternal voice therein; in the holy, holy, in the perverse, perverse' (Jacob Boehme, *Signatura rerum*, XVI.6-7); 'formal light . . . of which the diversity is occasioned by the diversity of the surfaces that receive the light' (Ulrich of Strassburg; see Plotinus, IV.4.8); for, as Macrobius says, *unus fulgor illuminat, et in universis appareat in multis speculis* (*Somnium Scipionis* I.14). We find this point of view also in Islam: the creative utterance, *kun*, 'Be', causes or permits the positive existence of individuals, but in another sense (that of mode), they are causes of themselves 'because He only wills what they have it in them to become' (Ibnu'l Arabī, as cited by R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 151).

That we do what we must is a matter of contingent necessity (*necessitas coactionis*), altogether distinct from the infallible necessity (*necessitas infallibilitatis*) with which He who acts 'willingly but not from will' (Eckhart), 'does what must be done' (*cakriḥ . . . yat kariṣyan*, *ṚV*, VII.20.1, cf. I.165.9 and VI.9.3), viz., 'those things which God must will of necessity' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.45.2c); the individual is then only freed (*mukta*) to the extent that the private will to which he is in bondage consents to His who wills all things alike, a condition implied in *ṚV*, V.46.1, his condition 'who hath what he will, for whom the Spirit is his will, who doth not will' (*āpta-kāmam ātma-kāmam akāmam*, *BU*, IV.3.21); as Boethius expresses it, 'The nearer a thing is to the First Mind, the less it is involved in the chain of fate'. It is because these considerations can hardly be made intelligible without reference to the concept of the relation of the one and the many, proper to Exemplarism, that we have thought it proper to refer to the matter in the present connection.

As to our rendering of *ātman*: in the citation from Tauler, above, 'being' or 'essence' corresponds to *ātman* as the *suppositum* of accidents and *sine qua*

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runs here and there (*vidhāvati*), so one who sees the principles in multiplicity (*dharmān pṛthak paśyan*) pursues after them (*anuvidhāvati*)'.

[23] 'According to their receptive powers', Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus*, IV.1.

non of all modality (*-maya*). We have experimented elsewhere with a rendering of *ātman* by 'essence', but propose in future to adhere to a more strictly etymological equivalent, more especially inasmuch as the *ātman* doctrine in the *Ṛgveda* must be considered in connection with X.129.2, *ānīd avātam*, equivalent to 'at the same time *ātmya* and *anātmya*', or 'equally spirated, despirated'. The word *ātman*, derived from *an* or *vā*, to 'breathe' or 'blow', is, in fact, more literally 'spirit', spirant, or spiration, and hence 'life'.[24] This Spirit or Gale (*ātman, prāṇa, vāta*, or *vāyu*) is, as may be understood from what has been said above, the only property that can be shared and is thus apparently divided, as Being amongst beings, the breath of life in breathing things; cf. *BD*, I.73, 'Spiration (*ātman*) is said to be the only participation (*bhaktiḥ*) that can be attributed to the three great Lords of the World' (the functional trinity). In *ṚV*, I.115.1, 'The Sun, as being the spirant (*ātman*) in all that is mobile or immobile, hath filled Midhome and Heaven and Earth' (the 'Three Worlds', the Universe); in X.121.2, 'The Golden Germ (*hiraṇyagarbha*, Agni, the Sun, Prajāpati) is the bestower of spiration' (*ātmadā*); Agni in this sense is 'a hundred-fold spirant (*śatātmā, ṚV*, I.149.3)', that is, he has innumerable lives or hypostases, as many, in fact, as there are living things (*antar āyuṣi, ṚV*, IV.58.11), to each of which he is a total presence (as can be clearly seen in our diagram), although as we have seen, each is but a participant (*bhakta*) of his life, for though 'all is offered, the recipient is able to take only so much' (Plotinus, VI.4.3).[25] In *JUB*, III.2-3, 'Spiration (*ātman*) both of Angels and mortals, Spiritus (*ātman*) arisen from the sea, and which is yonder Sun'[26] may be read in connection with *ŚB*, VIII.7.3.10, 'Yonder Sun connects (*samāvayate*)[27] these worlds by a thread (*sūtre*),[28] and what that thread is the Gale' (*vāyuḥ*); cf. ibid., II.3.3.7, 'it is by His rays (*raśmibhiḥ*) that all creatures are endowed with their spirations (*prāṇeṣu abhihitāḥ*), and so it is that the rays extend downwards to these spirations'. These texts recall *RV*,

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[24] The translation of *ātman* as 'Self' is unsatisfactory in any case, and mainly for two reasons: (1) that it introduces an altogether unfamiliar terminology, one that lends itself to misunderstanding connected with the connotation 'selfishness', and (2) that the reflexive use of *ātman*, which underlies the rendering 'Self', hardly occurs in the *Ṛgveda*. Ātman is 'spirit', as this word is used, for example, in the trilogy, 'body, soul, and spirit (*rūpa, nāma, ātman*)'.

[25] 'All beings are not their own being, but beings by participation' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.44.1c); 'Creation is the emanation of all being from the Universal Being' (ibid., I.45.4 *ad* 1) [but (ibid., 1.45.1c), 'Creation is the emanation of all being from the Nonbeing, which is nothing'. Also, 'To create is to make something out of nothing'; and I.45.4 ad 3, 'Creation is the creation of Being, and not only of matter'. Cf. *BU*, II.1.20 and *CU*, VI.10.2, 'All creatures have come forth from *sat*'].

[26] Cf. ibid., III.32, where the Angel's omniformity (*sarvaṁ rūpam*) is illustrated by the five *exemplata*, 'and what his single form is, is the Spirit (*tad etad ekam eva rūpaṁ prāṇa eva*)'.

[27] *Samavāya* is 'perpetual co-inherence', and in the symbolism based on weaving is illustrated by the relation of thread to the cloth.

[28] The doctrine of the 'thread-breath' (*sūtrātman*) recurs in *BG*, VII.7, cf. X.21.

I.115.1, cited above, and III.29.11, 'formed in the Mother, He is Mātariśvan (= Vāyu, Spiritus) and becomes the draught of the Gale in its course' (*vātasya sargaḥ*); cf. VII.87.2, 'The Gale that is thy breath (*ātmā te vātaḥ*) thunders through the Firmament . . . and in these spheres of Earth and lofty Heaven are all those stations dear to thee'. In *ṚV*, X.168.4, 'This Angel, the spiration of the Angels (*ātmā devānām*), Germ of the World (*bhuvanasya garbha = Hiraṇyagarbha*) moves as He will (*yathā vaśam*),[29] His sound (*ghoṣā*)[30] is heard but never his likeness (*rūpam*), so let us offer with oblation to the Gale (*vātāya*)'.

Similarly in later texts: 'For that sharing out his spiration, or himself (*ātmānaṁ vibhajya*, cf. *bhakti* in *BD*, I.73), He fills these worlds, it is said that as indeed sparks from fire and as light rays from the sun, so from Him in the course of his procession (*yathā kramaṇena*) the spirations and other powers of perception (*prāṇādayaḥ*) go forth again and again' (*abhyuccaranti punaḥpunar, MU*, VI.26). Much later: 'That (viz. the principle, *tattva*, called Sadāśiva, the 'Eternal Śiva') becomes by inversion (*viparyayena*)[31] and in

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[29] 'The wind bloweth as it listeth', etc. (John, 3:8). Cf. Prose Edda, *Gylfi* 18, 'He is so strong that he rears great seas, but strong though he be, yet may he not be seen, therefore is he surely wonderfully shapen'; and Rūmī, *Dīvān*, 'Foamed the sea (àb, Skr. *ap*), and at every foam-fleck, something took figure and something was bodied forth' (Ode 19); 'The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' (Genesis).

[30] *Ghoṣā* is to be noted here, as the 'voice' of the Gale. This Ghoṣā is the mother of Hiraṇyahasta, Savitṛ, the Sun and one with Vadhrimatī and Vāc: cf. *ṚV*, I.116.13 and VI.62.7, where the Aśvins hear the call of Ghoṣā, the soughing of the dawn-wind (*vasarhā vatāḥ*, *ṚV*, I.122.3) of creation the breath of Vāc. 'Whose breathing is the Gale, whenas I take in hand to shape the several worlds' (*vāta iva pravāmi*, etc., *ṚV*, X.125.8).

[31] 'By inversion' or 'by revolution' (*viparyayena*) involves the notions of the 'face' and 'back' of God—the Janus symbolism—and is reminiscent of *ṚV*, IV.1.2, 'Do thou, Agni, turn round thy brother Varuṇa (*bhrātaraṁ varuṇam agne ā vavṛtsva*)', and thus, indeed, 'the kingdom is reversed' (*paryāvart rāṣṭram*, *ṚV*, X.124.4), dominion passing from the 'Father' or 'Elder Brother' to the 'Son' or 'Younger Brother' (both relations as well as that of consubstantiality are predicated of Varuṇa and Agni in the *Ṛgveda*).

It is the 'rotation' of this central principle, 'the axle-point on which the aeviternal substances depend' (*āṇiṁ na rathyam amṛtādhi tasthuḥ*, *ṚV*, I.35.6)—Dante's 'il punto dello stelo al cui la prima rota va dintorno'—that initiates the revolution of the Wheel of the Year, 'mounted whereupon the Angels move round all the worlds' (*KB*, XX.1). It must not, however, be overlooked that the 'rotation' of a point means nothing *secundum rem;* the unique center, though the prime mover, is by no means the *primum mobile,* but in itself immoveable. It is only when the radii are projected and circles struck, that is, when diremption of essence and nature has taken place, that we are given the two *points d'appui* indispensable for leverage and local motion, and only from an exterior point of view that we can speak of a rotation of the axle-point or distinguish 'face' and 'back' in the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam*): it is the felly, not the axle-point, that actually turns, impelled by the will to life in individual principles. That is why at the same time that the Supreme Identity is spoken of as turning from interior (*guhya*) to exterior (*āvis*) operation (*vrata*) at will (*yathā vaśam*), the *Ṛgveda* also treats the splendour of its practical power (*kriyāśakty-aujjvalaye*, cf. *ujjvalati* in *MU*, VI.26), the form of the universal demiurge of things in their manifested likeness (*vyaktākāra-viśvānusandhātṛ-rūpam*), and this is the principle called 'Lord' (*īśvara-tattvam, Mahārtha-mañjarī*, XV, commentary);[32] virtually identical with the formulation of Philo, according to whom 'two powers are first distinguished (σχίζονται) from the Logos, viz., a poetic, according to which the artist ordains all things and which is called God; and the royal power of Him called the Lord, by which He controls all things'.[33]

From all of the foregoing passages it is evident that as in Scholastic and Neoplatonic, so also in the Vedic tradition, it is a formal light that is the cause of the being and becoming of all things (as light, the cause of their being, as formal the cause of their becoming); the fontal raying of this primal light seeming to be an actual expression or emanation (*sṛṣṭi*) and local motion (*caraṇam, gati*), although really this Agni, even while 'He proceedeth foremost, still remains in his ground' (*anvagraṁ carati kṣeti budhnaḥ, ṚV*, III.55.7), 'While yet abiding in the Germ, He is repeatedly born' (*ṚV*, VIII.43.9); cf. Plotinus (IV.3.13), 'abiding intact above, while giving downwards', and Eckhart, 'The Son remains within as Essence and goes forth as Person . . . other, but not another, for this distinction is logical (Skr. *vikalpam*), not real (Skr. *satyam*)'.

As Plotinus expresses it (VI.4.3), 'Under the theory of procession by

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of the separation of Heaven and Earth, that is to say of creation, as being effected by the several desirous principles, whose co-creative activity—the operation of 'mediate causes'—is brought forward in the first and subsequent sacrifices, by which the unitary principle is intellectually contracted and identified, as, for example, in X.114.5, 'By their wordings they made him logically manifold who is but One', and X.90.11 and 14, 'They subdivided the Person . . . thought out the worlds', and thus in fact by their thousand years' session 'expressed everything' (*viśvam asṛjata, PB* XXV.18.2). It is just because of the distinction of these two points of view (*secundum rem* and *secundum rationem intelligendi sive dicendi*) that one can ask in *brahmodya*, as in *ṚV*, X.129.7, whether, indeed, the world was expressed from within or determined from without.

The ontology of *ṚV*, X.90.14, *lokān akalpayan*, and X.114.5, *bahudhā kalpayanti*, is preserved in *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, III.77, 'The being of the three worlds is conceptual (*vikalpa-mātram*), without external validity (*bāhyamarthaṁ na vidyate*); it is as a concept that it is seen pictorially (*vikalpaṁ dṛśyate citram*)'.

[32] Kashmir Series XI (Bombay, 1918), 44; *rūpam* is here *imago imaginans*. Other instances of the persistence of the exemplarist concept in later literature may be cited in the *Kādambarī* (Parab's ed., Bombay, 1928, p. 10), where King Śūdraka is compared to God, 'whose abundance (*vasatā*, cf. Vedic Vasu, Vasiṣṭha) displays the likeness of every form' (*prakaṭita-viśvarūpākṛteḥ*), and in *Śakuntalā*, II.9, where the heroine is so beautiful that she seems to have been 'intellectually created by Brahma' (*manasā kṛtā vidhinā*), to be, that is, rather a divine idea than a mundane actuality.

[33] Émile Brehier, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1925), p. 113. 'Two powers', i.e. spiritual and temporal, *brahma* and *kṣatra*.

powers,[34] souls are described as rays'.[35] In other words the animating (*jinva, codana, sava*) principle is both a living and a vocal power, and the light of the world. Āyu, 'Life', and Viśvāyu, 'Universal Life', are constant epithets of Agni, who is 'the one life of the Angels' (*devānām . . . asur ekaḥ, RV,* X.121.7) and 'the only guardian of being' (*bhūtasya . . . patir ekaḥ,* ibid. 1), and manifests himself as Light (*jyotis, bhāna, arka,* etc.), whether of the Fire-flash or the Supernal-Sun; *brahmaiva vācaḥ paramaṁ vyoma, TS,* VII.4.18. As in John, I. 1-3, 'In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deum erat verbum . . . Omnia per ipsum facta sunt . . . Quod factum est in ipso vita erat; et vita erat lux hominum'.[36]

This equivalence of life, light, and sound must be taken into account when we consider the causal relationship of Vedic *nāma*, 'name' or 'noumenon', to *rūpa*, 'phenomenon' or 'figure', which is that of exemplary cause to *exemplatum*; for while *nāma* involves the concept primarily of thought or sound, *rūpa* involves the concept primarily of vision. Not that light and sound are strictly speaking synonymous (for though they refer to one and the same thing, they do so under different aspects), but that the utterance *fiat lux* and the manifestation *lux erat* by no means imply a temporal succession of events; the utterance (*vyāhṛti*) of names and the appearance of the worlds is simultaneous, and, strictly speaking, eternal.[37] Thus we find in *JUB*, III.33.1 that 'The Sun is sound; therefore they say of the Sun, "He proceeds resounding" ' (*ya ādityaḥ-svara eva saḥ, tasmād etam ādityam āhuḥ svara etīti*): the humming of the world wheel is the music of the spheres. It is, in fact, hardly possible to distinguish the roots *svar*, to 'shine' (whence *sūrya*, 'sun') and *svṛ*, to 'sound' or 'resound' (whence *svara*, 'musical note') and also in some contexts to 'shine'. The like applies in the case of root *arc*, which means either to 'shine' or to 'intone', and to its derivatives such as *arka*, which may mean either 'sheen' or 'hymn'. There is also a close connection, and was probably an original coincidence, of the roots *bhā* to 'shine' and *bhan* to 'speak'. Even in English we still speak of 'bright' ideas and 'brilliant' sayings.

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[34] 'Powers', in Skr. *śaci, śakti, svadhā, vibhūti, kṣatra,* etc. 'It is the manifestation of their (the devas') powers that their names are various' (*BD*, I.71).

[35] Cf. *MU*, VI.26, as cited above. In Christian iconography, in representations of the Annunciation, the Spirit (dove) moves on the path of a ray that extends from the Supernal-Sun to the Virgin, while in representations of the Nativity a similar ray (which is in fact coincident with the axis of the universe, the trunk of the Tree of Life, Gnostic σταυρός, and the 'one foot' of the Sun) connects the Bambino with the Sun. Even in the case of ordinary conceptions the Spirit is the animating power, *Sum. Theol.*, III, Q. 32, A. 1, agreeing with *KB*, III.3, 'It is spiration (*prāṇa*), verily the conscious Spirit (*prajñātman*) that grasps and quickens the flesh.'

[36] According to a variant text (cf. Augustine, *Confessions* VII.9), 'quod factum est, in eo vita est, et vita erat lux hominum', i.e. 'There is life in what was made, and this life was the light of men'. See also René Guénon, 'Verbum, Lux, et Vita', *Le voile d'Isis,* XXXIX (1934), 173, and P. Mus, 'Le Buddha paré'. *BÉFEO*, XXVIII (1928), 236, n. 4, 'la voix et la lumière . . . deux manifestations connexes d'une même nature transcendente'. It may be noted that in *RV,* X.168.4, cited above, one and the same verb *śṛṇvire,* 'is heard', is employed in connection with both sound and appearance; while alternatively in 1.164.44, one and the same verb *dadṛśe,* 'seen', is similarly employed. ['La parole est vie, elle possède toute vie, elle est toute vie' (Willem Caland and Victor Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906-7), I, 232, quoting *Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra,* V.9.1.]

[37] That is to say 'now'; that 'now' of which a temporal experience is impossible, being only of a past and a future, and where becoming never stops to be. We have discussed elsewhere (*The Ṛgveda as Land-Náma-Bók,* 1935) the proposition enunciated by Sāyaṇa and others that the Veda deals only with what is eternal (*nityam*), and shall return to the subject.

The shining of the Supernal-Sun is then as much an 'utterance' as a 'raying'; he, indeed, 'speaks' (*mitro... bruvāṇaḥ*, *ṚV*, III.59.1; VII.36.2; I.92.6), and what he has to say is 'that great and hidden name (*nāma guhyam*) of multiple effect (*puruspṛk*), whereby thou dost produce all that has come to be or shall become' (*ṚV*, X.55.2) ('The Father spoke himself and all creatures in the Word, to all creatures in the Son', Eckhart). The name or form of the thing is thus prior—prior, that is, in hierarchy rather than in time—to the thing itself, and is its *raison d'être*, whether as pattern or as name; and it is accordingly as an expression (*sṛṣṭi*) or utterance (*vyāhṛti*) that the thing itself is manifested or evoked; 'in the beginning this universe was unuttered' (*avyāhṛti*, *MU*, VI.6).

In the concluding paragraphs of the present essay we shall accordingly assemble certain of the Vedic texts in which the doctrine is explicit or implicit that the utterance of a name is of creative efficacy. For example, 'He by the names of the four (seasons) has set in motion his ninety coursers, as a rounded wheel' (*ṚV*, I.155.6), viz. the Wheel of the Year, as made up of four ninety-day seasons; it is 'by those four titan names immaculate (*asuryāṇi nāmā'dābhyāni . . . yebhiḥ*), that He well knows, that thou, Indra, hast performed all thy mighty deed' (*karmāṇi... cakartha*, *ṚV*, X.54.4; cf. III.38.4, X.73.8); it is after these hidden names that the maker of all things names, that is, creates, the Angels, being *devānāṁ nāmadhāḥ*, *ṚV*, X.82.3; it is by recourse to Agni that these Angels 'get for themselves those names by which they are worshipped sacrificially, and thus contrive their own well-born embodiment' (*nāmāni . . . dadhire yajñiyāny asūdayanta tanvaḥ sujātāḥ*, *ṚV*, I.72.3);[38] it is inasmuch as he 'knows the distant hidden names (*apīcyā veda nāmāni guhyā*) that Varuṇa propagates the multiplicity of notions of created things (*kāvyā puru . . . puṣyati*), even as Heaven (i.e. the Sun) propagates their aspect (*rūpam*)',[39] which 'notions of created things' (*kāvyā* = *kavikarmāṇi*, see n. 4) 'inhere in him as hub within the wheel' (*ṚV*, VIII.41.5 and 6). The productive activity of the co-creative principles is similarly nominative (*nāmadheyaṁ dadhānāḥ*, *ṚV*, X.71.1);[40] 'What was the bovine virtue (*sakmyaṁ goḥ*, cf. *śagmyena*, III.31.1) of the Bull and Cow, that they measured out by names (*ā nāmabhih mamire*), making a manifested image in it' (*ni . . . mamire rūpam asmin*, *ṚV*, III.38.7), 'Then verily they recollected (*amanvat*) the distant name (*nāma . . . apīcyam*, admirably rendered by Griffith's 'essential form') of Tvaṣṭṛ's Cow within the mansion of the Moon' (*ṚV*, I.84.15), 'When he (the Sun) upstood, all things him adorned; who moves self-luminous, indued in glory; that is the Bull's, the Titan's mighty form, it is the Omniform who takes his stand upon his aeviternities' (*mahat tad vṛṣṇo asurasya nāmā, ā viśvarūpo amṛtāni tasthau*, *ṚV*, III.38.4, where Viśvarūpa must be Tvaṣṭṛ, and *amṛtāṇi*, pl., contrasts with an implied *anantatva* in or as which the Asura lies recumbent, *ante principium*); 'The Son (the Sun) in Heaven's light determines the Father-Mother's third hidden name' (*dadhāti putraḥ pitror apīcyaṁ nāma tṛtīyam adhi rocane divaḥ*, 1X.75.2, where *dadhāti . . . nāma* is the same as to be *nāmādhāḥ* in X.82.3, as cited above); and all this is at the same time a creative recollection in the Platonic sense, as in *ṚV*, X.63.8, where the Viśve Devāḥ are 'mindful of all that is mobile or immobile' (*viśvasya sthātur jagataś ca mantavaḥ*). It is 'by wordings' (*vacobhiḥ*) that they 'think Him out as manifold who is but One'[41] (*ṚV*, X.114.5); that He, indeed, appears at all depends upon the ritual incantation, 'And sundry sang, they brought to mind the Great Chant, whereby they made the Sun to shine'[42] (*arcanta eke mahi sāma manvata*, etc., *ṚV*, VIII.29.10); 'by an angelic utterance they opened up the cattle fold' (*vacasādaivyena*, etc., *ṚV*, IV.1.15).[43]

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[38] Here the sequence of ideas corresponds to that implied in the Scholastic dictum, 'the soul is the form of the body'.

[39] As in *ṚV*, V.81.2, where the Sun *viśvā rūpāṇi prati muñcate*; 'He illumines (*bhāsayati*) these worlds... incarnadines (*rañjayati*) existences here' (*MU*, VI.7); 'This supremely pure splendor of the impartible essence illumines all things at once... the patent of his power, resplendent in luminous detail' (Eckhart).

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[40] Cf. *CU*, VI.1.4, 'Modification is a matter of wording, a giving of names to things' (*vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāmadheyam*, reminiscent also of *ṚV*, X.125.8, where the Word, Vāc, speaks of herself as *ārambhamāṇā bhuvanāni; ārambha* has been defined as evocation, 'mental initiation of action'). It is on the basis of the magical efficacy of enunciation that the employment of words of power in ritual depends: for example, *PB*, VI.9.5, 'By saying 'born' (*jātam iti*), he brings to birth (*jījanat*)', and ibid. VI.10.3, 'In saying "lives" he puts life into them that live'. Cf. *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, VI, p. 228, 'When names are enunciated, there is the manifestation of appearance (*nimittābhivyañjakam*), there is concept (*vikalpaḥ*)'.

The doctrine of ideas, inseparable from that of exemplarism, recurs in traditional teachings at all times. As remarked by E. Gilson, 'Le mot *idée* remonte a Platon, mais la chose elle-même existait avant lui, puisqu'elle est éternelle. On doit d'alleurs supposer que d'autres hommes les avaient connues avant lui, de quelque nom ils les aient designees, car il y eut des sages antérieurement à Platon et en dehors même de la Grèce, et il n'y a pas de sagesse sans la connaissance des idèes' (*Introduction a l'étude de Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1929, p. 257). The doctrine, for example, appears already in the Sumero-Babylonain conception of creation as a *term*inology or de*term*ination, for 'the Babylonians regarded the name of a thing as its reality . . . to name a thing practically means in their theology to determine its essence' (Stephen Langdon, *Sumerian epic*, Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 39-40, cf. *idem*, *Semitic Mythology*, Boston, 1931, pp. 91, 289). In the Clementine Homilies, in connection with the doctrine of the True Prophet, similar to the Indian 'Eternal Avatar', we find with reference to Adam's calling of things by their names, 'He himself, being the only true prophet, fittingly gave names to each animal, according to the merits of its nature, as having made it'.

[41] That this is possible depends on His Protean nature, who is 'omniform' (*viśvarūpa*, *passim*), and is 'man-made' in the sense that He assumes the forms that are imagined by His worshippers.

The 'names' or noumena of things are, moreover, everlasting, and in this respect unlike the things themselves in their contingent manifestation: 'When a man dies, what does not go out of him is his name (*nāma*; similarly *BU*, III.1.9, *manas*), that is endless (*ananta*), and inasmuch as what is endless is the Several Angels, thereby he wins accordingly the endless world (*anantaṁ lokam*)', *BU*, III.2.12; in other words his name is 'written in the Book of Life'. From the point of view of the desirous principles, *in potentia* but eager to be in act, the possession of a 'name' and corresponding entity is naturally the great desideratum,[44] and what they most fear is to be 'robbed of their names'; cf. *ṚV*, V.44.4, '*Krivi* in the forest steals away their names (*krivir nāmāni pravaṇe muṣāyati*)'.

On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that individuation and identification are specific limitations, implying the possession of only a particular ensemble of possibilities to the exclusion of all others. 'Speech (*vāc*) is the cord, and names (*nāmāni*) the knots whereby all things are bound' (*AĀ*, II.1.6). Liberation (*mukti*), then, as distinguished from salvation, is something other than a perpetual and ideal being still oneself and, as it were, a part of the world picture; liberation in the fullest sense of the word is a liberation not merely from phenomenal becoming, but from any noumenal determination whatever.[45] The cycle that must for the Wayfarer begin with the audition or the finding of a name, must for the Comprehensor end in silence, where no names are spoken, none is named, and none remembered. There knowledge-of, which would imply division, is lost in the coincidence of knower and known, 'as a man locked in the embrace of a dear bride knows naught of a within or a without' (*BU*, IV.3.21); There 'none has knowledge of each who enters, that he is so-and-so or so-and-so' (Rūmī); the prayer of the soul is answered, 'Lord, my welfare lies in thy never calling me to mind' (Eckhart). If what of the Supreme Identity is manifestable appears to us to be contrasted into variety and individualized, the doctrine of Exemplarism, common to both the Eastern and the Western forms of a common tradition, exhibits the relation of this apparent multiplicity to the unity on which it hangs, and apart from which its being would be a pure nonentity; and furthermore, inasmuch as the last end must be the same as the first beginning, the way is pointed out that leads again from multiplicity to unity, from the semblance to reality. As in *AĀ*, II.3.8.3, 4, 'The Makers, laying aside the Yes and No, what's 'blunt' and what is veiled of speech,[46] have found their quest; they that were held in bond by names are now beatified in that which was revealed; they now rejoice in what had been revealed by name, in that in which the host of Angels cometh to be one; putting away all evil by this spiritual power, the Comprehensor reaches paradise.'[47]

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[42] 'For that god is God he gets from creatures. . . . Before creatures were, God was not God' (Eckhart).

[43] Intellect being identical with its noumenal content, the intellectual creation so often referred to in Vedic tradition is essentially the same thing as a creation by the utterance of a name or names. The intellectual creation is typically *per artem*, as for example in *ṚV*, I.20.2, 'they wrought by intellect' (*tatakṣur manasā*), where √*takṣ* implies the use of an axe on wood, viz., that 'wood from which they fashioned Heaven and Earth', *ṚV*, X.31.7. The intellectual operation is, moreover, strictly speaking a conception; what is formulated in the 'heart' by the application of *manas* to *vāc* is literally a generation and a vital operation; as in *BU*, I.5.7, 'The Father is *manas* (intellect), the Mother *vāc* (Word), the Child *prāṇa* (life)'. [The new born Kumāra (Agni) demands a name, for it is 'by name that evil is smitten away', i.e. by name that there is procedure from potentiality to act, *ŚB*, VI.1.3.8-9.] In *ṚV*, X.71.2 there may be noted the expression *manasā vācam akrata; manasā kṛ* being parallel to *haste* or *pāṇau kṛ*, to 'marry', where *kṛ*, to 'make', has a value comparable to that of 'make' in the modern erotic vernacular. Cf. *Sum. Theol.*, I.45.6c, where the artist is said to operate by a word conceived in his intellect (*per verbum in intellectu conceptum*), that is, like the Father and Divine Architect, *per artem* and *ex voluntate*, both with knowledge and with will; the consciousness of the artist being in either case a conjoint principle, and the 'work' (*karma*) the artist's child.

[44] Hence the distress of the Devas at Agni's hesitation in *ṚV*, X.51, and their corresponding fear when the Buddha, who is same as Agni *uṣarbudh*, hesitates to set in motion the Wheel of Order, by which the Way is to be opened for them to proceed.

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[45] 'Released from form or aspect (*nāmarūpād-vimuktaḥ*), the Comprehensor reaches thus the heavenly Person beyond the yon, knowing the ultimate Brahman, he indeed becomes the Brahman' (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.2.8-9) [*padaṁ gacchanty anāmayam BG*, II.51].

[46] I.e., abandoning all dialectic; cf. *BU*, III.5, 'laying aside both innocence and learning, then is he a Silent Sage'. *Krūra* and *ulbaniṣṇu*, rendered tentatively by 'blunt' and 'veiled', seem to imply *pratyakṣam* and *parokṣam*—all that is formal, no longer significant for one to whom the content of all form is immediately present.

[47] The text is difficult, but there can be no doubt that Keith correctly explains that it means 'they rose above mere names to the unity of *brahman* or *prāṇa*'. Cf. *Khila* (= *nīḍa*), *ṚV*, IV.10.1, and *yatra viśvaṁ bhavaty ekanīḍam*, 'Where all abides in one nest', *Nārāyaṇa Up.*, II.3, previously cited.

ĀTMAYAJÑA: SELF-SACRIFICE

Ātmayajña: Self-Sacrifice

Svasti vaḥ pārāya tamasaḥ parastāt.

Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, II.2.6[1]

When a man vows to Almighty God all that he has,
all his life, all his knowledge, it is a holocaust.

St. Gregory, XX Homily on Ezekiel

Just as Christianity turns upon and in its rites repeats and commemorates a Sacrifice, so the liturgical texts of the *Ṛgveda* cannot be considered apart from the rites to which they apply, and so are these rites themselves a mimesis of what was done by the First Sacrificers who found in the Sacrifice their Way from privation to plenty, darkness to light, and death to immortality.

The Vedic Sacrifice is always performed for the Sacrificer's benefit, both here and hereafter.[2] The immediate benefits accruing to the Sacrificer are that he may live out the full term of his life (the relative immortality of 'not dying' prematurely) and may be multiplied in his children and in his possessions; the Sacrifice ensuring the perpetual circulation of the 'stream of Wealth' (*vasor dhārā*),[3] the food of the gods reaching them in the smoke of the burnt offering, and our food in return descending from heaven in the rain and thus through plants and cattle to ourselves, so that neither the Sacrificer not his people shall die of want. On the other hand, the ultimate benefit secured to the Sacrificer who thus lives out his life on earth and in good form is that of deification and an absolute immortality. These distinctions of temporal from eternal goods correspond to that which is sharply drawn in the Brāhmaṇas between a mere performance or patronage of the rites and a comprehension of them, the mere participant securing only the immediate, and the Comprehensor (*evaṁvit, vidvān, viduḥ*) both ends of the operation (*karma, vrata*). This is likewise the well-known distinction of the *karma kāṇḍa* and *karma mārga* from the *jñāna kāṇḍa* and *mārga*—a division of *viae*[4] that is

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[1] 'Welfare to ye in crossing over to the farther shore of darkness!'

[2] 'For the winning of both worlds', *TS*, VI.6.4.1; 'that 'life's best' that has been appointed by the gods to men for this time being and hereafter', Plato, *Timaeus*, 90D.

[3] *TS*, V.4.8.1, V.7.3.2, 3; *ŚB*, V.4.1.16, VII.3.1.30, IX.3.2, etc.; *MU*, VI.37, *BG*, III.10 ff. The *vasor dhārā* is represented iconographically in the Cakravartin compositions at Jaggayapeṭa, cf. James Burgess, *Buddhist Stúpas of Amarâvatî and Jaggayapeṭa* (London 1887), Pl. LV, Fig. 3, etc.

[4] The *locus classicus* for the *viae, affimativa* and *remotionis*, is *MU*, IV.6. These are also

ultimately resolved when the whole of life is sacrificially interpreted and lived accordingly.

To know Indra as he is in himself is the *summum bonum* (*Kauṣ. Up.*, III.1, cf. *AĀ*, II.2.3); and already *ṚV*, VIII.70.3 points out that 'none attaineth Him by works or sacrifices' [*na . . . karmaṇā . . . na yajñaiḥ* (cf. *ŚB*, X.5.4.16)]. If it is not by any mere activity nor by any ritual means, it is clear that it can only be by an understanding or verification of what is done that he can be found. Here, then, we propose to ask not what is enacted outwardly, but what is accomplished inwardly by the understanding sacrificer.

The Brāhmaṇas abound with evidence that the victim is a representation of the sacrificer himself, or as the texts express it, *is* the sacrificer himself. In accordance with the universal rule that initiation (*dīkṣā*) is a death and a rebirth, it is explicit that 'the initiate is the oblation' (*havir vai dīkṣitaḥ*, *TS*, VI.1.4.5; cf. *AB*, II.3), 'the victim (*paśu*) substantially (*nidānena*) the sacrificer himself' (*AB*, II.11).[5] This was to be expected, for it is repeatedly emphasized that 'We [the sacrificers here and now] must do what was done by the gods [the original sacrificers] in the beginning'. It is, in fact, himself that the god offers up, as may be seen in the prayers 'O Agni, sacrifice thine own body' (*yajasva tanvaṁ tava svāṁ*, *ṚV*, VI.11.2; cf. I.142.11, *avasṛja upa tmanā*), and 'sacrifice thyself, augmenting thy body' (*svayaṁ yajasva tanvaṁ vṛdhānaḥ*, *ṚV*, X.81.5) ['Worship thyself, O God' (*yajasva tanvaṁ*, *ṚV*, X.7.6, VI.11.2)]. To sacrifice and to be sacrificed are essentially the same: 'For the gods' sake he chose death, for his offspring's [the same 'gods'] sake chose not immortality: they made Bṛhaspati the sacrifice, Yama gave up (*ariredt*,[6] poured or emptied out) his own dear body' (*ṚV*, X.13.4). [So in *ŚB*, I.6.3.21, 'Me (Soma) shall they offer up to all of you'. Prajāpati at his own sacrifice 'gave himself up to the gods' (*ŚB*, XI.1.8.2ff.; the sacrificer 'gives himself up to the gods, even as Prajāpati gave himself up to the gods . . . for the (Sacrifice) becomes an oblation to the gods'; cf. *ŚB*, VIII.6.1.10.] And so it is 'by the Sacrifice that the gods offered up the Sacrifice' (*yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāḥ*, *ṚV*, X.90.16): we shall see presently why, and how correctly, Sāyaṇa says in commenting on

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the *śaikṣa* and *aśaikṣa* paths, of those who are and are no longer under the law. Those who attempt to take the latter before the first has been followed to its end are certain to lose their way.

[5] Cf. *TS*, VI.1.5.4, *ŚB*, I.2.3.5 with Eggeling's note (*SBE*, vol. 12, p. 49) and *ŚB*, III.3.4.21.

[6] *√ric* is to 'pour out' or 'flood', and with *ati-*, to 'overflow', the passive 'to be emptied out over' having often the same value. A superabundance in the source and deficiency in the recipient are implied, hence *ūnātiriktau* = minus and plus, *pudendum muliebre et membrum virile* (cf. Caland on *PB*, XIX.3.9). To be 'spent, or emptied out, as it were' (*riricāna iva*, *PB*, IV.10.1 and *passim*) follows emission: only 'as it were', however, *in divinis*, because 'the single Season is never emptied out (*nātiricyate*, *AV*, VIII.9.26)'. In *ṚV*, X.90.5, the sacrificial Person 'is poured out over, i.e. overflows the Earth from East to West' (*atyaricyata paścād bhūmim atho puraḥ*); cf. *JUB*, I.54.7, *atyaricyat*, and I.57.5, *ubhayato vācā atyaricyata*.

the last passage that 'the gods' are 'Prajāpati's breath-forms' (*prāṇarūpā*; see n. 56).

The sacrificer's offering up of himself is ritually enacted in various ways. The *prastara*, for example, which represents the sacrificer, is thrown into the Fire, and he only saves himself from an actual immolation by an invocation of the Fire itself (*ŚB*, I.9.2.17, cf. III.4.3.22): one who ritually approaches either the household or the sacrificial Fire does so reflecting that 'that Fire knows that he has come to surrender himself to me' (*paridāṁ me*, *ŚB*, II.4.1.11, cf. IX.2.1.17, *AB*, II.3), and if, indeed, 'he did not expressly make this renunciation of himself (*ātmanaḥ paridāṁ na vadeta*), the Fire would deprive him of it' (*ŚB*, IX.5.1.53).[7]

Otherwise stated, 'the Sacrificer casts himself in the form of seed[8] (represented by grains of sand[9]) into the household Fire (*ātmānaṁ . . . retobhūtaṁ siñcati*, *ŚB*, VII.2.1.6) to ensure his rebirth here on earth, and into the sacrificial altar with a view to his rebirth in heaven,[10] employing verses containing the verb *āpyai*, 'to grow',[11] and referring to Soma, for 'Soma being the Breath' (*prāṇaḥ*), he thus introduces Breath into the effused seed and so quickens it (*ŚB*, VII.3.1.12, 45, 46); the verses (*VS*, XII.112, 113) concluding 'growing, O Soma, unto immortality, gain thou thy highest glory in the Sky', i.e. that of the Moon (*ŚB*, III.4.3.13).

This introduces us to 'Soma', of whom we shall have much to say. For he too, King Soma, is the victim: Agni the eater, Soma the food here below, the

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[7] *Qui enim voluerit animam suam salvam facere, perdet eam*, *Mark.*, 8:35.

[8] Just as also, in being initiated, the sacrificer had been made to pass through all the stages of insemination, embryonic development in the womb, and birth; see *AB*, I.3, where we have *saretasaṁ . . . kṛtvā* 'having made him possessed of seed', the seed from which he will arise as a new man (cf. Eckhart's 'He who sees *me*, sees my child').

[9] The Kuṣāṇa coins, notably Kaniṣka's, on which the king is shown standing left with his right hand over a small altar, are probably representations of this ritual action, and as much as to say that the king has performed the Rājasūya sacrifice and is, if not a god, in any case a ruler by divine sanction.

[10] Sexual intercourse, ritually understood, is a kind of Soma sacrifice (*BU*, VI.2.13, VI.4.3). The household Fire is identified with the wife, of whom one is born again here; the sacrificial Fire is the divine womb into which one pours (*siñcati*) himself, and from which a solar rebirth ensues. The Comprehensor of this doctrine, making the Burnt Offering (*agnihotra*), has therefore two selves, two inheritances, human and divine; but one who offers, not understanding, has but one self, one inheritance, viz., the human (*JUB*, I.17.18). 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit' (John, 3:6). With the sowing of one self as seed into the Fire and the quickening of this seed by the Breath, cf. Rom., 6:4ff.: 'We are buried with him [Christ] by baptism unto death . . . planted together . . . our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed. For he that is 'dead' is freed from sin. Now if we be dead with Christ we believe that we shall also live with him'.

[11] At the full moon offering there are references to the slaying of Vṛtra (the moon, *ŚB*, I.6.4.18), 'because Indra smote Vṛtra with the full moon offering. In that they have references to waxing at the new moon offering, it is because then the moon passes away (*kṣapaṁ . . . gacchati*) and verily thus does he cause it to grow and wax' (*KB*, III.5).

Sun the eater, the Moon his food and oblation above (*ŚB*, XI.1.6.19, X.6.2.1-4, and *passim*). We cannot pursue this relationship here at full length except to say that 'when eater and food (*adya* = *puroḍāśa*, sacrificial cake) unite (*ubhayaṁ samāgacchati*), it is called the eater, not the food' (*ŚB*, X.6.2.1), i.e. there is an assimilation in both senses of the word; that this assimilation is also the marriage effected on the night before the new moon's rising (*amāvāsyā*, 'cohabitation',[12] *Pāṇini*, III.1.122) when she enters into (*praviśati*) him (*JUB*, I.33.6); that the Sun and Moon are the divine and human worlds, Om and Vāc (*JUB*, III.13, 14), (i.e. self and self, *le soi* and *le moi*); and again, that the Sun is Indra, the Moon Vṛtra, whom he swallows on that night before the new moon appears (*ŚB*, I.6.4.18, 19). It appears, indeed, from a correlation of this passage with *ŚB*, II.4.4.17-19, that Vṛtra is the solar Indra's bride—cf. *ṚV*, X.85.29, where the Sun's bride, who enters into him (*viśati patim*), is originally ophidian, acquiring feet only on her marriage (as in the marriage of a mermaid to a human); and that there are more ways than one of 'killing' a dragon. All this expresses the relationship of the Breath to the 'elemental self', Eros to Psyche, the 'Spirit' to the 'Soul', and is paralleled in Meister Eckhart's 'The soul, in hot pursuit of God, becomes absorbed in Him . . . just as the sun will swallow up and put out the dawn' (Evans ed., I, 292; cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, XXVII.136-8), who is herself a 'snake' (*apād*) in the beginning (*ṚV*, I.152.3, VI.59.6).[13]

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[12] Sun and Moon, Breath and Substance, are a progenitive pair (*Praśna Up.*, 1.4.5, cf. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 368D). Their marriage is probably implied in *ṚV*, LXXXV.18, 19 (cf. A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, s.v. *candra*), and by the word *amāvāsya* itself. For comparative material cf. Ernest Siecke, *Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels*, Strasbourg, 1892. Love and Death are one person. There are inseparable connections between initiation, marriage, and death, and alimentary assimilation; the word 'marriage' itself seems to contain *mer* (Skr. *mṛ* to die, cf. *maryaḥ*, marriageable youth); and very many of the words used in our texts with respect to the unification of the many in the one imply both death and marriage, e.g. *api-i*, *eko bhū*, *sambhū*, *saṁgam*, *saṁdhā*; cf. *τελέω* to be perfected, be married, die.

[13] Cf. Coomaraswamy, 'Two Passages in Dante's *Paradiso*' and 'The Rape of a Nāgī'.

[From another point of view, the coition (*samāgamana*) of the Sun (Mitra) and Moon (Varuṇa) on the night of their dwelling together (*amāvāsya*), called a marriage of the full and waning moons, the (full) moon being identified with Varuṇa and the waning moon identified with Mitra (see *ŚB*, II.4.4.17-19): precisely because the waning moon is assimilated by the Sun, and that which is eaten is called by the name of the eater (*ŚB*, X.6.2.1, with specific reference to the Sun and Moon). This is the same thing as the solar Indra's swallowing up the lunar Vṛtra on 'the night of dwelling together' (cf. *KB*, III.5); Vṛtra is therefore to be seen as Indra's wife—'Potentiality hath gotten feet (i.e. shed her ophidian nature) and as a wife *jāyā* with her Lord' (*ṚV*, X.85.29). In erotic parlance, to be 'slain' and to be *in gloria* are one and the same thing. Now we see just what it is that the 'hero' failed to do in the story of the Lady of the Land in the Earthly Paradise. And we see again that marriage is an assimilation of hostile principles, and that to be assimilated is to die. It is precisely in all these senses that the soul (which must as Eckhart says, 'put itself to death') is to be thought of as the Bride

Into the details of the Soma Sacrifice (an indispensable part of the Agnihotra, oblation to Agni, burnt-offering), we need not enter here, except to remind ourselves that the shoots (*aṁśu*) of the Soma plant, or any plant that represents Soma and of which the stems or fruits are used, are 'pressed' (*suta*)—i.e. crushed and ground—and that the strained and purified juice is offered in the Fire, and also partaken of by the priests and the sacrificer. There is a real analogy of the Soma mill to the wine-press, and of *soma* juice to the 'pure blood of the grape' (Deut., 32:14), and of the rite to the 'drink offering' of the wine in the Fire (Lev., 23:13), *noster deus consumens* (Deut., 4:24) and of the slaying of Soma to the killing of the grain when it is threshed and ground. According to Plutarch (*Moralia,* 353), the Egyptians thought of wine as 'the blood of those who had once battled against the gods, and from whom when they had fallen and had been mingled with the earth, they believed vines to have sprung'.

As to this last, 'barley stalks are Soma stems' (*ŚB,* XII.7.3.13); 'barley is Varuṇa' (*ŚB,* XIII.3.8.5),[14] as was Soma tied up before his pressing (*TS,* VI.I.11.2, 5); and brandy (*surā,* fermented liquor prepared from rice and barley) is one of the substances that can be made to be Soma by rites of transubstantiation (*ŚB,* XII.7.3.11). The grains contain the sacrificial essence (*medha*) that had been in Man (*puruṣa,* cf. *ṚV,* X.90), from which it passed to the horse, etc., and finally into the earth, whence it is regained by digging (cultivation). The grain is threshed, husked, winnowed, and ground. In the kneading and cooking the sacrificial cake (*puroḍāśa*) acquires the animal qualities of hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow, and 'the Man whom they had offered up becomes a mock-man' (*kimpuruṣa*).[15] The cake becomes the sacrificial animal, and contains the sacrificial essence of the former animal victims. It can hardly be doubted that, like our 'gingerbread men', the cake was made in the shape of a man.[16] The whole procedure is expressly equated

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of Christ. Can we wonder that Vincent of Beauvais spoke of Christ's *ferocitas*?]

[14] For the inauspiciousness of Varuṇa's uncultivated barley ('wild oats') cf. *KB,* V.3 (those who eat of it are Varuṇa's prisoners); *ṚV,* VII.18.5-10 (the *yavasa* of the unherded kine), and *per contra* the Aryan barley that the liberated kine enjoy, X.27.8.

The agricultural symbolism survives in our word 'culture'. The rocky ground of the soul must be opened up if it is to yield fruit; and this is a matter of spade-work and sweat. Cf. Philo, *Legum allegoriae,* I.48 (on Gen., 2:4, 5), Mind as the labourer in the field of sense perception.

[15] Analogous to the mock man (*kimpuruṣa, anaddhā-puruṣa*) made 'in the place of a man' (Sāyaṇa, *puruṣasthāne*), and no doubt in human form, to represent the chthonic (*purīṣya*) Agni (*ŚB,* VI.3.1.24, 3.3.4, 4.4.14) and 'heaped up for to be the sacrificial essence, to be food' (*cīyamāna . . . medhāyety annāyeti, ŚB,* VII.5.2.32). The untamed soul is indeed a *kimpuruṣa,* a mockery of the real Man.

[16] The shape of the sacrificial cake may depend on the context. In *ŚB,* III.8.3.1, the *puroḍāśa* is certainly a round cake, representing a man's head, or rather face, and the Sun's disk; seven other cakes, representing the 'seven breaths' (ears, eyes, nostrils, and mouth) are arranged about it to complete it. As these 'breaths' are also 'glories' (*śriyaḥ*), this is made the basis of the hermeneutic etymology of 'head' (*śiras*). Cf. Philo

with the sacrifice of a living victim; the threshing and grinding are, like the slaying of Vṛtra and Soma, sins requiring expiation; the flour that has been 'killed' by the mortar and pestle and millstones is ritually quickened in order that the gods may be given the 'living food'[17] they require (*ŚB*, I.1.4.6-I.2.3.9 and *AB*, II.8, 9). ['Verily, living he goes to the gods' (*TS*, V.6.6.4); cf. Rom. 12:1, 'present your bodies a living sacrifice'.] The traces of the passion of the 'Vegetation Spirit' survive in popular[18] agricultural rites all over the world, and notably in the words of the song 'John Barleycorn', whose awns, like those of the rice in *AB*, II.9, are his 'beard', the mark of his manhood, and who, although they treat him so 'barbarously', springs up again.

The polarity of Soma is like Agni's. The Soma when bought and tied up (in the form of man, to represent the sacrificer himself, *ŚB*, III.3.2.18) is of Varuṇa's nature, and must be made to be a Friend (Mitra) with the words, 'Come unto us as the Friend (Mitra) creating firm friendships for pacification' (*śāntyai*, *TS*, VI.1.11, I.2.7).[19] It must never be forgotten that 'Soma was Vṛtra' (*ŚB*, III.4.3.13, III.9.4.2, IV.4.3.4), and it needs no proof here that Vṛtra = Ahi, Pāpman, etc. Accordingly, 'Even as Ahi from his inveterated skin, so [from the bruised shoots] streams the yellow rain, prancing like a horse' (*ṚV*, IX.86.44), 'even as Makha thou, Soma, goest prancing to the filter' (*ṚV*, IX.20.7).[20] 'The sun, indeed, is Indra, and that Moon none but Vṛtra, and on

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De opificio mundi, I.29 (*κεφαλή . . . ἑπτά χρῆται, δυσίν ὀφθαλμοῖς*, etc.) and I.33 (*πρόσωπον, ἔνθα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ τόπος*, etc.) cf. 1.51 (*ἐν προσώπω τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐδημιούργει*). Philo says that the divine power is infused 'by means of the median breath' (*διά τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος*); this median breath is precisely the *madhyamaḥ prāṇaḥ* and *madhye vāmana* of the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

[17] On the 'living food' of the gods; cf. Coomaraswamy, 'The Sun-kiss', 1941, p. 55, n. 26.

[18] It may be noted that *lokyam* in *AB*, II.9 is *not* 'the people's' (Keith), but 'conducive to the sacrificer's world', i.e. the 'world' (*lokaḥ*) of *ŚB*, X.5.2.12, X.5.4.16; *KB*, VIII.3; *BU*, I.4.15, I.5.17; *MU*, VI.24, etc., i.e. the world of the Self, world of the gods, Brahmaloka, heaven.

Popular agricultural rites are no more, generally speaking, of popular origin than are the narrative forms of folklore. It is a mistake to suppose that scripture ever makes use of 'old folklore ideas pressed into its service' (Keith, *AĀ*, p. 251, n. 5). On the contrary, as Professor Mircea Eliade has very justly observed, 'La mémoire collective conserve . . . des symboles archaïques d'essence purement métaphysique . . . La mémoire populaire conserve surtout les symboles qui se rapportent à des 'théories' même si ces théories ne sont plus comprises' ('Les Livres populaires dans la littérature roumaine', in *Zalmoxis*, II, 1939, p. 78). Cf. Coomaraswamy, 'Primitive Mentality'.

[19] See Appendix I.

[20] It is the general rule that the Ādityas have been originally Serpents, and have vanquished Death by the sloughing of their inveterated skins (*PB*, XXV.14.4). Cf. the procession (*udāsarpaṇī*) of the *sarparṣir mantrakṛdeka . . . āśīviṣaḥ* Arbuda in *AB*, VI.1; it is curious that just as Soma is strangled with a turban (*uṣṇīṣa*), *ŚB*, III.2.18, so Arbuda (whose glance is baleful) is blindfolded with a turban in *AB*. On Soma's 'prancing' or 'playing' (*krīḍā*), cf. Coomaraswamy, 'Līlā', 1941.

the new-moon night he, Indra, completely destroys him, leaving nothing remaining; when the Sun devours (*grasitvā*) him,[21] he sucks him dry and spits him out (*taṁ nidhīrya nirasyati*); and having been sucked out (*dhītaḥ*), he grows again (*sa punar āpyāyate*); and whoever is a Comprehensor of this [myth or doctrine] in the same way overcomes all Evil (*pāpman*), leaving naught of it remaining' (*ŚB*, I.6.4.13, 19, 20; cf. *TS*, II.5.2.4, 5, *JUB*, I.33.6 (and *vṛtram ahim . . . āvayat*, *ṚV*, X.113.8). The stone, in fact, with which Soma is pressed and slain, is identified with the Sun (Āditya Vivasvant, *ŚB*, III.9.4, 8), what is enacted here corresponding to what is done there. And as *in divinis* (*adhidevatam*) and in the ritual mimesis, so 'within you' (*adhyātmam*): the powers of the soul (sight, hearing, etc.) that are Brahma's immanent forms are called his 'swallow' or 'sink' (*giri*); and conversely the Comprehensor of this himself 'swallows' or 'sinks' (*girati*) the hateful, evil foe (*dviṣantaṁ pāpmānaṁ bhrātṛvyam* = Vṛtra),[22] and 'becomes with Self' (*bhavaty ātmanā*), and like Brahma 'one whose evil foe is as refuse' (*parāsya*, a thing to be cast out, spat out, rejected or refused, *AĀ*, II.1.8); the cycle is reversed and completed when in sleep (or in *samādhi* or at death) the Breath (*prāṇaḥ*, immanent deity, Sun, Brahma) itself 'swallows up' (*jagāra*) the 'four great selves',[23] viz., these same powers of sight, hearing, etc. (*JUB*, III.2).

So also in terms of the animal sacrifice offered to Agnīṣomau, who, when they have been united, jointly 'overcome the Sacrificer', who is born in debt to Death (*ŚB*, III.6.2.16) and is only redeemed by the actual victim, 'or rather [i.e. more truly], they say: 'Unto Agnīṣomau Indra slew Vṛtra'' (*TS*, VI.1.11.5;[24]

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[21] As Bṛhaspati 'eats' (*ādat*) Vala, *ṚV*, X.68.6. cf. n. 72.

[22] When Indra casts his bolt 'at the evil hateful foe' (*pāpmane dviṣate bhrātṛvyāya*), it is 'Vṛtra the Evil One' (*vṛtraṁ pāpmānam*) that he smites (*ŚB*, IV.3.3.5): 'brotherhood' expressing 'enemy' because the Asuras are the 'elder brothers' of the Devas (*jyeṣṭha*, 'elder', from √*jya*, to 'oppress'. We have argued elsewhere (*Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian theory of Government*, 1942, n. 22) that throughout the sacrificial texts the 'Enemy' is primarily Vṛtra, Pāpman, Mṛtyu (Buddhist Māra, Pāpivant), and that any application of the formulae to other and human enemies is always secondary; that it is only when the King has overcome his own Devil that he is empowered to overcome other devilish rebels. Keith is clearly right in saying that a magical application of the rites is foreign to the *Ṛgveda*, but as certainly wrong in saying that 'the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas is a piece of magic pure and simple' (*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, London, 1925, p. 454).

[23] The breaths or powers of the soul are so many 'selves' or 'persons' (the seeing man, the hearing man, etc.), but act unanimously as the man himself, for or against his real Self, the Breath, their Head and Leader (*AĀ*, II.3.5, 6, III.2.1; *JUB*, IV.7.4; *CU*, VIII.12.4ff.; *Kauṣ. Up.*, III.2, 8, IV.2D), source and last end.

[24] Not as Keith renders it (against the Commentary) '*by* Agni and Soma', but *for* them because they are in Vṛtra, from whom they can escape only when Indra makes him yawn (*TS*, II.5.2.3.4), only when 'Indra forced the Engulfer to disgorge, compelled the panting Dānava' (*jigartim indro apajagurāṇaḥ prati śvasantam ava dānavaṁ han*, *ṚV*, V.29.4; cf. VIII.21.11, *śvasantam*, and note √*śvas*, *śus*, in 'Śuṣṇa'). Vṛtra is the Sacrifice; it is in the same way that Indra and Agni are brought forth from the Person, the Sacrifice, in *ṚV*, X.90.13, and that 'as from a fire laid with damp fuel . . . so from this

similarly *ŚB*, III.3.4.21). Thus 'ransoming Self by self' (*KB*, XIII.3),[25] 'by self he enters into Self' (*VS*, XXXII.11). The like holds good in terms of the supplementary sacrifice of the Cake (*puroḍāsa*), which contains the sacrificial property (*medha*) that was originally in the human victim (*ŚB*, I.1.4.8, 9, III.8.3.1-3).

Or rather, it is not Soma himself, but only his evil (*pāpman*) that is slain (*ŚB*, III.9.4.17, 18).[26] For 'Soma is the Regnum' (*kṣatra*, *ŚB*, V.3.5.8); and it is precisely that he may be enthroned, and rule indeed, that he is 'slain' (*ŚB*, III.3.2.6). The guilt from which Soma is cleansed is that he oppressed Bṛhaspati, his Purohita, or that he was even capable of thinking of such a thing (*ŚB*, IV.1.2.4); his passion is an assimilation to and a marital re-union with the Sacerdotum. The whole pattern underlies and is reflected in the rites of royal initiation (*rājasūya* = *varuṇa-sava*)—'This man is *your* king, Soma the king of us Brāhmanas' (*VS*, X.18). The prince dies that the king may be born of him; there remains no evil, nothing of his Varuṇya nature in the king; it is not himself but his evil that is killed. The beating with sticks (*ŚB*, V.4.4.7) may be compared to the pressing of Soma and to the threshing of grain by which it is separated from the husks. As Indra slew Vṛtra, so the king overcomes his own hateful, evil foe (*ŚB*, V.2.3.7).

In the beginning, Indra overcomes Vṛtra for the sake of Agni and Soma, whom he has swallowed; in the Sacrifice Agni and Soma overcome the sacrificer, or rather what in him is of Vṛtra's nature, and so the circle is completed. Thus: Tvaṣṭṛ cast the residue (*yad aśiṣyata*)[27] of the Soma upon his sacrificial Fire, saying, 'Wax great as Indra's foe'. Then, 'whether it was what was falling (*pravaṇam*, lit. 'on the slope')[28] or what was on the Fire (*adhy agneḥ*), that coming into being (*sa sambhavan*, i.e. as Vṛtra) overcame (*abhisamabhavat*) Agni and Soma', and then Vṛtra 'waxed' and, as his name implies, 'enveloped (*avṛṇot*)' these worlds (*TS*, II.4.12, cf. II.5.2). Whereas in the Sacrifice 'they bring forward the Soma (juice), and when he is established in Agni [the *regnum* in the *sacerdotum*], they coexisting (*sambhavantau*)

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great being (*bhūta*, viz., *ātman*) were the Vedas, worlds, and all things breathed forth' (*niśvasitam*, *BU*, IV.5.11, *MU*, VI.32; cf. *JUB*, I.47.3, 'The All, that is his breathing forth'). Beyond all question the 'Great Being' from whom all these things are breathed out is the Vṛtra from whose mouth (when Indra made him yawn) 'went forth all gods, all sciences, all glory, all food, all weal', leaving him drained (*ŚB*, I.6.3.15-16); just as Śeṣa (*yad aśiṣyata*, see Appendix II) = Ātman, so here also Ātman, Mahābhūta = Vṛtra. For just as 'Him being One they call by many names' (*ṚV*, I.164.46, etc.), so the one Urmythos (*bhāvavṛtta*, Genesis) has been told and retold in many ways, and that not only in India, but all over the world where '*in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistessprache*' (Alfred Jeremias, *Altorientalische Geisteskultur*, Berlin, 1929, foreword).

[25] Cf. Lev. 1:4.

[26] 'That the body of sin might be destroyed', Rom., 6:6.

[27] *Yad aśiṣyata* = *śeṣa*, see Appendix II.

[28] Cf. *ṚV*, IX.17.1, *pra nimnena*, Sāyaṇa *pravanena*.

overcome (*abhisambhavataḥ*) the sacrificer[29] [represented by the victim, *TS*, VI.6.9.2, etc.]. Now the initiate (*dīkṣitaḥ*) has been hitherto holding himself in readiness to serve as the sacrificial essence; but (*eva*) in that Agni and Soma receive a victim, that is his redemption. . . . Or, rather [i.e. more truly] they say: 'Indra smote Vṛtra for Agni and Soma'. Inasmuch as the Sacrificer offers up a victim to Agni and Soma, it verily becomes 'his Vṛtra-slayer' (*vārtraghna evāsya sa*, *TS*, VI.1.11.6). the Comprehensor who offers the full and new moon offering does so *with* Indra (*TS*, II.5.4.1); as Indra repelled Vṛtra, the Evil One, by the new moon offering, so does the sacrificer (*ŚB*, VI.2.2.19). 'Agni, the Lord of the operation, makes him who has slain his Vṛtra to operate [sacrifice] for a year; thereafter he may sacrifice at will' (*TS*, II.5.4.5). 'At will', for when the purpose of the Sacrifice has been accomplished, there is nothing more that *must* be done; such an one is now a *kāmācārin*, he is no longer under the law but delivered from the law of obedience to that of liberty, and to him it can be safely said, *Lo mai piacere omai prende per duce.* The Buddha no longer makes burnt offering (as he had done in former states of being), he does what he likes (*kāmakāro*, *Sn*, 350) just because he has overcome and dispossed *his* Vṛtra.

The word *giri* (*AĀ*, II.1.8), rendered above by 'swallow' (n.), lends itself to a far-reaching exegesis. Keith translates it by 'hiding place' (of Brahma), and in a note says very rightly that 'it is called *giri*, because *prāṇa* is swallowed up and hidden by the other senses'.[30] In a note on *AĀ*, II.2.1, he adds, 'The sun and *prāṇa* are as usual identified, the one being the *adhidaivatam*, the other the *adhyātman* representation. The former attracts the vision, the latter impels the body'.[31] It is, in fact, within us that the deity is 'hidden' (*guhā nihitam, passim*), there that the Vedic *ṛṣayaḥ* sought him by his tracks, there in the heart that the 'hidden Sun' (*sūryaṁ gūḷham, ṚV*, V.40.6, etc.) is to be 'found'. 'for this in ourself is hidden (*guhādhyātmām*), these deities (the breaths); but manifest *in divinis*' (*āvir adhidaivatam, AĀ*, I.3.3), speech being 'manifest' as Agni, vision as the Sun, etc. (*AĀ*, II.1.5, etc.). These are the 'two forms of Brahma, the formed (*mūrta*, i.e. visible) and the unformed (*amūrta*) . . . presented (*sat*) and immanent (*tya*)',[32] respectively the visible Sun disk and the eye, and the unseen Persons in the disk and in the eye (*BU*, II.3).

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[29] 'The initiate enters the jaws of Agnīṣomau; in that on the fast day he offers a victim to them, this is a redemption of himself' (*KB*, X.3). Similarly, *ŚB*, III.3.4.21 and III.6.3.19, where 'the initiated is the oblation offered to the gods' (*havirvā'eṣa devānāṁ bhavati*), i.e. their food, and must redeem himself from Soma, that is to say from Varuṇa's noose (ibid., 20) or curse (III.3.2.2), for Soma was Varuṇya—in other words, from the jaws of Death into which the sacrificer would be swallowed up at every stage of the sacrifice if he did not in one way or another redeem himself. The Soma sacrifice is a 'mystrious rite' (*gambhīram adhvaram*, *ŚB*, III.9.4.5 *adhvara*, lit. 'not-a-slaying'. 'no doubt referring to the nature of the sacrifice, in which the victim is slain but revivified, and the sacrificer would die were he not redeemed). 'Such, indeed, are the forests and ravines of the sacrifice (*yajñāraṇyāni yajña-kṣatrāṇi* [? for *khātrāṇi*] . . . and if any enter into them ignorantly, then hunger and thirst, ill-doers and devils harass them . . . but if Comprehensors enter into them, they pass on from one task to another, as from one stream to another, from one refuge to another, and obtain well-being, the world of heaven' (*ŚB*, XII.2.3.12); 'dangerous are the ways between heaven and earth' (*ŚB*, II.3.4.37); 'the sacrifice is razor-edged, and swiftly he (who sacrifices) becometh holy or he perishes' (*puṇyo vā bhavati pra vā mīyate*, *TS*, II.5.5.6).

[30] The 'other senses' (sight, hearing, etc.) identified with the *giri* of Brahma are extensions or sendings (*prahitāḥ*, *AĀ*, II.1.5 = *hitāḥ*, Upaniṣads *passim*, *guhāśayā nihitāḥ* in *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.1.8, *prativihitāḥ* in *Kauṣ. Up.*, III.5, and as the *iṣṭāni* of the Ṛṣis are *vihitāni*, *ṚV*, I.164.15, and the Maruts *hitāḥ* in 1.166.3) of the central Breath (*prāṇaḥ*) or Spirit (*ātman*) from which they originate and to which they return. Hence his name of 'Gṛtsamada': *gṛtsa*, 'greedy', because as *prāṇaḥ* he breathes in, and as *madaḥ*, 'pleasure', he breathes out these powers (*AĀ*, II.2.1). That is, God is swallowed up in us when he proceeds, and we in him when he recedes.

With *giri* (√*gir*, 'swallow') compare *gṛha* (√*grah*, 'grasp'); both imply enclosures, resorts, a being within something. At the same time *giri* is 'mountain'; and *garta* (from the same root) both 'seat' and 'grave' (one can be 'swallowed up' in either). The semantics is paralleled in Ger. *Berg*, 'mountain', and its cognates Eng. *barrow*, (1) 'hill' and (2) 'burial mound', *burgh*, 'town', *borough*, and finally *bury*; cf. Skr. *stūpa*, (1) 'top', 'height', and (2) burial mound. *We* are then, the 'mountain' in which god is 'buried', just as a church or *stūpa*, and the world itself, are His tomb and the 'cave'[33] into

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[31] 'The Sun's body is seen by everyone, its soul by no one. And the same is true of the soul of any other body . . . embracing all the senses of the body, but only knowable by the mind . . . Soul (as charioteer) drives the Sun about . . . (and) moves us about in all ways', Plato, *Laws*, 898D-899A; cf. *AV*, X.8.14, 'Him all see with the eye, not all know with the mind'; and for the 'chariot' (bodily vehicle), *MU*, II.6, etc.

[32] *Tya* is not 'yonder' (Hume); it is the manifested God, the visible Sun that is 'yonder'; *tya*, as the following verses show, refers to the transcendent principle that is invisibly in the Sun and within you. Cf. *tyasya* = *mama* in *BU*, I.3.24.

[33] Cf. Plato's 'cave', and the 'cavernous' quality of early traditional architecture, floor, space, and roof corresponding to earth, air, and sky equally in a cavern and in a chamber; cf. *guhā*, 'cave', 'hiding place', and 'hut'. Brahma is indeed *guhyam* (*KU*, V.6), the spirit *nihito guhāyām* (*KU*, II.20), 'hidden' in us, as a 'cave-dweller'.

That God is 'buried' in us underlies the Vedic metaphor of digging for hidden treasure, and that of mining in *MU*, VI.29. The powers of the soul (τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις which Hermes calls δαίμονες *Lib.*, XVI.14ff.) are 'elementals' (*bhūtāḥ*), and their concern is with the 'elements' (*bhūtāni*) or 'ores' (*dhātavaḥ*). *Bhūtaḥ*, 'beings', are likewise elves, sprites (spirits), fairies, or dwarfs, who may be either good or evil; it is not without reason that these beings, the Sidhe for example, are so often thought of as living in 'fairy mounds'—or when the 'little people' are thought of as dwarfs or gnomes, then in mountains. The head and leader of these psychic *Bergleute*, thought of as dwarfs, is himself the immanent Dwarf, Vāmadeva, Vāmana, the 'Dwarf enthroned in the midst whom all the gods serve (*madhye vāmanam āsīnaṁ viśve devā upāsate, KU*, V.3); the 'gods', in accordance with Śaṅkara's inevitable explanation, being the powers of the soul ('vision, etc.', i.e. the 'breaths'), bringing tribute (*balim upaharantaḥ*) to their head, the 'Other One' of verse 5, who is beyond all question the median 'Breath', as is explicit in *AĀ*, II.2.1. Thus the dwarfs and gnomes of the European tradition, digging for treasure in the mountains, are the projected images and trace in folklore of our own elemental powers. In one of our best known *Märchen*, the which He descends for our awakening (*MU*, II.6, *pratibodhanāya*; cf. *AV*, XI.4.15, *jinvasyatha*). What all this leads to, bearing in mind that both the Maruts and Soma shoots are equated with the 'breaths' (*ŚB*, IX.3.1.7, *AB*, III.16, and *TS*, VI.4.4.4), is the probability that *giri* in the *Ṛgveda*, although translatable by 'mountain', is really rather 'cave' (*guhā*) than 'mountain', and *giriṣṭha* 'in the mountain' rather than upon it, and tantamount to *ātmastha* (*KU*, V.12, *MU*, III.2), notably in *ṚV*, VIII.94.12, where the Marut host is *giriṣṭha*, and IX.85.12 and V.43.4 where Soma and Soma juice (*rasa*) are *giriṣṭha*. Just the same is implied in *ṚV*, V.85.2, where Varuṇa is said to have put 'Counsel in hearts, Agni in the waters, the Sun in the sky, and Soma in the rock' (*adrau*, Sāyaṇa *parvate*).[34] 'The Soma oblation . . . is incorporeal' (*AB*,

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formulation is very precise: it is the natural function of the 'seven dwarfs' to serve and protect Snow White, who is herself Psyche; Snow White is poisoned by the 'fruit of the tree', and that this is the tree of good and evil is clear from the fact that the apple is parti-poisonous and parti-wholesome (the fruit of the tree is wholesome for those who eat to live, but deadly for those who live to eat; cf. *ŚB*, II.4.2.1-6). Of themselves the dwarfs can protect but cannot heal her; this is done by the solar hero, a 'Prince Charming' (i.e. in the full sense of the word, 'enchanting': the solar Hero is the master of enchantment—blessed are those whom this magician enchants), and it is only when the tasted apple falls from her lips that she awakens from her deadly sleep.

In an alternative symbolism, the cave becomes a laboratory and the workers alchemists seeking for the philosopher's stone; or a smithy in which ores are refined and beaten into shape—'as a goldsmith taking a piece of gold draws out of it (*tanute*, √*tan*, also to sacrifice and to propagate) another, newer and fairer form, so the Spirit . . .' (*BU*, IV.4.4).

[34] In this context *adrau* is, like the other words *hṛtsu*, etc., a locative of place *in*: in *TS*, VI.1.11, where the text is cited, Keith renders rightly 'in the hill'. In the same way Soma is 'shut up in the rock' (*aśnāpinaddham*, *ṚV*, X.68.8); and in *JUB*, IV.5.2, *aśmasu somo rājā* is rendered rightly by Oertel 'in the stones King Soma'. In *ŚB*, III.4.3.13 and III.9.4.2, we are reminded that 'Soma was Vṛtra' (= Ahi, described in *ṚV*, I.32.2 as 'having his lair in the mountain', *parvatè śiśriyāṇam*, i.e. in a cave; one recalls that dragons always live in caves, and not on mountaintops), and we are told that 'Soma's body ('body' is that in which the subject lives) was the mountains and the rocks (*tasyaitaccharīraṁ yad girayo yad aśmānas*), thence is born that plant called 'Uśānā' (*tad eso'śānā nāmauṣadhir jāyata*), . . . which they collect thence and press' (*tām etad āhṛtyā'bhiṣuṇvanti*). We naturally think of plants as growing on mountains, and so they do; but things are *born* from what *contained* them, plants are the earth before they spring up. Sāyaṇa's commentary, moreover, makes it clear that by 'mountains' are to be understood 'beings' (*soma-śarīra-bhūteṣu . . . atas tām eva girāv utpannām . . . abhiṣunvanti*), i.e. the Soma = *bhūtātman*, as in *MU*, VI.10, cited below; and that the plant that is actually collected is 'not really Soma' (*na sākṣāt somam*), but only ritually made to be Soma. Thus Vṛtra (= Vala) is the rock that Indra smites and from which Indra (or Bṛhaspati or both) releases cattle, streams, and all those things that had been covered up and hidden away (*vṛtam* = *verbergt*, *verhüllt*, 'hilled') in the beginning.

Not only then is *giri* (mountain) to be connected with *gir* to 'swallow' (not *gir* to 'sing'), but there can be no doubt that Indian hermeneutists connected *aśman* (and doubtless *aśna*) with *aś*, to 'eat'; e.g. Mahīdhara glosses *VS*, XVII.1 *aśman* by *aśnātītyaśma; he aśman, sarvabhakṣaka agne*. In *AV*, XVIII.4.54 *aśmān-nānām ādhipatyaṁ jagāma*, II.14). No wonder that 'of him the Brāhmaṇas understand by 'Soma' none ever tastes, none tastes who dwells on earth' (*ṚV*, X.85.3, 4).

Soma's death is his procession; he is slain in the same sense that every initiand, *homo moriturus*, dies, to be born again. 'A man is unborn insofar as he does not sacrifice' (*JUB*, III.14.8), to sacrifice is to be born (*KB*, XV.3), Vṛtra's slaughter is Indra's birth (as Mahendra, *ŚB*, I.6.4.21). The Sacrificer, participating in Soma's passion, is born again of the sacrificial Fire in the sense that 'except a man be born again . . .' (John, 3:3 and 12:24).

We observed that Yama 'gave up', or much more literally, 'emptied out' (*arirecīt*) his body. In the same way the Person, the One whom the gods make manifold, is said to have been poured out completely, or have been 'all emptied out' (*aty aricyata*, *ṚV*, X.90.5, Sāyaṇa *atirikto'bhūt*); it is often stated that Prajāpati, desiring to be many, and emanating offspring (*prajā sṛṣṭvā*), was emptied out (*riricānaḥ*, *ŚB*, III.9.1.2, and *passim*). In the same way, Vṛtra, in whom the streams had been covered up (*ṚV*, VII.100.7), and from whom Indra and Viṣṇu win 'that by which he is these worlds' (*TS*, II.4.12), is like a leather bottle 'drained' (*niṣpītaḥ*)[35] of his contents (*ŚB*, I.6.3.16); just as, conversely, in 'sleep' these same powers are 'drunk in' (*āpītā bhavanti*) by the Breath (*ŚB*, X.5.2.14-15). That all This (Universe) was in Vṛtra is the very *raison d'être* of the Sacrifice (*ŚB*, V.5.5.1).

All this is reflected in the ritual, as if in a mirror, inversely. Whereas Prajāpati divides himself, pours out his offspring, makes himself many and enters into us in whom he is swallowed up and hidden, so in his turn the sacrificer 'draws in (*uddhṛtya*, √*hṛ*) these breaths with Oṁ, and sacrifices them in the Fire without evil' (*MU*, VI.26). As Prajāpati 'emanated offspring, and thought himself emptied out' (*riricāno'manyata*), so 'the sacrificer as it were emanates offspring and is thereupon emptied out as it were' (*riricāna iva*, *TS*, VI.6.5.1): 'With his whole mind, his whole self (*sarveṇevātmanā*), indeed, the initiate (*dīkṣitaḥ*) assembles (*sambharati*) and would collect (*saṁ ca jihīrṣati*,

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Whitney renders *aśman* by 'stone' but Böhtlingk and Roth by '*Esser*'. The hermeneutist might in the same way derive *adri* from *ad*, to 'eat'. I by no means assert that all these hermeneia are etymologically valid; what they nevertheless point to is that early man (the troglodyte) thought of a mountain as a place to live not *on*, but *in*, and as a depository of treasure—a manner of thinking that survives in the concept of the 'house' which is not that of a solid mass but that of a 'dome' (*dama*) in which things are housed and hidden, and in which, indeed, the owner himself is 'swallowed' up when he enters its doorway (*mukham* = *ostium*), disappearing when he 'goes home' (*astaṁ gacchati*) and reappearing when he comes out of doors (*prādur bhavati*). We are such 'houses'.

[35] As the powers of the soul are 'drunk in' (*āpītāḥ*) 'sleep' in *ŚB*, X.5.2.12, when they 'enter into' (*apiyanti*, *Kauṣ. Up.*, III.3, etc.) the Breath in 'sleep', in *samādhi*, or at death.

The roots *apī* (go in to), *āpī* (drink in), *āp* (possess), *āpyai* (swell) must be very carefully distinguished in all texts having to do with the procession and recession of the powers of the soul; in *AV*, X.8.5, Whitney's Index is certainly wrong in reading *āpitvam*, Lanmann right in reading *apitvam*.

√*hṛ*) the Sacrifice; his self, as it were, is emptied out' (*riricāna ivātmā bhavati*, *ŚB*, III.8.1.2, *KB*, X.3). That the sacrificer thus 'collects' (*saṁharati*, √*hṛ*) himself is the active equivalent on his part of what is done to him by the Spiritual Self itself at death (or in sleep, or in *samādhi*) 'when the breaths (*prāṇaḥ*, i.e. *indriyāṇi*, τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις) unite with it (*abhisamāyanti*) and it, taking complete possession of those measures of fire[36] (*eta tejo-mātrāḥ samabhyadadāno'*) descends into the heart (*hṛdayam evānvakrāmati*)[37] . . . (and thus) striking down the body, dispelling its ignorance, collects itself (*ātmanaṁ saṁharati*) in order to pass on' (*BU*, IV.4.1, 3);[38] the equivalent on his part of what is done by the departing Breath (*prāṇaḥ*) when it 'extracts' (*saṁvṛh*, *BU*, VI.1.13) or 'impresses' (*saṁkhid*, *CU*, V.1.2, i.e. 'levies') the breaths, as a horse might tear out the pegs by which it is tethered.

This takes place in any case when 'the dust returns to the dust as it was: and the spirit unto God who gave it' (Eccl. 12:7).[39] The burning question for us is, 'In whom, when I go forth, shall I be going forth? On whose ground shall I be standing?' (*Praśna Up.*, VI.3).[40] Shall I *be collected* or shall I *collect myself*? Shall I be passively repossessed or actively self-possessed? 'Whoever departs from this world, not having seen his very own world (*svaṁ lokam adṛṣṭvā*),[41] he unaware of it no more profits than one might from the Vedas unrecited or a deed undone' (*BU*, I.4.15); whereas, 'One who knows that contemplative, ageless, youthful self has nothing to fear from death' (*AV*, X.8.44).

The relationship of the breaths to the Breath, like that of the Maruts (identified with the breaths in *ŚB*, IX.3.1.7, etc.), is that of subjects, (*viśaḥ*, *svāḥ*) to their king or duke. They are, accordingly, his legitimate 'food', he lives *on* them. They are, in fact, his 'divisions'. As he (Bhagavan), distributing his powers, divides himself (*ātmānaṁ vibhajya, passim*) in them, so are they his devoted supporters (*bhaktāḥ*) in that it is theirs to 'support' him, in every sense of the word, but especially inasmuch as it is theirs to render him his 'share' (*bhāgam*). This feudal relationship is repeatedly stated in the words 'We are thine and thou art ours' (*ṚV*, VIII.92.32, *BU*, IV.4.37, etc., cf. Plato, *Laws*, 904B). That they 'fed' him is constantly stated in the phrase, 'they bring him tribute' (*baliṁ haranti* or *bharanti*).[42] In *BU*, VI.1.3, when the superiority of the Breath has been acknowledged, he, addressing the breaths, says, 'In that case, pay me tribute' (*me baliṁ kuruta*); each, accordingly, makes acknowledgment that its particular function is not its own, but his; in the case of speech (*vāc*), for example, 'That wherein I am the 'worthiest' (f.) (*yad vā ahaṁ vasiṣṭhāsmi*), that 'worthiest' (m.) art thou' (*tvaṁ tad vasiṣṭho'si*).[43] They, in other words, *contribute* offerings to him that are in reality his *attributes* (*ābharaṇa*); they acknowledge that they are 'only the names of his acts' (*BU*, I.4.7, cf. I.5.21, I.6.3; *BG*, III.15, etc.).

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[36] The breaths or 'sense powers' are 'fires'. Cf. Coomaraswamy, 'Measures of Fire'.

[37] As in *ŚB*, X.5.2, where the ἱερός γάμος of Indra and Indrāṇī is consummated in the heart. Indrāṇī (Psyche) is the sum of the *indriyāṇi*, as Śacī is the person of Indra's *śacīḥ*, Śrī, the person of many *śriyaḥ* and in Buddhist contexts Sudhammā = *sudhammā*, cf. Victoria, properly n. pl. of *victor*, but as a person f.

[38] In this whole context (*BU*, IV.4.1-7), it is especially important to bear in mind that He who is the only seer, only hearer, only thinker, only comprehensor in us (*BU*, III.7.23), He who wanders from womb to womb (*AV*, X.8.13), the charioteer who sets us agoing (*MU*, II.6, etc.), is by the same token the only transmigrant; as Śaṅkara puts it, 'Of a truth, the Lord is the only transmigrant' (*satyaṁ, neśvarād anyaḥ saṁsārin*, *BrSBh*, I.1.5). Neither in the Brahmanical nor in the Pāli Buddhist texts can any doctrine of the 'reincarnation' of an individual be found, except in the sense that a man is reborn in his children.

[39] 'The spirit (*akh*) is for heaven, the body (*khet*) for the earth' (K.H. Sethe, Saqqarah Pyramid Texts', in Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, London, 1905, 474): to become this *akh*, or *ka*, at death, is to become a God, an Immortal (A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, London, 1927, pp. 169, 182, 183).

[40] Cf. the answers in *CU*, III.14.4, *Kauṣ. Up.*, II.14, and *Praśna Up.*, IV.7, and cf. *AV*, X.8.44. The resurrection is the 'brith out of doubt' of *ŚB*, II.2.4.9, and accordingly to faith, *JUB*, III.11.7.

[41] See n. 18, first paragraph.

In *TS*, II.4.12.5, 6 and *ŚB*, I.6.3.17, Vṛtra enters into Indra by agreement. The fire, is, indeed, the consumer of food both for gods and men (*JUB*, IV.11.5-7). Or rather, that part of the bisected Vṛtra which was of Soma's nature becomes the Moon, and that part of him which was Asurya (i.e. the ophidian part, the tail) became the belly, 'to kindle (*indhīya*) him' and 'for his enjoyment (*bhogāya*)', and is in men the tyrannical appetite to which these creatures (*imāḥ prajāḥ*, sc. *prāṇāḥ*, sensitive powers of which the individual is a host) pay tribute (*baliṁ haranti*) whenever they are hungry. So men say that

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[42] *AV*, X.7.39, *yasmai devāḥ sadā baliṁ prayacchanti*; X.8.15, *mahadyakṣam* (Brahma) . . . *tasmai baliṁ rāṣṭrabhṛto bharanti;* XI.4.19, *prajā imā baliṁ harān*; *Kauṣ. Up.*, II.1, *ayācamānāya* (without his asking) *baliṁ haranti*; *JUB*, IV.23.7, *baliṁ hareyuḥ*; *MU*, VI.18, *pratyāhāra* (= later *devāhāra, amṛta*), as in *BG*, II.58, *yadā saṁharate . . . indriyāṇīndriyārthebhyaḥ.*

In the same way, ritually, *bali* offerings are made at Yakṣa shrines, and politically subjects offer tribute.

If the king 'plunders' his subjects' cattle (*pecunia*!) it is because what seems to be theirs is really his; just as God plunders us, all of whose great possessions are borrowed from Him (*PB*, XXI.1.1). Therefore 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's'. It is for Caesar as for God to redistribute the 'food'. The reciprocal relations of the powers of the soul to the Spirit in the individual microcosm and the circulation of money (*pecunia*!) in the political microcosm correspond to that of the 'shower of wealth' (*vasor dhārā*) in the macrocosm. It is not by demanding tribute and service, but by failing to expend his revenues for his people's good, that a king becomes ungodly, a Vṛtra rather than an Indra.

[43] Vasiṣṭha, the primal Brahman of *ṚV*, VII.33.11, is regularly Agni; who 'abides in beings as speech (*vāc*) in the speaker' (*AV*, II.1.4) and is *in divinis* what speech is in us, just as the Sun is *in divinis* what the power of vision is in us (*passim*). Hence she is Vasiṣṭhā to him as Vasiṣṭha. These traditional correspondences underlie the connection between the tongues of fire and the speaking with tongues in Acts, 2:3; see Coomaraswamy, '*Līlā*'.

'Vṛtra is within us'; and the Comprehensor of this doctrine, that Vṛtra is the consumer, slays man's enemy, privation or hunger. As to this, one recalls on the one hand that the bowels are of a serpentine aspect and, as it were, headless; and on the other that for Plato, and traditionally, the bowels are the seat of the emotions and appetites.[44] We must, of course, beware of understanding 'food' in any restricted sense; in all our texts, 'food' is whatever can be desired, whatever nourishes our existence, whatever feeds the fires of life; there are foods for the eye and foods for the mind, and so forth. Vṛtra's fire is the source of our *voluptas* when we seek in works of art nothing but an 'aesthetic' experience, and of our *turpis curiositas* when we 'thirst for knowledge' for its own sake. Of the 'two birds', one eats, the other oversees but does not eat (*ṚV*, I.164.20, *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.1.1, etc.).

Hence, in the significant verses of *MU*, VI.34, 'As fire deprived of fuel (*nirindhaḥ*)[45] is extinguished in its own hearth (*svayonāv upaśāmyate*), so when its emotions[46] have been killed (*vṛtti-kṣayāt*) the will is extinguished in its own seat (*cittaṁ svayonāv upaśāmyate*). It is from the love of Truth (*satyakāmatas*) that the mind (*manas*) is extinguished in its own seat; false are the actions and the wantings that haunt (*karmavaśānugāḥ*) one bemused by the objects of the sensitive powers (*indriyārtha-vimūḍhasya*). Transmigration (*saṁsāra*) is nothing but our willing (*cittam eva*); purge it (*śodhayet*) carefully, for "As is one's willing, so one comes to be" (*yac cittas tanmayo bhavati*).[47] . . . The mind is said to be two-fold, clean and unclean (*śuddhaṁ cāśuddham eva*); unclean by connection with wanting (*kāma*), clean when dissevered from wanting. . . . "The mind, indeed, is for human beings (*manuṣyāṇām*) the means alike of bondage and of freedom, of bondage, when attached to objects (*viṣaya*), and of release (*mokṣa*) when detached therefrom." And "Hence, for those who do not perform the Agnihotra (do not make burnt-offering), who do not edify the Fire, who do not know and do not contemplate, the recollection of

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[44] Hence the necessity for a purgation, katharsis, *śuddha karaṇa*, of the mind (*manas, kratu, νοῦς*) in order to eliminate these waste products.

[45] To have extinguished the fire of life by withholding its fuel becomes a common Buddhist metaphor. In this broader sense, fasting and continence mean far more than mere abstention from concrete foods or sexual act.

[46] For *citta-vṛtti* I believe that 'emotions' is a more accurate rendering than is Woods' 'fluctuations'. Note that *vṛtti* assimilates the *aśuddhaṁ kāmasamparkāt . . . manas* (*MU*, VI.34) to the Vṛtra of *ŚB*, I.6.3.9, so called because he was 'on the move' (*avartayat*).

[47] Cf. *AĀ*, II.1.3, *karma kṛtam ayam puruṣo brahmaṇo lokaḥ*, 'this Person is what he does, he is the Brahma-world'; *BU*, IV.4.5, *yathākārī yathā cārī tathā bhavati . . . sa yathākāmo bhavati . . . tad abhisampadyate*, 'As he (this person) acts, as he conducts himself, so he becomes; what he wants . . . that he attains'; Plato, *Laws* 904C, 'Such as are the trend of our desires and the nature of our souls, just such each of us becomes'; and similarly for Hermes, whose *δαίμονες* are the innate tendencies or powers and the nature or 'fate' of the soul, 'the being of a daimon consists in his working' (*δαίμονος γὰρ οὐσία ἐνέργεια*, *Lib.*, XVI.14); a man cannot be and yet be doing nothing, God himself is what he does (*Lib.*, XI.2.12b, 13a). At the same time, the act of being is one of self-knowledge (*BU*, I.4.10); and so 'to know and to be are the same' (*τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἐστίν τε καὶ εἶναι*, Hermann Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin, 1903, 18B5).

Brahma's empyrean abode is obstructed. So the Fire is to be served with offerings, to be edified, lauded, and contemplated." '[48]

In other words, the appetitive soul, the greedy mind, is the Sacrifice; we, as we are in ourselves, seeking ends of our own, are the appropriate burnt-offering: 'The chariot of the gods (i.e. the body born of the Sacrifice) is yoked for the world of heaven, but that of man for wherever his purpose (*artha*) is fixed; the chariot of the gods is the Fire' (*TS*, V.4.10.1, cf. *AĀ*, II.3.8 *fin.*). We see why it is always assumed that the Sacrifice, even of an animal, is a voluntary one; there could be no inner meaning of an unwilling victim.[49] We see what is really accomplished by the heroic Indra (who, be it remembered, is an immanent deity, as the 'Person in the right eye', and so *our* real Person) when he 'crushes, rends and cuts to pieces Vṛtra's seat (*yoni*) and lair (*āśaya*),[50] and

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[48] Cf. *Muṇḍ. Up.*, I.2.3. The supposed opposition of the Upaniṣads to the observance of rites is largely a figment of the imagination; and similarly in Buddhism, where the Buddha says that so long as the Vajjians observe their ancient customs 'and honor (*sakkaronti*, lit. 'verify'), esteem (*garukaronti*, lit. 'treat as weighty'), respect (*mānenti*) and serve (*pūjenti*) the Vajjian (Yakkha-) shrines within or without the city, and do not withhold the tribute (*baliṁ no parihāpenti*) formerly given and duly rendered, . . . so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper' (*D*, II.75).

It is only for those already liberated and already in a 'state of grace' that observances are unnecessary, though they may still remain convenient. What is always necessary to liberation is to understand and be fully aware of what one is doing.

'All rites are *rites de passage*. . . . Rite opens the portals through which none may pass but the dead. . . . At each of the crises which usher in the successive phases of great lives, the vital tide rises and falls, first at its ebb in the mystical (*sic*) state of ritual death, then at the moment of annihilation, suddenly at flood, inflowing miraculously to a higher level of life' (Andrew Rugg Gunn, *Osiris and Odin*, London, 1940, pp. 152, 153). For, as Meister Eckhart has said, 'He who would be what he ought to be must stop being what he is'.

'He is a truly poor man (*sannyāsī*), he is a harnessed man (*yogī*) who does what ought to be done (*kāryaṁ karma karoti*), regardless of consequences; not such is one who kindles no sacred fire and performs no rites' (*BG*, VI.1).

[49] See further above and Appendix I.

[50] 'Seat' or 'womb', as in *MU*, VI.34.1, 2, cited above; and 'lair' (*āśaya*) hardly to be distinguished from 'womb' (cf. Pāli *abbuda* = *arbuda*, as 'foetus'), that in which the sense powers are *guhāśayā nihitāḥ*, *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.1.8. It is inasmuch as Varuṇa 'lies' (*aśaye*) in them that Varuṇa, like Agni who makes them his seat, knows all the births of the gods, i.e. their births as the powers of the soul and all their workings (*ṚV*, VIII.41.7). In *ṚV*, I.32.7, that dissevered Vṛtra's lair is in many places (*purutrā vṛtro aśayad vyāṣṭaḥ*) suggests the Agni of III.55.4 (*vibhṛtaḥ purutrā śaye*): cf. 'I am the Spirit, my station in the lair (*āśaya*) of all beings. . . . Ananta am I of snakes' (*BG*, X.20, 29). The cavern (*guhā*) from which the streams and all other living principles are released can be equated with the 'bellies of the mountains' in *ṚV*, I.32.1 and 1.54.10. Cf. *Isa.*, 51:1, 'Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged'.

The 'Person in the right eye' is regularly equated with 'the Person in the Sun', of whom it is said that 'He who is yonder, yonder Person in the Sun, I myself am he' (*MU*, VI.35). It is only to my real Self, this 'inward Person' (*antaḥ puruṣa*), that the words it becomes this offering', and so recovers the Vedas (*ŚB*, V.5.5.4-6). Now as we have already seen, the sacrificer is the oblation (*havis*). He is identified with the *prastara*, which is anointed with the words, 'May they (the gods) eat, licking the anointed bird' (*VS*, II.16—'licking', because Agni is their mouth, his flames their tongues), thus 'making it a bird and to fly up from the world of men to the world of the gods'; the *prastara* is like 'any other corpse', except that it is to be touched with the fingers only, not with sticks (*ŚB*, I.8.3.13-23). The sacrificer's 'death' is at the same time his salvation; for the Self is his reward.[51] 'They who take part in a sacrificial session (*sattra*) go to the world of heavenly light. They kindle (vivify) themselves with the initiations and cook (mature) themselves with the sacrificial seances. With two they cut off their hair (except the topknot), with two their skin, with two their blood, with two their flesh, with two their bones, with two their marrow. In the sacrificial session the Self is the guerdon (*ātma-dakṣiṇam*); verily receiving the Self as their guerdon, they go to the world of heaven. They cut off the topknot at last for success (*ṛddhyai*), thinking, 'More quickly may we attain to the world of heaven' (*TS*, VII.4.9, cf. *PB*, IV.9.19-22, *ŚB*, I.8.3.16-19).[52]

The mortal, psychophysical self (*ātman*) that the sacrificer immolates, whether as above ritually, or when he actually dies and is made an oblation (*āhuti*, *AB*, II.4; *ŚB*, II.2.4.8, XII.5.2.13; *BU*, VI.2.14, 15, etc.) in the Fire (the sacrificial rite prefiguring his final resurrection from the Fire), while it acts as a unity (*AĀ*, III.2.1, *JUB*, IV.7.4, *Kauṣ. Up.*, III.2, 8) is not one member (cf. I Cor., 12:12ff.) but a compound (*saṁhata, sandeha, sambhūti σύγκριμα*, etc.), or 'host of elemental beings' (*bhūtagaṇa*), called 'elemental self' (*bhūtātman*) and, as such, distinguished (as in Plato) from 'its immortal Self' (*amṛto'syātmā, ψυχή ψυχῆς*), the impassible and un-affected Inner Man (*antaḥpuruṣaḥ* = *prajñātman*, solar Self; cf. *MU*, III.2, 3). In view of what has already been said of the Soma sacrifice, a symbolic self-immolation, it will not now surprise us to find that this passible 'elemental self' is identified with Soma (*soma saṁjño'yam bhūtātmā, MU*, VI.10). Not, of course, the Soma that '*was* Vṛtra', or Varuṇya, but the Soma that still is Vṛtra, or Varuṇya; not Soma the Friend (*mitra*) but Soma the Titan (*asura*, *ŚB*, XII.6.1.10, 11); not Soma the immortal, but the Soma that is to be pressed and slain and from whom the immortal

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'That art thou' can be applied; not to 'this man' who still knows in the worldly sense who he is, by name and family descent.

[51] Cf. *JUB*, III.11.3, *yad dīkṣate . . . dakṣiṇām abhijāyate*. Any reception of material gifts by Brāhmaṇas participating in a sacrificial session (*sattra*) is condemned in the strongest possible terms (*TS*, VII.2.10.2). Guerdons (*dakṣiṇā*) may and ought to be given only when the priests are sacrificing on behalf of others than themselves (*ŚB*, IV.3.4.5), just as a Christian priest saying a Mass on another's behalf properly receives a fee.

[52] All this corresponds to the removal of the *annamaya* and other 'sheaths' (*koṣa*) of Brahma, to the 'shaking off of bodies' (*JUB*, I.15.5, III.30.2, etc.), essential because 'no one becomes immortal with the body' (*SB*, X.4.3.9). It is symbolized also in the Vaiṣṇava *vastra-haraṇa*. Love reminds us that 'across my threshold naked all must pass'. This is Philo's 'noble nudity' (ἀρίστη γύμνωσις, *Legum allegoriae* 1.77).

extract is to be separated out. In *MU*, VI.10 we are, accordingly, further reminded that Soma is the food and Fire the eater [it is with this Fire and not with the Soma that the Sacrificer identifies his Self], and that the Comprehensor of the equation Soma = *bhūtātman* is a truly poor man (*sannyāsī*), a harnessed man (*yogī*), and a 'self-sacrificer' (*ātmayājī*), i.e. 'one who himself officiates as his own sacrificial priest, as distinguished from the *devayājī*, for whom the sacrifice is performed by another, notably by the god (Agni, *devayaj*, *ŚB*, *passim*)[53] as missal priest: the Sacrificer's immolation of himself, the 'elemental self', as his 'self-sacrifice' (*ātmayajña*).

In the same way we shall now be able to understand how in *MU*, VI.35 the powers of the soul are equated with Soma shoots: here 'of the Fire that is hidden within the Sky it is but a little measure that is the Water of Life (*amṛtam*) in the midst of the Sun, of which the growing shoots (*āpyay-aṅkurāḥ*)[54] are Soma or the Breaths (*soma prāṇā vā*)'. The equation of the breaths with Soma shoots is even more explicit in *TS*, VI.4.4.4, *prāṇā vā aṁśavaḥ*, 'the breaths are Soma shoots'. Now we have seen that 'Soma was Vṛtra', and that he emerges from these shoots 'as the Serpent from his skin'; the powers of the soul, the collective soul itself are, then, Vṛtra's 'seat and lair' from which the offering (*iṣṭi*) is extracted (*ŚB*, V.5.5.1, 6, cited above). The real Soma sacrifice is the bruising of these shoots, the breaths, the elemental self or soul: 'One withdraws (*uddhṛtya*) these breaths (from their objects)[55] and sacrifices them in the Fire' (*prāṇān . . . agnau juhoti*, *MU*, VI.26); 'the (immanent) deities[56] are the breaths, mind-born and mind-yoked, in them one sacrifices metaphysically' (*prāṇā vai devā, manojātā manoyujas, teṣu parokṣaṁ juhoti, TS*, VI.1.4.5, cf. *JUB*, I.40.3).[57]

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[53] Cf. *ṚV*, I.142.11, *devān yakṣi, vanaspate*.

[54] This is my own reading of the text, avoiding all emendation.

[55] As in *MU*, VI.19, *BG*, II.58, IV.27, etc., and in all contemplative practice leading to synthesis (*samādhi*). Cf. Psalms, 51:16, 17, 'Thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit'.

[56] 'All these deities are in me' (*JUB*, I.14.2); 'they make their home in me' (*ŚB*, II.3.2.3); they are neither in heaven nor on earth, but in breathing creatures, i.e. living beings (*prāṇinaḥ*, *VS*, XVII.14). Strictly speaking, Prajāpati's children (his 'breath forms' as Sāyaṇa calls them, cf. *BU*, I.5.21 where it is after him Prajāpati, the Breath, and as his forms, *rūpāṇi*, that the powers of the soul are called 'breaths') are gods and titans, competing in these worlds for possession of them; the sense-organs of speech, scent, hearing, vision, and thought sang for the gods all fruition (*bhogān*) and for themselves whatever was beautiful (*kalyāṇam*), until the titans infected them with evil—that is, whatever is done by any of them informally (*apratirūpam*). Only the Breath remained immune to this infection, and he translates (*atyavahat*) the senses, striking off their evil, their mortality, so that each becomes its macrocosmic equivalent, speech becoming Agni, smell Vāyu, vision the sun, hearing the Quarters of heaven, mind the Moon. The Breath then shares out the nourishment that it sings for itself (the Breath is the organ-blower, the breaths the Maruts that move in the bodily organ-'pipes, *nāḍyaḥ*', into which they have been 'put, *hitāḥ*'), playing the art of host to the breaths that take up their places round about him as a regiment of the 'King's Own (*svāḥ*)' that at the same time forms his bodyguard and is fed by him. The Breath is identified with (Agni-) Bṛhaspati-Brahmaṇaspati, i.e. the Spiritual Power in which the Temporal Power inheres (*BU*, I.3, cf. *JUB*, II.8). It is in this sense that the gods were

'Mind-born and mind-yoked': in the ever-recurrent simile of the chariot,[58] i.e. the bodily vehicle in which the solar spiritual Self takes up its stand as a passenger for so long as the chariot lasts, the sense-organs are the steeds and the reins are held by the directing mind (*manas*, νοῦς) on behalf of the passenger; 'Savitṛ yokes the gods (*devāḥ* = *prāṇāḥ*) with mind, he impels them (*yuktvāya manasā devān . . . savitā prasuvati tān, TS*, IV.1.1)'. When the horses willingly obey the rein, the chariot conducts the passenger to his proper destination; but if they pursue their own ends, the natural objects of the senses, and the mind yields to them, the journey ends in disaster (it must be remembered that the mind is 'two-fold', bound by the senses or independent of them, *MU*, IV.34, cf. Philo, *Legum allegoriae*, I.93). The man whose senses are under control, or 'yoked' (*yuktaḥ, yujaḥ*), i.e. the yogī, can say accordingly 'I yoke myself, like an understanding horse (*hayo na vidvān ayuji svayaṁ, ṚV*, V.46.1)'; which is only another way of referring to those who 'offer up all the workings of the senses and the breaths in the Fire of the *yoga* of self-control, kindled by gnosis' (*BG*, IV.27).

It is now also clear why we are told in *ṚV*, X.85.3-4 that though 'they fancy when they crush the plant that they are drinking very Soma; yet of him the Brāhmanas understand by 'Soma' none ever tastes, none tastes who dwells on earth'.[59] The extracted juice is not immediately, not really Soma (Sāyaṇa,

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originally mortal (*TS*, VII.4.2.1, *ŚB*, II.2.2.8, etc.), and only by Agni's counsels, or by the sacrifice, or by making the *brahma* their own, attained their present dignity (*arahatta*), immortality (*amṛtatva*), and victory (*jiti*), *ṚV*, VI.7.4, X.63.4, *ŚB*, III.4.3.15, XI.2.3.6, etc.

[57] That is to say that when the sacrificer, in whom these powers are immanent, ceasing to use them for improper (*apratirūpa*) ends, i.e. the pursuit of pleasure, returns himself with the immanent deities to their source then 'he' becomes an immortal. It is not his personality but his Person that then survives after death, when 'we who, in our junction with our bodies are mixtures and have qualities, shall not exist, but shall be brought into the rebirth, by which, becoming joined to incorporeal things, [we] shall become unmixed and without qualities' (Philo, *De cherubim*, 113ff.). The *TS*, passage sums up in a few words the whole thesis of 'self-sacrifice', i.e., the sacrifice of oneself by oneself to one's Self, 'this self's immortal Self' (*MU*, III.2). Whoever will not make this sacrifice is 'damned': 'Whosoever hath not [possessed his Self], from him shall be taken away even that [self] he hath', Matt., 13:12.

[58] The symbol of the chariot is employed by Plato and the Platonists in exactly the same way. To exhibit the collation in full would require a separate article, but we may point out that the notion of a *yoking* of the senses is conspicuous in Hermes, *Asclepius* 1.5ff.

[59] An explicit warning that the Elixir of Life is not a physical medicine of any kind; it is no more than the *fons vitae* to be found outside ourselves. Cf. *AB*, II.14, ' . . . the Soma oblation is one of ambrosia. These oblations are incorporeal (i.e. invisible and intangible); it is with those oblations that are incorporeal that the sacrificer wins immortality'.

na ca sa sākṣāt somaḥ). The drinking of Soma, in other words, is a rite of transubstantiation; 'it is metaphysically (*parokṣaṁ*) that the Kṣatriya obtains the Soma drinking, it is not immediately (*pratyakṣam* = *sākṣāt*) partaken of by him . . . (but only) through the High Priest (*purodhas*), through the initiation (*dīkṣā*), and the ancestral invocation' (*pravara*, implying 'apostolic succession'), *AB*, VII.31; cf. *ŚB*, III.6.2.9, where the Soma pressing stones are Initiation (*dīkṣā*) and Ardor (*tapas*); 'they collect (*āhṛtya*) the plant *uśānā* and press it, and by means of the initiation (*dīkṣā*) and the seances (*upasads*, sacrificial sittings-in), by the Tānūnaptra (-covenant) and the "making to grow"' (*āpyāyana*), they make it to be "Soma" (*ŚB*, III.4.3.13); 'by Faith, the daughter of Sūryā, he makes it (*surā*, brandy, properly the drink of the Asuras and loathsome to Brāhmaṇas) to be Soma juice' (*ŚB*, XII.7.3.11); that which was taken away from Namuci (Vṛtra) by the Aśvins is now drunk as Soma (*ŚB*, XII.8.1.3-5), the 'Supreme Offering' (*VS*, XIX.2, *ŚB*, XII.8.2.12).

Such is the significance of what is called the 'Subjective Interior Burnt-offering' (*ādhyātmikam āntaram agnihotraḥ*), of which *ŚA*, X.1ff. affirms that 'if one sacrifices, knowing not *this* Agnihotra, it is for him as though he pushed aside the coals and made oblation in the ashes'.

The assumption of the Fire is described in *ŚB*, II.2.2.8-20, of which the following is a summary. The gods (*devāḥ*) and titans (*asurāḥ*) were both the children of Prajāpati, both alike devoid-of-any-spiritual-Self (*anātmanaḥ*) and consequently mortal: only Agni was immortal. Both parties set up their sacrificial Fires. The titans performed their rite externally (profanely); but 'the gods then set up that 'Fire in their inward self (*enaṁ . . . antarātman ādadhata*), and having done so became immortal and invincible and overcame their mortal and vincible foes'. In the same way now the sacrificer sets up the sacrificial Fire within himself. As to this Fire thus kindled within him he thinks, 'herein will I sacrifice, here do the good work'. Nothing can come between him and *this* Fire;[60] 'Surely, as long as I live, that Fire that has been set up in my inward self does not die down in me'. He feeds that flame who utters right (*satyam*) and more and more becomes his own fiery force (*tejas*); he quenches it who utters wrong (*anṛtam*),[61] and less and less becomes his fiery force. Its service is just 'right'.

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[60] Cf. *AB*, VII.12, where if anything passes between the sacrificer and his ritual fires he may ignore it, because his fires 'have been set up within himself (*ātmany asya hi tā bhavanti*)'.

[61] For *satyam* (*ṛtam*) and *anṛtam* our words 'truth' and 'untruth' have a too definitely ethical and empirical significance to be entirely adequate; just as our word 'sin' is too ethical to represent what is implied by Sanskrit and Greek terms meaning 'incorrect', or more literally, 'missing the mark'. Properly speaking, 'sin', as defined by St. Thomas Aquinas, is '*any* departure from the order to the end', and not merely moral error. *Stayam* and *anṛtam* are nearer to 'correct' (*integer*) and 'incorrect'. In the same way, virtue (*kauśalam*, Pāli *kusalam*), like wisdom (σοφία), is radically 'skill'; and the beautiful (*kalyāṇa*, καλός) not what we like, but whatever is appropriate or 'in good form (*pratirūpa*)', as opposed to what is ugly, improper, or more literally 'informal (*apratirūpa*)'; nor are these merely 'aesthetic' values, for *kalyāṇa* and *kauśala, kusala,*

Accordingly, 'being about to edify Agni (build up the Fire-altar) the sacrificer apprehends him in himself (*ātmann agni, gṛhṇīte*); for it is from himself that he brings him to birth (*ātmano . . . adhijāyate, ŚB,* VII.4.1.1)'. The true Agnihotra is, in fact, not a rite to be merely performed at fixed seasons, but within you daily,[62] after the primordial pattern of the thirty-six thousand Arka-Fires that were of mental substance and mentally edified by the first sacrificers: 'mentally (*manasā*)[63] were they edified, mentally were the cups of Soma drawn, mentally they chanted. . . . These fires, indeed, are knowledge-built (*vidyācita eva*); and for the Comprehensor thereof all beings (*sarvāṇi bhūtāni,* all the powers of the soul) build up these Fires, even while he is asleep'. And so 'by knowledge (*vidyayā*) they ascend to where desires have migrated (*parāgataḥ*); it is not by guerdons (*dakṣiṇābhiḥ*) nor by ignorant ardour (*avidvāṁsaḥ tapasvinaḥ*) . . . but only to Comprehensors that that world belongs' (*ŚB,* X.5.4.16). This last passage states explicitly what is clearly implied by *ṚV,* VIII.70.3, cited above.

A distinction is thus clearly drawn between mere performance and the understanding of what is done, performance as such and performance as the support of contemplation; and between an objective performance on stated occasions and a subjective and incessant performance. The first of these distinctions is made again in *ŚB,* X.4.2.31, 'Whosoever as a Comprehensor performs this sacred work, or even one who is a Comprehensor (but does not actually perform the rites), puts together again this (divided) Prajāpati, whole and complete' (and therewith at the same time reintegrates himself); and again in *ŚB,* XIII.1.3.22, where the distinction is drawn between those who are merely 'seated at a sacrificial session' (*sattrasadaḥ*) and those who are 'seated in reality' (*satisadaḥ*), only those who thus sacrifice in truth being 'seated amongst the very gods' (*satīsu devatāsu sīdantaḥ*).

The *satisad* is the same as the Ātmayājī referred to above, namely one who is his own priest. The *ātmayājī* is 'one who knows, "this (new) body of mine

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are both opposed to *pāpa,* 'evil' or 'foul', as in Scholastic philosophy *pulcher* is opposed to *turpis,* whether as 'ugly' or as 'disgraceful'. Only what is correct is effective; and hence the great emphasis laid on the correct, i.e. beautiful, performance of the sacrificial rites, and the necessity for expiation in the case of any error (Brāhmaṇas, *passim*). Whenever the conduct of life is sacramentally envisaged, this perfectionism is carried over into every possible field of doing or making: in the single concept of skill, 'prudence' and 'art' coincide. 'Skilful performance is Yoga (*yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam, BG,* II.50)'.

[62] Similarly *AĀ,* II.3.8 (the 36,000 days of a man's life), and *KU,* IV.8 (*dive diva īḍyo . . . haviṣmadbhir manuṣyebhir agniḥ,* 'The Fire should be served every day with human oblations'). In this sense human sacrifice is essential to salvation.

[63] *Manasā,* 'with the mind as instrument' or 'mentally', occurs some 80 or more times in *ṚV,* frequently in connection with the Sacrifice—e.g. I.171.2, *stomo . . . hṛdā taṣṭo manasā;* II.40.3, *rathaṁ . . . manasā yujyamānam* (cf. V.46.1, *svayam ayuji*); VII.64.4, *gartaṁ manasā takṣat;* VII.67.1, *haviṣmat manasā yajñiyena;* similarly VI.16.47, *havir hṛdā taṣṭam.* We have no reason to suppose that the Sacrifice had ever been a merely mechanical operation.

hath been integrated (*saṁskriyata*), hath been superimposed (*upadhīyate*) by that body (of the Sacrifice)": and even as Ahi from his skin, so does he free himself from this mortal body, from the evil (*pāpmanas*, i.e. from Vṛtra), and as an offering (*āhuti*),[64] as one composed of the Three Vedas, so he passes on to the world of heavenly light. But the Devayājī (for whom another officiates), who merely knows that "I am sacrificing this (victim) to the gods, I am serving the gods", is like an inferior who brings tribute to (*baliṁ haret*) a superior . . . he does not win so much of a world' (*ŚB*, XI.2.6.13, 14).[65] The distinction is of active and passive *viae*, of 'salvation' from 'liberation'. The Ātmayājī is 'one who sacrifices in himself' (*ātmann eva yajati, MU*, VII.9). 'Seeing the Self[66] impartially in all beings and all beings in the Self, the Ātmayājī obtains autonomy' (*svarājyam, Mānavadharmaśāstra,* XII.91; cf. *CU*, VIII.1.1-6, *BG*, VI.29).

The foregoing interpretation of the Sacrifice as an exhaustive series of symbolic acts to be treated as supports of contemplation (*dhiyālamba*) reflects a traditional assumption that every practice (πρᾶξις) implies and involves a corresponding theory (θεωρία). The observation of *ŚB*, IX.5.1.42 that the building of the Fire (altar) includes 'all kinds of works' (*viśvā karmāṇi*) assimilates the sacrificer to the archetypal sacrificer, Indra, who is preeminently the 'All-worker' (*viśvakarmā*). It is just because the Sacrifice, if it is to be correctly performed (and this is quite indispensable), demands the skilled cooperation of all kinds of artists, that it necessarily determines the form of the whole social structure. And this means that in a completely traditional society there is no real distinction of sacred from profane operations; rather, as the late A.M. Hocart expressed it, 'chaque occupation est un sacerdoce';[67] and it is a consequence that in such societies, 'the needs of the body and the soul are satisfied together'.[68] In view of this, it will not surprise us to find what in any investigation of the 'caste system' must never be overlooked, namely, that the primary application and reference of the verb *kṛ* (*creo*, κραίνω), to do or make, and the noun *karma*, action or making, is to sacrificial operation (cf.

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[64] 'Having come into being from Agni, the womb of the gods (cf. *JB*, I.17) from the oblation, with a body of gold (= light, immortality) he proceeds to the world of heavenly light' (*AB*, II.14); and similarly in *ŚB*, XII.2.2.5-6, and many like contexts.

[65] Cf. *JUB*, I.14.1, 'He should not be one whose gods are far away. Verily, it is insofar as he approaches the gods with himself (*ātmanā devān upāste*, i.e., is an *ātmayājī*) that become gods for him'; and *BU*, I.4.10, 'So whoever approaches a deity as being other, thinking 'He is one, and I another', does not comprehend; he is a mere victim for them'. Similarly Meister Eckhart, 'Some there are so simple as to think of God as if He dwelt *there*, and of themselves as being *here*. It is not so, God and I are one' (Pfeiffer ed., p. 206).

[66] The solar Self of *ṚV*, I.115.1 and *AV*, X.8.44.

[67] *Les Castes*, Paris, 1938, p. 27.

[68] R. R. Schmidt, *Dawn of the Human Mind,* London, 1936, p. 167. That manufacture should serve the needs of body and soul at one and the same time was also Plato's demand; and wherever there is not this intention, man is attempting to live an attrophied existence, by 'bread alone'.

Grassmann, s.vv., *insbesondere, opfern, Opferwerk*; and Lat. *operari* = *sacra facere*). It will be as true of every agent as it is for the king that whatever he does of himself, unsupported by any spiritual reason, will be to all intents and purposes 'a thing not done' (*akṛtam*). What might otherwise seem to our secular eyes a revolutionary principle, viz., that the true Sacrifice ('making sacred', ἱεροποία) is to be performed daily and hourly in each and every one of our functionings—*teṣu parokṣaṁ juhoti, TS*, VI.1.4.5—is really implicit in the concept of action (*karma*) itself; it is, in fact, only *inaction*, what is *not* done, that can be thought of as unholy, and this is explicit in the sinister meaning of the word *kṛtyā*, 'potentiality' personified; the perfect man is 'one who has done what there is to do' (*kṛtakṛtyaḥ*), the Arhat *kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ*. The sacrificial interpretation of the whole of life itself, the *karma-mārga* doctrine of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, is implicit in texts already cited, and explicit in many other, e.g. *JUB*, IV.2, where the man is the Sacrifice, and his breaths, the powers of the soul, acting as Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas, carry out the morning, midday, and evening pressings (i.e. the Soma sacrifice) during his first 24, second 44, and last 48 years of a life of 116 years. Similarly *CU*, III.16, followed by III.17, where privation is equated with initiation, enjoyments with the sacrifical sessions and chantings, the virtues with the guerdons, generation with regeneration, and death with the last ritual ablution. In the same way in the 'thousand years' operation of the all-emanating (*viśvasṛjaḥ*) deities, 'Death is the slayer' (*śamitṛ, PB*, XXV.18.4), who *dispatches* the resurrected victim to the gods.[69]

In *Kauṣ. Up.*, II.5, in Hume's version appropriately entitled 'A person's entire life symbolically a Soma-sacrifice', it is affirmed with respect to the Interior Burnt-offering (*āntaram agnihotra*) that our very breathings in and out (*prāṇāpānau*: the two primary breaths or lives, which include and represent all those of sight, hearing, thought, and speech, etc., *AĀ*, II.3.3) 'are two endless ambrosial oblations (*anante amṛtāhutī*) that whether waking or sleeping one offers up (*juhoti*) continuously and without a break; and whatever other oblations there are, have an end (*antavatyas tāḥ*), for they amount to no more than activity as such (*karmmamayo hi bhavanti*). And verily the Comprehensors thereof in former time abstained from making actual burnt offerings (*agnihotraṁ na juhuvāṁ cakruḥ*)'. It is from the same point of view that the Buddha, who found and followed the ancient Way of the former Fully Awakened (*S*, II.106, etc.) and expressly denies that he taught a doctrine of his own invention (*M*, I.77), pronounces: 'I pile no wood for altar fires; I kindle a flame within me (*ajjhatam* = *ādhyātmikam*), the heart the hearth, the flame thereon the dominated self' (*attā sudantā, S*, I.169; i.e. *saccena danto, S*, I.168 = *satyena dantaḥ*). We have seen already that one who has slain his Vṛtra, i.e. dominated self, and is thus a true autocrat (*svarāj*), is liberated from the law according to which the Sacrifice is factually performed (*TS*, II.5.4.5); and in the same way in *AĀ*, III.2.6, the Kāvaṣeyas who (as in *Kauṣ. Up.*, II.5, cf. *BG*, IV.29) sacrifice the incoming breath when they speak and the outgoing breath when they remain silent, ask: 'To what end should we recite the Veda (cf. *BG*, II.46), to what end should we sacrifice externally)?'[70]

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[69] On the 'happy dispatch', cf. Appendix I.

In the sacrificial interpretation of life, acts of all kinds are reduced to their paradigms and archetypes, and so referred to Him from whom all action stems; when the 'notion that I am the doer' (*ahaṁkāra, kartā'ham asmīti*) has been overcome, and acts are no longer 'ours', when we are no longer any one (*vivo autem, jam non ego sed Christus in me*, Gal., 2:20), then we are no longer 'under the law', and what is done can no more affect our essence than it can His whose organs we are. It is in this sense only, and not by vainly trying to do nothing, that the causal chain of fate (*karma* with its *phalāni*) can be 'broken'; not by any miraculous interference with the operation of mediate causes, but because 'we' are no longer part and parcel of them. The reference of all activities to their archetypes (essentially *a reductio artium ad theologiam*) is what we ought to mean when we speak of 'rationalizing' our conduct; if we cannot give a true account (ratio, λόγος) of ourselves and our doings it will mean that our actions have been 'as you like it (*vṛthā*)', reckless (*asaṁkhyānam*) and informal (*apratirūpam*) rather than to the point (*sādhu*) and in good form (*pratirūpam*).[71]

For one who has completely realized the sacrificial implications of every action, one who is leading not a life of his own in this world but a transubstantiated life, there are no compulsory forms. This must not be understood to mean that he must adopt the role of a nonconformist, a 'must' that would be altogether incompatible with the concept of 'freedom'. If, in the last analysis, the Sacrifice is a mental operation even for the *Ṛgveda*, where the ritual acts are mentally performed (*manasā, passim*) but it is not to be inferred that there is no manual procedure, it is also true that an emphasis on the ultimate inwardness of the Burnt-offering by no means necessarily involves a disparagement of the physical acts that are the supports of contemplation. The priority of the contemplative does not destroy the real validity of the active life, just as in art the primacy of the free and imaginative *actus primus* does not remove the utility of the manual *actus secundus*. In the *karma-mārga, karma* retains, as we have seen, its sacrificial implications. A mere and ignorant performance of the rites had always been regarded as insufficient (*na karmaṇā . . . na yajñaiḥ, ṚV*, VIII.70.3). If the *karma* of the *Bhagavad Gītā* is essentially (*svabhāvaniyatam*, XVIII.47 = κατὰ φύσιν) a work to which one is called by one's own nature or nativity, this had been equally true in the Vedic period when the sacrificial operation involved 'all kinds of works' and the acts of the carpenter, doctor, fletcher, and priest had all been regarded as ritual 'operations (*vratāni*)'. And so as *BG*, IV.15, reminding us of several contexts cited above, affirms and enjoins, 'Understanding this, the sacrificial

[70] It is, no doubt, in their character as nonsacrificers that the Kāvaṣeyas of *ṚV*, VII.18.2 are enemies of Indra, whose very *raison de devenir* is sacrificial operation. They have, by their repudiation of the divine activity and imitation of the divine idleness, become again Asuras, and are no longer the loyal subjects of the king of this world.

[71] Cf. notes 56 and 61. Right offering is whatever is neither excessive nor defective in the Sacrifice (*ŚB*, XI.2.3.9).

work was performed even by the ancients desirous of liberation (*kṛtaṁ karma pūrvair api mumukṣubhiḥ*); so do thou do work (*kuru karma*) even as by the ancients of old it was done'. It is true that, as the Vedānta consistently maintains, man's last end is unattainable by any means, whether sacrificial or moral, but it is never forgotten that means are dispositive to that end: 'This Spiritual Self is not to be taken hold of (*labhyaḥ*) by the weak, nor in arrogance, nor by ardor without its countersign (of poverty); but he who being a Comprehensor labours (*yatate*) with these means (*upāya*), that Self dwells in Brahmahome' (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.2.4).

We have seen that the conquest of Ahi-Vṛtra, the slaying and eating[72] of the Dragon, is nothing but the domination of the self by the Self; and that the Burnt-offering is the symbol and should be the fact of this conquest. 'He who makes the Burnt-offering (*agnihotram*) tears up the snare of greed, cuts down delusion and disparages anger' (*MU*, VI.38); and so, 'transcending the elemental powers and their objects . . . he whose bowstring is his solitary life[73] and whose arrow is his lack of the conceit of self-existence,[74] fells the keeper of the first of Brahma's palace-gates, whose crown is delusion . . . and who slays all these beings with the arrow of wishful thinking', and may enter Brahma's palace, whence he can look down upon the revolving wheel as may the charioteer upon the turning wheels of his vehicle; 'but for one who is smitten and enflamed by darkness and passion, a body-dweller attached to son or wife or kindred, no, never at all!' (*Kauṣ. Up.*, I.4 and *MU*, VI.2.8).[75] This 'keeper' is assuredly the Dragon on the Hero's path and the Guardian of the Tree of Life; in other words, the Death that every Solar Hero must overcome. We hope to show elsewhere that Indra's defeat of Ahi-Vṛtra and the Bodhisattva's conquest of Māra are relations of one and the same universal mythos. Here we have only proposed to emphasize that the Dragon, or Giant—by whatever name, whether we call him Ahi, Vṛtra, Soma, Prajāpati or Puruṣa, or Osiris or Dionysos or Ymir—is always himself the Sacrifice, the sacrificial victim; and that the Sacrificer, whether divine or human, is always himself this victim, or else has made no real sacrifice.

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[72] The eucharistic meal is of extreme importance in the Sacrifice. The essential and only indispensable part of the victim is the heart, for this is the mind, the life-breath and the 'very self' of the victim; it is basted with *ghī* on a spit, and so made to be that living food of which the gods partake. In the Edda, Sigurd understands the language of birds ('angels', cf. René Guénon, '*La Langue des oiseaux*', *Voile d'Isis*, XXXVI, 1931) when he tastes of Fafnir's heart.

[73] The *parivrājaka's* quest (a Grail quest, like that of the Vedic *ṛṣayaḥ*) is strictly analogous to that of the knight errant and to that of the solar hero in our fairy tales. There must be no looking back (*ŚB*, XII.5.2.15).

[74] Cf. *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.3, where the arrow is oneself, Brahma the target. ['Such a blind shot with the sharp dart of longing love may never fail of the prick, which is God', *Epistle of Discretion*, by the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing* (cf. Edmund Gardner, ed., *The Cell of Self-knowledge*, London, 1910, for text of the Epistle).]

[75] 'If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life (ψυχή, soul) also, he cannot be my disciple' (Luke, 14:26).

In sacrificing himself in the beginning, the Solar Hero, having been single, makes himself—or is made to be—many for the sake of those into whom he must enter if they are to find their Way 'from darkness to light, death to immortality' (*BU*, I.3.28). He divides himself, and 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you' (John, 6:53); and as we have seen, he is swallowed up in us, like a buried treasure. In this cosmic crucifixion the Sacrifice is 'extended'; and insofar as we think and act in terms of the pairs of opposites, think of him in the noumenal and phenomenal aspect under which he enters into the world (*ŚB*, XI.2.3.4, 5), we 'crucify him daily'. If his sacrifice is an act of grace, and it is because of his love (*premṇā*) for his offspring that he enters into them (*TS*, V.5.2.1) in whom as only Saṁsārin (*BrSBh*, I.1.5) he submits to repeated deaths (*JUB*, III.11.1ff., cf. *ṚV*, X.72.9), it is, on the other hand, a murder that is committed by whoever, human or divine, sacrifices another; the slaying and dismemberment of Vṛtra is, in fact, on Indra's part an original sin (*kilbiṣa*) because of which he is often excluded from the Soma drinking, and for which atonement must be made (*TS*, II.5.3.6, *AB*, VII.31, *KB*, XV.3; cf. *ŚB*, I.2.3, III.9.4.17, XII.6.1.40, etc.).[76]

'We' are aggregates of the functional powers that are the offspring (*prajāḥ*) of Prajāpati (Brahma, Ātman, Prāṇa, Sun) and the names of his acts; it is the universal Self that operates in each of our many selves, seeing, thinking, etc., into which it is divided; it is this Self that collects itself when we die, and that passes on to other habitations, the nature of which is predetermined by its own former activities. Whether or not 'we' survive this passage will depend upon whether our consciousness of being—not to be confused with our 'waking' powers of perception, of which nothing survives the transition[77]—is in him, or in 'ourselves'. It remains however, for this Wanderer, and for us if we have known him and not merely ourselves, to 'collect himself' once and for all and to return from this round of becomings to himself; having been many, he must again become one; having died again and again, he must be resurrected once and for all. The second phase of the Sacrifice, then, and from our present position in the manifold the most essential part of it, consists in the putting together (*saṁdhā*) again of what had been dismembered, and the building up (*saṁskṛ*) of another and unitary Self that shall be our Self when this present self is no more. This unification and 'coming into one's own' is at once a death, a rebirth, an assimilation, and a marriage.

We must not, however, suppose that 'we' are the heroes of this cosmic drama: there is but One Hero. It is the God that 'fetters himself by himself like a bird in the net' laid by the huntsman Death, and the God that breaks out of the snare,[78] or, otherwise stated, crosses over the torrent of life and death to its further shore by the bridge that is made of his own Spirit, or as one climbing reaches the top of the tree to rest on his eyrie or soar at will. He, and not this man So-and-so, is my Self, and it is not by any acts of 'mine', but only by knowing Him (in the sense that knowing and being are one), by knowing Who we are that 'we' can be set free. That is why all traditions have insisted upon the primary necessity of self-knowledge: not in the modern psychologist's sense, but in that of the question 'Which self?' that of the oracle 'Know thyself', and that of the words *Si ignoras te, egredere.* 'By the Self one findeth manhood, by comprehension findeth immortality; great is the destruction if one hath not found Him here and now! (*ātmanā vindate vīryaṁ, vidyayā vindate'mṛtam . . . na ced ihā'vedīn mahatī vinaṣṭiḥ, JUB,* IV.19.4, 5).' 'With himself he indwells the Self, who is a Comprehensor thereof' (*saṁviśaty ātmanātmānaṁ ya evaṁ veda, VS,* XXXII.11). 'What thou, Agni, art, that may I be!' (*TS,* I.5.7.6).

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[76] Just as in the slaying of Soma, Mitra does a 'cruel deed' (*TS*, VI.4.8.1).

[77] 'After death there is no consciousness' (*na pretya saṁjñā'sti, BU*, II.4.12): 'the dead know not anything' (Eccl., 9:5).

[78] 'Liberation is for the Gods, not for man' (A. H. Gebhard-L'estrange, *The Tradition of Silence in Myth and Legend*, Boston, 1940, p. 7). In the Philosophia Perennis, this is as strictly orthodox as Śaṅkara's 'Verily, there is no other transmigrant than the Lord' (*BrSBh*, 1.1.5).

APPENDIX I: ON PEACE

'What is the best thing of all for a man,
that he may ask from the gods?'
'That he may be always at peace with himself'.
Contest of Homer and Hesiod, 320

Soma's 'pacification' is his *quietus* as a Varuṇya principle. Cf. *TS,* II.1.9.2, where by means of Mitra the priest 'pacifies' (*śamayati*) Varuṇa, and thus frees the sacrificer from Varuṇa's noose; and *TS,* V.5.10.5, where the dangerous deities might suck in (*dhyāyeyuḥ*) the sacrificer and he 'appeases' (*śamayati*) them with the oblations. The ritual slayer is a *śamitṛ,* one who gives the quietus (*ṚV,* V.43.4, *ŚB,* III.8.3.4, etc.). In the same way, the sacrifice of the Christian victim is for atonement, to make peace with the angry Father. And while appeasement implies a satisfaction or gratification of the person appeased, it must never be overlooked that peace (*śānti*) can never be made with an enemy; in one way or another he must be put to death as an enemy (although 'it is his evil, not himself that they slay') before he can be made a friend of. So when the will is pacified (*upaśāmyate, MU,* VI.34) it is 'stilled', and when the psychophysical self is 'conquered and pacified (*jita . . . praśāntaḥ, BG,* VI.7)' by the Supreme Self, it has been sacrificed. Desire cannot survive the attainment of its object; only the 'dead' who do not desire, because their desire is realized, are at peace, and hence the frequent association of the words *akāma* (without desire) and *āptakāma* (with desire attained), e.g. *BU,* IV.3.21 and IV.4.6.

There is similarly in Lat. *pax* a sinister significance (well seen in the case of imperialistic wars of 'pacification'); the connections of the word are with *pangere, paciscor,* and Skr. *pāśa,* 'fetter', esp. of Death. Eng. dispatch (esp. in the sense to 'kill') contains the same root; the victim's is a 'happy dispatch' precisely because he is released or unleashed from the fetter or penalty imposed by the Law. A treaty of peace is a thing *imposed* (primary sense of *pangere*) on an enemy: it is only insofar as the enemy, presumed a rebel (the war being just and the victory that of right rather than might, as is assumed in all traditional ordeals including those of single or other combat), repents and willingly submits to the bonds into which he enters, that the 'peace' is really an 'agreement', the *śānti* a *saṁjñāna*, and that is why the 'consent' of the sacrificial victim is always secured; cf. *ŚB*, XIII.2.8.2, where that 'they make it consent (*saṁjñapayanti*) means that they kill the victim'. In this case the 'enemy' is really resurrected as a 'friend'; or in other words, it is not himself but his evil that is 'killed'.

There is thus a kind of peace (which I have elsewhere called 'internecine') that can be only too easily understood; but also another 'that passeth all understanding'. It is only the peace by agreement that is real and that can endure; and it is for this reason that Gandhi would rather see the English relinquish, i.e. sacrifice, their hold on India of their own free will than see them compelled to do so by force. The same applies to the holy war of the Spirit with the carnal soul; if there is to be 'unity in the bond of peace' (Eph., 4:3), the soul must have 'put *itself* to death', and not simply have been suppressed by *force majeure* of violent asceticism and penances. And similarly in the case of the 'war of the sexes', which is only a special case of war of the Spirit with the Soul.

APPENDIX II: ŚEṢA, ANANTA, ANANTARAM

TS, II.4.12, *yad aśiṣyata* = *ṚV*, I.28.9, *ucchiṣṭam*, not the 'dregs' of Soma, but what is 'left' when the Soma has been extracted from the now dry twigs or husks. In this inexhaustible *ucchiṣṭam* (as in Vṛtra) all things are contained (*AV*, XI.7), 'everything is synthesized within it (*ucchiṣṭe . . . viśvam antaḥ samāhitam*, *AV*, XI.7.1)'; 'plenum is That (Brahma), plenum This (All), when plenum is out-turned (*udacyate*) from plenum, (e.g. This All from Vṛtra) plenum remains' (*avaśiṣyate*, *BU*, V.5), ' . . . yea, That may we know today whence This was poured out' (*uto tad adya vidyāma yatas tat pariṣicyate*, *AV*, X.8.29; Whitney's 'that . . . whence that' for *tad . . . yatas tat* betrays the literal and the logical sense). Brahma, in other words, is infinite (*anantaram*), the *brahma-yoni* inexhaustible.

Yad aśiṣyata = Śeṣa, i.e. Ananta, the World Serpent, the Swallower in whom all possibilities whatever are latent and from whom all possibilities of manifestation are extracted; and this endless (*ananta*) circle is precisely that of Midgardsworm (*Gylfiginning*, 46-8) [see *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar med Skàldatali*, ed. Gudni Jónsson (Reykjavik, 1935)—Ed.], that of 'der Schlange, die sich in den eigenen Schwanz beisst, [und die] stellt den Äon dar' (Alfred Jeremias, *Der Antichrist in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 5), that of Agni 'footless and headless, hiding both his ends (*apād aśīrṣā guhamāno antā*) when first born in the region's ground (*budhne rajasaḥ*, i.e. as Ahi Budhnya), from his womb (*asya yonau*, *ṚV*, IV.1.11; cf. X.79.2, *guhā śiro* *nihitaṁ ṛdhag akṣī*)', Prajāpati 'sightless, headless, recumbent (*apaśyam amukhaṁ śayānam, JUB*, III.38)'. Vṛtra-Kumāra 'handles and footless (*ahastam . . . apādam, RV*, X.30.8)'. In the same way Brahma 'was the one and only Endless (*eko'nantaḥ, MU*, VI.17)', Brahma has no ends (*anto nāsti yad brahma, TS*, VII.3.1.4), 'footless he came into being erst (*apād agre samabhavat, AV*, X.8.21)',[79] 'as an Asura (*so'gre asurābhavat*)': he (Akṣara) is a 'blind (- worm) and deaf (-adder) having no interval (*acakṣuṣkam aśrotram . . . anantaram, BU*, III.8.8)'; 'both blind and deaf, without hands or feet (*acakṣuḥśrotraṁ tad apāṇy apādam . . . bhūtayonim, Muṇḍ. Up.*, I.2.6)'; the 'endless (*anantam*)' Chant is like a necklace 'of which the ends come together (*samantam*)', a serpent constricting its coils (*bhogān samāhṛtya*, meaning also 'assembling its enjoyments'), and the Year,[80] 'endless' because its two ends, Winter and Spring, are united (*saṁdhattaḥ, JUB*, I.35.7ff.). The Buddha is 'footless (*apadam*, Dh, 179)', like Māra (*A*, IV.434, *M*, I.180).

'What is the beginning, that is the end' (Keith), or rather 'He who is the coming forth is also the returning (*yo hy eva prabhavaḥ sa evāpyayaḥ, AĀ*, III.2.6; cf. *KU*, VI.11, *Māṇḍ. Up.*, 6, and *BG*, XVIII.16)'. 'His before and after are the same' (*yad asya pūrvam aparam tad asya, AB*, III.43); in other words, 'He is fontal and inflowing' (Eckhart), his departure when we end is 'the flight of the alone to the alone' (Plotinus). And accordingly 'That' is what remains there (*atra pariśiṣyate*) when the body-dweller (*dehinaḥ*, not my 'soul' but my Self) is untied and liberated from the body (*KU*, V.4); what then remains over (*atiśiṣyate*) is the immortal Self (*ātman, CU*, VIII.1.4-5). As it is in and as this Self that the Comprehensor is reborn from the pyre, the 'transcendent residue (*atiśeṣa*)' is the analogue there of the 'residue (*śeṣa*)' that he leaves behind him *here* to inherit the character from which, as *brahmavit* and *brahmabhūta*, he has now been released from mortal manifestation to immortal essence without distinction of *apara* from *para brahma*. Therefore the Serpent (*nāga*) is the interpretation (*nirvacanam*) of the 'religious whose issues have ceased (*khiṇāsava bhikkhu, M*, 1.142-5)': as is Brahma *akṣara*. 'The last step to fare without feet'; 'in me is no I and no we, I am naught, without head without feet' (Rūmī, *Dīvān*, pp. 137, 295). Thus 'we are brought face to face with the astounding fact [less astounding, perhaps, in view of what has been said above] that Zeus, father of gods and men, is figured by his worshippers as a snake', and the correlative fact that 'all over Greece the dead hero was worshipped in snake form and addressed by euphemistic titles akin to that of Meilichios' (Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 18, 20, 325ff.).[81] God is the undying, or rather ever renascent Serpent, with whom every Solar Hero must do battle and to whom in turn the Hero is assimilated when he tastes of the great antagonist's flesh and blood. We take this opportunity to call attention to the Story of King Karade in the 'Alsatian Parzival',[82] a legend that recalls in more than one detail the Indian versions of the enmities of Indra and Vṛtra. In the Karade story, the sorcerer Elyafres, who himself performs the Green Knight's feat, allowing himself to be decapitated and later reappearing uninjured, is the Queen's lover and the natural father of the King's supposed son Karados. Elyafres has been decapitated by Karados, and when he reappears at the end of a year to return blow for blow, in place of any physical blow he reveals to Karados his true paternity. Karados, however, takes the side of his legal father. The Queen then persuades Elyafres to create a serpent, to be the destroyer of Karados, just as Vṛtra is created to be Indra's mortal enemy, with the same result in both cases, the intended victor becoming either directly or indirectly itself the sufferer. The serpent winds itself about Karados' arm, and cannot be undone. Karados is only saved by his betrothed, Guingenier, and her brother; Guingenier exposes her breast to the serpent's gaze, and when it extends itself towards her, the brother cuts it to pieces. We shall not attempt to analyze the whole of this most interesting myth here, but point out that the sorcerer Elyafres corresponds to Tvaṣṭṛ, the Māyin; Karados to Indra, who is Tvaṣṭṛ's son and enemy as Karados is Elyafres'; the serpent to Ahi-Vṛtra; and that the motif of the coils corresponds to the event as related in *TS*, V.4.5.4, where Vṛtra 'ties up Indra in sixteen coils (*soḍaśabhir bhogair asināt*)'. From these coils Indra can only be freed by Agni, who burns them. In the Indian mythology, Agni is Indra's brother; in the Karade story, it is not, indeed, the hero's brother, but it is his brother-in-law that destroys the serpent.

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[79] Cf. 'Inasmuch as he came into being footless (*apād*), he (Vṛtra) was the Serpent (Ahi)', *ŚB*, I.6.3.9. The Commentary on *AV*, IV.6.1 equates the prime-born Brahma, who drank the Soma and made its poison harmless, with Takṣaka (Śeṣa).

AV, IV.6.3 makes Garutman the first drinker of the poison. This Garutman is probably that one of the two Suparṇā of *ṚV*, I.164.20 that eats of the fruit of the tree; there may be a real connection of *viṣa*, poison, and *viṣaya*, object of perception. In any case these legends are perhaps the prototypes for the Puranic myth of Śiva's drinking of the poison produced at the Churning of the Ocean.

[80] Cf. *AV*, X.8.12, 'Ending, indeed, but endless inasmuch as his (Brahma-Prajāpati's) ends are united', or 'finite, indeed, but infinite because of confinity (*anantam . . . antavac cā samante*); these two (ends, confines) the Keeper of the Vault, comprehending what hath been and shall be (*bhūtam uta bhavyam*) thereof, goes on distinguishing (*carati vicinvan*)'. This is the 'entering in of time from the halls of the outer heaven', the bisection or decapitation of Makha-Vṛtra, the 'act of creation', and the first act of the Sacrifice of which the last end is to reunite the 'head' with the 'body'.

APPENDIX III: NAKULA: ’Οφιομάχης

In *AV*, VI.139.5, we find a love charm, 'as the mongoose, having cut to pieces a snake, puts it together again, so do thou, herb of virility, put together again what of love was cut to pieces (*yathā nakulo vicchidya saṁdadhāti ahiṁ punaḥ, eva*...)'. The mongoose is, indeed, a killer of snakes, an *ahihan*, but it has not been recorded by naturalists that it can put them together again. Perhaps we should have said, 'as the Mongoose, having cut Ahi (-Vṛtra) to pieces, puts him together again'. In order to solve this riddle, we shall go far afield before returning to it.

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[81] The 'beards' of the Greek snakes perhaps represent the 'spectacle marks' of a cobra.

[82] Cf. E.K. Heller, 'The Story of the Sorcerer's Serpent', *Speculum*, XV (1940), 338ff., and literature there cited.

In Lev., II.22, the word *ḥargal*, one of four creatures presumed to be insects and permitted to be used as food, is rendered in the Revised Version by 'beetle' and in the Septuagint by ὀφιομάχης, lit. 'snake-fighter'. Philo (*De opificio mundi*, I.39) says that 'this is an animal (ἑρπετόν)[83] having legs above its feet, with which it springs from the ground and lifts itself into the air like a grasshopper'. This is a fair description of the behaviour of a mongoose or ichneumon in the presence of a snake, and is also justified by the derivation of *ḥargal* from √*harag*, to leap suddenly; that is what a mongoose does when struck at by a snake, thus avoiding the blow; in any case the Hebrews did not eat beetles, but might eat quadrupeds 'which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth' (Lev., II.21), i.e. having legs long enough to do so, and there is nothing in the text of vv. 21, 22 to show that all four of the creatures listed in v. 22 must have been insects. However, we shall not say anything more about *ḥargal*, as it is sufficient for our purpose that it is rendered in the Septuagint, which Philo follows, by ὀφιομάχης, and in the Vulgate by *ophiomachus*.

According to Hesychius, ὀφιομάχης is ἰχνεύμων, and also a kind of wingless locust. This ambiguity can be explained by the fact that there is an 'ichneumon fly', a kind of wasp, doubtless so-called because it lays its eggs in caterpillars and so kills them,[84] and hence might be called a 'snake killer' if we bear in mind that snakes are traditionally 'worms'. But such wasps are neither edible nor wingless, and there can be no doubt that our ὀφιομάχης is an ichneumon, i.e. the Egyptian mongoose, *Herpes ichneumon*, an animal that 'tracks' (as the word ἰχνεύμων implies)[85] crocodiles and eats their eggs,

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[83] The rendering of ἑρπετόν by 'reptile' (Colson and Whitaker in LCL) is impossible. Philo cannot have meant this, as he would have known very well that the Hebrews did not eat reptiles: the original sense of ἑρπετόν, despite the etymology, identical with that of 'serpent', is merely that of 'quadruped' as distinguished from 'biped' (H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*), and it is certainly in this sense that Philo used the word.

[84] The Indians were aware of this, and though they did not quite understand what actually takes place in nature, used the simile, 'as the worm becomes the wasp' (losing its own nature and taking on that of its slayer), as an exemplum of deification, of what takes place when the liberated self *devo bhūtvā devān apyeti* (*BU*, IV.1.2); this θέωσις implying, in the words of Nicolas of Cusa, an *ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis.*

[85] Skr. *mṛg* and Gk. ἰχνεύω are used alike in the Vedic texts and by Plato with reference to the 'tracking' of the Hidden Light or the Truth.

Lat. *calcatrix* = cockatrice is also properly the 'tracker' (if not rather 'Treader'), and according to Webster 'originally an ichneumon' but also a 'water snake', sometimes confused with the corcodile but an enemy of crocodiles. The heraldic Cockatrice or Basilisk, a winged Griffin, with a serpent's tail, is sometimes thought of as an asp, sometimes as a bird. The Hebrew *tsefar* (*Īśā*, II:8, Vulgate *regulus*) seems to have been a bird, and as enemy of reptiles must be thought of as a Sunbird, perhaps a vulture, and also kills and eats snakes (as the word ὀφιομάχης implies). Plutarch *Moralia,* 380f., quite rightly says that the Egyptians 'revered' (ἐτίμησαν) the ichneumon. For as Adolf Erman tells us, in an account of the divine animals of Egypt, 'amongst these is the ichneumon rat into which Atum (the Sun god) changed himself when fighting against Apophis' (*Die Religion der Ägypter,* Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, p. 46), i.e. Apophis-Seth, the Egyptian Serpent or Dragon god, the constant enemy of the Sun, in a word the 'Egyptian Vṛtra'. Thus Daressy, discussing an inscription on the statue of the Pharoah 'Zedher le Sauveur' (4th century BC), reads 'Iusāāt, the eye of Rā, became an animal of 46 cubits in order to combat Āpap in his fury. . . ', the text proceeding to say that he may be invoked in cases of snake poisoning (*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte,* XVIII, 116, 117). Sethe takes up the matter again in 'Atum als Ichneumon' in *Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* LXIII (1928), 50: 'Re changed himself into a '*d* animal of 46 ells, to slay the serpent Apophis as he raged'. He further cites and illustrates a sculptured representation of the Egyptian mongoose, bearing the inscription 'Atum, the guardian God of Helipolis', and concludes that the ichneumon and the Sun god 'share a common name ('*nd*) because they are both victors in the dangerous battle with the snake'. A more detailed account of 'Das Ichneumon in der ägyptischen Religion und Kunst' is given by Günther Roeder in *Egyptian Religion,* IV (1936): in several statuettes of the erect type, the Sun and Uraeus are represented on the ichneumon's head.

Can we assume that the Indian mongoose (*nakula*) had also been a symbol and type of the solar Indra as Ahihan? We have no direct evidence for this, beyond the implications of *AV,* VI.139.5 already cited. But there is rather cogent indirect evidence in the fact that the female mongoose (*nakulī*), equated with the tongue, was certainly a type of the feminine principle in the cosmos, namely, Vāc (Sarasvatī, Earth, etc.). In *ṚV,* I.126.6, Svanaya (whom Indra has aided, probably the Sun) says that 'She who is clasped and clipt, who like the she-mongoose (*kaśikā,* Sāyaṇa *nakulī*) conceals herself (*jaṅgahe*), she moistened gives me the hundred joys of rutting'; she, who in her reply calls herself Romaśā (hairy)—and says that she is fleeced like a Gandharan ewe, is, according to Sāyaṇa, 'Bṛhaspati's daughter'. She must be, in fact, the 'tongue' (*juhu,* i.e. Vāc), Bṛhaspati's wife in *ṚV,* X.109.5 and the she-mongoose of *AĀ,* III.2.5, 'the mistress of all speech, shut in by the two lips, enclosed by the teeth (*oṣṭā apinaddhā nakulī dantaiḥ parivṛtā sarvasyai vāca īśānā*)', *apinaddhā* and *parivṛtā* corresponding to *āgadhitā* and *parigadhitā* in I.126.6 and explaining *jaṅgahe* (middle intensive from √*gah,* 'sich

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which actually tramples on its ophidian prey. The heraldic Cockatrice, with its combination of avian and ophidian characters, should be a type of the Supreme Identity of the two contrasted principles, divine and titanic, which can only be characterized as 'good and evil' when they are in opposition, i.e. in the world with its 'pairs of opposites', which opposites are, properly speaking contraries rather than contradictories.

verstecken').[86] The point of all this is that *nakulī* being Vāc, etc., her masculine counterpart must have been thought of as *nakula,* the male mongoose, and may have been so spoken of in some lost text (as in the case of other pairs with corresponding names, such as Sūrya, Sūryā, Vaśa, Vaśī; Rukma, Rukmā; Mahiṣa, Mahiṣī, etc.). The 'mongoose' (m.) would thus have been a type (*rūpa*) of Indrābṛhaspatī or of either Bṛhaspati or Indra as 'snake-fighter'. Bṛhaspati and Indra are pre-eminently sacrificers. And what is the essential in the Sacrifice? In the first place, to divide, and in the second to reunite. He being One, becomes or is made into Many, and being Many becomes again or is put together again as One. The breaking of bread is a division of Christ's body made in order that we may be 'all builded together in him'. God is One as He is in Himself, but Many as He is in His children (*ŚB,* X.5.2.16). Prajāpati's 'joints are unstrung' by the emanation of his children, and 'he, whose joints were unstrung, could not put them together again (*sa visrastaiḥ parvabhiḥ na śaśāka saṁhātum, ŚB,* I.6.3.36 = *prajāḥ . . . tābhyaḥ punaḥ sambhavituṁ nāśaknoti, TS,* V.5.2.1)';[87] the final purpose of the Sacrifice is to put him together again and it is this that is done in the Sacrifice by himself (*sa chandobhir ātmānaṁ samadadhāt,*[88] *AĀ,* III.2.6, etc.) or by the gods or any sacrificer, who reintegrate themselves with him at one and the same time (*ŚB, passim*). Prajāpati is, of course, the Year (*saṁvatsara, passim*); as such, his partition is the distinction of times from the principle of Time; his 'joints (*parvāṇi*)' are the junctions of day and night, of the two halves of the month, and of the seasons (e.g. Winter and Spring, see Appendix 2 for the 'united ends of the endless Year'), *ŚB,* I.6.3.35, 36. In the same way Ahi-Vṛtra, whom Indra cuts up into 'joints (*parvāṇi, ṚV,* IV.19.3, VIII.6.13, VIII.7.23, etc.)' was originally 'jointless' or 'inarticulate[89] (*aparvaḥ, ṚV,* IV.19.3)', i.e. 'endless (*anantaḥ*)'. In the same way, Indra divides Magha-Vala (*ṚV,* III.34.10, *TB,* II.6.13.1), i.e. Makha (the Sacrifice, *PB,* VII.5.6, and *saumya,* cf. *ṚV,* IX.20.7 *makho na . . . soma*) 'whom so long as he was One the Many could not overcome' (*TĀ,* V.1.3).

We have already seen that the Indian texts interpret the slaying of Ahi-Vṛtra metaphysically and identify Vṛtra with the aesthetic, passible, emotional 'elemental self' that is seated in the 'bowels'. I cannot cite Egyptian texts to the same effect, but there can be no doubt that for the Egyptians the conflict of the Sun with Apophis-Seth was one of light against darkness, good against evil. For the Hebrews, the Serpent who persuaded the mother of all mankind to eat of the fruit of the tree is certainly the type of evil and the enemy above all others; while 'the word [*nefeṣ* = anima] translated 'soul' so often in our English version meant . . . for all Hebrews, the lower, physical nature, the appetites, the psyche of Paul. It was used also to express 'self ', but always with that lower meaning behind it' (D.B. Macdonald, *The Hebrew Philosophical Genius*, Princeton, 1934, p. 139, cf. p. 99).[90] The serpent is explicitly this 'soul' for Philo and Plutarch. Philo says that 'the snake-fighter (ὀφιομάχης) is, I think, nothing but a symbolic representation of self-control (ἐγκράτεια), waging a fight that never ends and a truceless war against incontinence and pleasure. . . . For if serpentlike pleasure is a thing unnourishing and injurious, sanity, the nature that is at war with pleasure, must be most nutritious and a saving power. . . . Therefore set up mind (γνώμη), the snake-fighter, against it, and contend to the last in this noblest contest' (*Legum allegoriae*, I.39, 85, 86); and Plutarch that 'Typhon (Seth) is that part of the soul which is passible and titanic (παθητικόν καί τιτανικόν) irrational (ἄλογον) and forward, and of the bodily part the perishable, diseased and disordered, as is shown in abnormal seasons and temperatures, and by eclipses of the sun and disappearances of the moon, eruptions as it were and lawless acts on the part of Typhon . . . whose name signifies 'restraint' or 'hindrance' (*Moralia*, 371 BC)[91]. In Christianity, the 'Serpent' is still the 'Tempter'.

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[86] Other interpretations of *jaṅgahe* are possible and even plausible. Our purpose has been to show that *nakulī* is, in fact, a type of the feminine half of the divine syzygy, *nakula* by implication a type of the male half. If *nakula* can be equated with Indra as Ahihan, as is intrinsically plausible, this would also serve to explain Kubera's *nakula* as his purse, the inexhaustible source of his wealth, Indra being always the great dispenser.

[87] Having fettered himself by himself, like a bird in the net, *MU,* II.2, VI.30.

[88] Becoming thus again *samāhita,* 'in *samādhi*', converse of *hita, prahita, prativihita, nihita,* etc.

[89] 'Inarticulate', here 'continuous', 'undivided'; but also just as in another sense the silent (*aśabda*) Brahma is inarticulate (*anirukta,* etc.), and the expressive (*śabda*) Brahma articulate (*nirukta,* etc.).

The Indians *may* have thought that the mongoose not only bit to pieces the snake but also put it together again, somewhat as the weasel of folklore is supposed to revive its dead mate by means of a life-giving herb. It may be, and probably is, with an 'herb of virility' that the mongoose of *AV*, VI.139.6 puts the 'snake' together again and so 'heals (*bheṣajati*)' it as they 'heal' the divided Year in *ŚB*, I.6.3.35, 36; and we can even say that the Ahi identified with the 'soul' (the 'double-tongued' aditi-Vāc of *ŚB*, III.2.4.16) is the 'mate' of the Nakula identified with the divine Eros who, assuredly, 'puts together again whatever of love is divided'. But bearing in mind that supernatural no more means unnatural than superessential means nonessential, we say that it is not as natural history but as myth that the acts of the mongoose are to be understood. The *nakula*-ὀφιόμάχης is a type or exemplum of the divine or human sacrificer; the snake 'a symbol of magic healing'.[92]

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[90] It is one of chief defects of this interesting book that the author speaks of 'Plato's *psyche*' as if this had been one single and altogether divine principle (pp. 99, 139). Plato, in fact, always speaks of two souls, appetitive and rational, the former corresponding to Hebrew *nefeṣ* and St. Paul's *psyche*, and the latter to Hebrew *ruaḥ* and St. Paul's *pneuma* (as also to the Indian *śarīra* and *aśarīra ātman*, *bhūtātman* and *antaḥ puruṣa*). Macdonald does not see that inasmuch as the Hebrew could 'speak with himself and reason with himself ' (p. 139), this involves two 'selves', as was demonstrated once for all by Plato (*Republic*, 430EF, 436B, 604B, etc.), these two being *nefeṣ* and *ruaḥ*. The latter, which comes from God and is reabsorbed in him (of which Ecclesiastes 'is heartily glad, for it means a final escape for man' [p. 128], i.e. if he knows *who* he is and in *which* self he will be departing at death) is the 'one and only Saṁsārin' of the Vedānta.

[91] 'Self-government' (*svarāj*), i.e. 'inward government of the worse by the naturally better part' of us (Plato, *Republic*, 431AB, etc.).

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[92] Cf. Grimm, *Märchen*, 16, 'Die drei Schlangenblätter', and the snake that Asklepios was, which later survives coiled about his staff.

MANAS

Manas

In the words of *ŚB*, X.5.3.3. Agni should be 'intellectually laid and intellectually edified' (*manasaivādhīyanta manasācīyanta*).

'Intellectually laid and intellectually edified': for inasmuch as Agni Himself 'performs an intellectual sacrifice' (*manasā yajati*, *ṚV*, I.77.2), it is evident that one who would attain to Him as like to like must have done likewise, without which a true 'Imitation of Agni' would be impossible. *Manas* in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, and sometimes in the Upaniṣads, is the Pure or Possible Intellect, at once a name of God and that in us by which He may be grasped. Thus *ṚV*, I.139.2, 'We have beheld the Golden-one by these our eyes of contemplation and of intellect' (*apaśyāma hiraṇyaṁ dhībhiś cana manasā svebhir akṣabhiḥ*); *ṚV*, I.145.2, 'What He [Agni], contemplative, hath as it were grasped by His own intellect' (*sveneva dhīro manasā yad agrabhīt*); *ṚV*, VI.9.5, 'Intellect is the swiftest of birds' (*mano javiṣṭhaṁ patayatsu antaḥ*); *ṚV*, VIII.100.8, 'The Eagle cometh with the speed of intellect' (*mano javā ayamāna . . . suparṇaḥ*; cf. Manojavas as a name of Agni, *JB*, I.50); *ṚV*, X.11.1, 'Varuṇa's knowledge of all things is according to His speculation' (*viśvaṁ sa veda varuṇo yathā dhiyā*); *ṚV*, X.181.3, 'By an intellectual speculation they found the Godward-path' (*avindan manasā dīdhyānā . . . devayānam*); *TS*, II.5.11.5, 'Intellect is virtually Prajāpati' (*mana iva hi prajāpatiḥ*); *ŚB*, X.5.3.1-4, where Intellect (*manas*) is identified with 'That which was in the beginning neither Non-being nor Being' (*ṚV*, X.129.1), and this Intellect emanates the Word (*vācam asṛjata*), a function usually assigned to Prajāpati; *BU*, I.5.7, 'The Father is Intellect (*manas*); The Mother, Word (*vāc*); the Child, Spirit or Life (*prāṇa*)', in agreement with the usual formulation, according to which Intellect and Word, Heaven and Earth, as Knower and Known, are the universal parents of the conceptual universe;[1] and *KU*, IV.11, 'He is attainable intellectually' (*manasaivedam āptavyam*).

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[1] Intellect (*manas, buddhi*) and will (*vaśa, kāma*), being coincident *in divinis* = *adhidevatam*, the divine procession is 'conceptual' in both senses of the word; cf. *ŚB*, VI.1.2.9, where Prajāpati *manasā iva vācaṁ mithunaṁ samabhavat, sa garbhy abhavat . . . asṛjata*. The same is explicit in the Scholastic expressions *per verbum in intellectu conceptum* and *per artem et ex voluntate*. Needless to say, the intellectual and artificial processions are the same, procession or creation *per artem* = *taṣṭaiva* being essentially an intellectual operation; cf. *ṚV*, I.20.2, *vacoyujā tatakṣur manasā*, and similar texts. In other words, while the procession of the Word (act of the Divine Intellect) and the procession of the Spirit (act of the Divine Will), although coincident, are nevertheless logically distinguishable, the procession of the Word and procession *per artem* are not

On the other hand, we meet with such expressions as *pākena manasā*, (*RV*, VI1.104.8 and X.114.4), implying the distinction of a 'mature' from an 'unripened' Intellect; and in such characteristic texts as *Kena Up.*, I.3, 'There the intellect does not attain' (*na tatra . . . gacchati manaḥ*), and *MU*, VI.34, 'Intellect must be arrested in the heart' (*mano niroddhavyaṁ hṛdi*), as well as wherever the transcendental Person is spoken of as 'de-mented' (*amanas*, *amānasaḥ*),[2] and generally in Buddhism, the Intellect (*manas*) is the Reason or Practical Intellect—that Intellect which in *MU*, VI.30 is described as the seat, not of science but of opinion and all pros and cons, the term *buddhi* now coming into use as a designation of the speculative as distinguished from the empirical and dialectic Reason.

These apparent contradictions are completely resolved in *MU*, VI.34, where 'Intellect is for men a means of bondage or liberation (*kāraṇaṁ bandha-mokṣayoḥ*)' as the case may be—'of bondage if it clings to objects of perception (*viṣayasaṅgi*), and of liberation if not directed towards these objects (*nirviṣayam*)', i.e. if thought, the only basis of the world-vortex (*cittam eva hi saṁsāram*), 'is brought to rest in its own source (*cittaṁ svayonāv*[3] *upaśāmyate*) by a surcease from fluctuation (*vṛttikṣayāt*)'. 'Intellect is said to be twofold, Pure and Impure' (*mano hi dvividhaṁ, śuddhaṁ cāśuddhaṁ ca*)[4]—impure

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merely coincident but logically indistinguishable, and this, indeed, is sufficiently evident in Christian theory, where Christ is called 'the art of God' (Augustine, *De trinitate* VI.10).

[2] In *BU*, III.8.8, the *akṣara brahman* is *amanas*; in *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.1.2, the despirated Puruṣa not in any likeness, i.e. *para brahman*, is *amanāḥ*; in *BU*, VI.2.15 = *CU*, IV.15.5, 6 and V.10.2, He who acts as Guide on the *devayāna* = *brahmapatha* beyond the Sun is, according to different readings, the 'de-mented' or 'Superhuman' person (*puruṣo mānasa* or *puruṣo'mānavaḥ*). Inasmuch as those who are thus conducted 'nevermore return to this human cycle' (*imaṁ mānavam āvartaṁ nāvartante*), it is clear that both Indian commentators, together with Hume, who follows them, are wrong in reading *BU*, VI.2.15 as *puruṣo mānavaḥ* without *avagraha*; the reading must be here just as in the parallel passages, *puruṣo' mānavaḥ* or *'mānasaḥ*. For it is obvious that it can only be the Superhuman Person who guides on the superhuman trail, Agni Vaidyuta then, rather than Agni Vaiśvānaraḥ; cf. the contrast of 'lightning' and 'concept'—i.e. of immediate vision with theological formulation—in *Kena Up.*, IV.3-4.

[3] *Svayonau* corresponds to *svagocare* in *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* II.115, where the intellect being 'in its own pasture, beholds all things at once, as if in a mirror'; cf. Chung-tzu, 'The mind of the sage being brought to rest becomes the mirror of the universe'. The opposite of *svayonau* and *svagocare* (= *svastha*) is *viṣayagocare* in the expression, 'as firmly as the intellect is attached in the pasture of the senses' (*viṣaya-=gocare*, also in *MU*, VI.34), *viṣaya-gocara* being further synonymous with *indriya-gocara* in *BG*, XIII.5. D.T. Suzuki entirely misses the point when he renders *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, II.115, *svagocare*, by 'in its own sense-fields'; the meaning really being 'in its own pasture'—i.e. when *not* directed toward sense objects. *Vṛtti-kṣaya*, as in *Yoga Sūtra*, *passim*, 'cessation of the fluctuations of the mind-stuff'.

[4] As also, of course, in Buddhist formulation, where the mind is either defiled by ignorance or as it is in itself, 'immutable, although the cause of mutation'; see, for example, Aśvaghoṣa, *Śraddhotpāda* (*Aśvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in*

when there is correlation with desire (*kāmasamparkāt*), pure by remotion of desire; and when the intellect, sentimentality, and distraction having been subtracted, has been brought to a thorough stillness,[5] when one reaches dementation, that is the last step (*layavikṣeparahitaṁ manaḥ kṛtvā suniścalam, yadā yāty amanībhāvaṁ tadā tat paramaṁ padam*), that is, Gnosis and Liberation; all else is but a tale of knots (*etaj jñānaṁ ca mokṣaṁ ca, śeṣānye granthavistarāḥ*).[6]

The quoted passages and whole context show that by *amanībhāva*, 'dementation', nothing so crude is meant as a literal annihilation of the intellect, but rather that the last end has been attained when the intellect no longer intelligizes, that is, when there is no longer a distinction of Knower from Known or of Knowledge and Being, but only a Knowledge as Being and a Being as Knowledge; when, as our text expresses it, 'Thought and Being are consubstantial' (*yac cittas tanmayo bhavati*). *BU*, IV.3.30 similarly states, 'Although he does not know, nevertheless he knows; he does not know but there is no loss on the knower's part, since he is indestructible; it is just that there is no second thing other than and distinct from himself that he might know'.[7] Or again, as Aquinas expresses it, 'When the Intellect attains to the

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the Mahāyāna, tr. Teitaro Suzuki, Chicago, 1900), p. 79. Cf. the concept of the 'two-fold mind', in Erwin Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (New Haven, 1935), p. 385.

[5] Cf. *KU*, VI.10, 'That they call the supreme goal, when the five perceptions conjointly with the mind (*manas*) come to a standstill, and intellect (*buddhi*) makes no motion'; also Jacob Boehme, *The Supersensual Life*, p. 227, 'But if thou canst, my son, for a while but cease from all thy thinking and willing, then shalt thou hear the unspeakable words of God. . . . When thou standest still from the thinking of self, and the willing of self: when both thy intellect and will are quiet . . . above . . . the outward senses'.

[6] *Laya*, from *li*, 'to cling, adhere', is here the act of clinging or attachment to desirable things and tantamount to 'stickiness' in the modern vernacular sense; cf. *asneha* in *BU*, III.8.8. *Laya*, therefore, can properly be rendered by 'sentimentality' or by 'materialism', implying both an infatuation with what we like and a worship of what we know as 'fact'.

Grantha is 'knot' in the psychological sense of 'complex', those Gordian knots of the heart that must be cut before the experience of eternity is possible (*CU*, VII.26.2, *KU*, VI.15, *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.2.9).

[7] That 'he' thus *na vijānāti* is, then, an 'Unknowing' that is really perfection of knowing, and altogether unlike the 'ignorance' of the agnostic (*avidvān*). Christian parallels could be cited without end. See Erigena's 'God does not know what He Himself is, because He is not any what; and this ignorance surpasses all knowledge', and the significant title of the well-known anonymous work, *A Book of Contemplation the Which is Called the Cloud of Unknowing in the Which a Soul Is Oned with God.*

For a further analysis of what is meant by 'unconsciousness' (*asaṁjñāna*) post mortem and in 'deep sleep', see *ŚB*, X.5.2.11-15 and *BU*, II.1.19, II.4.12-14, and IV. 5.13-15. It is an unconsciousness because it is not a consciousness *of* anything, which would be impossible where there is no duality, but so far from being an absence or privation of consciousness, it is a consciousness *as* all that might otherwise be known only conceptually (*saṁkalpitam*), and hence it is described by such expressions as 'condensation of discrimination' (*vijñāna-ghana*) and 'cognoscent' (*saṁvit*).

form of Truth, it does not think, but perfectly contemplates the Truth[8] . . . which means complete identity, because in God the Intellect and the thing understood are altogether the same. . . . God has, of Himself, speculative knowledge only. . . . God does not understand things by an idea existing outside Himself . . . an idea in God is identical with His essence' (*Sum. Theol.*, I.34.1 *ad* 2 et 3, I.14.16, and I.15.1).

With further reference to *yat cittas tanmayo bhavati*, cited above: the whole verse reads, 'The world vortex is merely Thought (*cittam eva hi saṁsāram*), labour then to cleanse it (*śodhayet*); as is the Thought, such is the mode of Being (*yac cittas tanmayo bhavati*); this is the Eternal Mystery (*guhyam . . . sanātanam*)'.[9] Much more is evidently intended than merely the 'character-making power of Thought' (Hume), for the whole context has to do with a plane of reference where 'Thought does not think' and with the attainment of an uncharacterized goal;[10] there is no question of a salvation by merit, but only of liberation by gnosis. Nor could we expect the expression 'Eternal Secret' to be applied to anything so obvious as the 'character-making power of Thought'. This character-making power is, moreover, explicitly dealt with in *BU*, IV.4.5, where the whole reference is to the plane of conduct; thus, 'As one acts, as is one's habit, such is his being (*yathākārī yathācārī tathā bhavati*). . . . As one wills (*kāmo bhavati*), so he intends (*kratur bhavati*); as he intends, so he does; and as are his deeds, such is the goal that he attains'. In our text, *MU*, VI.34, the reference is likewise to the plane of conduct or active life insofar as Thought has *not* been cleansed: but how is it when Thought *has* been cleansed? We know that this means cleansed of the concept of 'I and Mine', 'I as a Doer', and of all pairs of opposites, Vice and Virtue included, and as specifically stated in our text (*mano hi . . . śuddham . . . kāmo vivarjitam*), of that very 'willing' which in *BU*, IV.4.5 is found to be the ultimate basis of 'character'.[11] *Yac cittas tanmayo bhavati* has reference, then, to a state of being where 'character' has no longer any meaning, and where 'identity of Thought and Being' can only mean that the goal of Thought has been attained in a perfect *adaequatio rei et intellectus*; Thinker and Thought *in divinis*, in *samādhi*, being one perfectly simple essence, 'characterized' only by 'sameness' (*samatā*; cf. *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.1.3, *paraṁ sāmyam*) or 'perfect simplicity' (*ekavṛtatva*) and peace (*śānti*).

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[8] Cf. *BG*, VI.25, *ātmasaṁsthaṁ manaḥ kṛtvā na kiñcid api cintayet.*

[9] Cf. *Śvet. Up.*, VI.22, where there is no question of works, but Gnosis and the Love of God are described as the indispensable and only means of liberation, and 'this is the ultimate secret of the Vedānta promulgated in a former aeon' (*vedānte paramaṁ guhyaṁ purākalpe pracoditam*).

[10] Cf. Jāmī, *Lawā'iḥ* 24, 'His first characteristic is the lack of all characteristics'; Eckhart, 'God's only idiosyncrasy is being'.

[11] A further definition of the cleansing of thought is implied in *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.1.9, 'The thought of men is altogether interwoven with the physical functions (*prāṇaiś cittaṁ sarvaṁ otaṁ prajānām*, tantamount to the Thomist 'All our knowledge is derived from the senses'); it is in him whose thought is cleansed (of this contamination) that the Spirit manifests (*yasmin viśuddhe vibhavati eṣa ātmā*)'.

'Thither neither sight nor speech nor intellect can go; we neither 'know' it nor can we analyze it, so as to be able to communicate it by instruction' (*anuśiṣyāt, Kena. Up.*, I.3). The realization of the corresponding state in which the Intellect does not intelligize, which is called in our text 'the Eternal Mystery' and in *KU*, VI.10, 'the Supreme Goal' and which 'cannot be taught', is the ultimate 'secret' of initiation. It must not be supposed that any mere description of the 'secret', such as can be found in Scripture (*śruti*) or exegesis, suffices to communicate the secret of 'de-mentation' (*amanībhāva*); nor that the secret has ever been or could be communicated *to* an initiate or betrayed to anyone, or discovered by however much learning. It can only be realized by each one for himself; all that can be effected by initiation is the communication of an impulse and an awakening of latent potentialities; the work must be done by the initiate himself, to whom the words of our text, *prayatnena śodhayet*, are always applicable until the very end of the road (*adhvanaḥ pāram*) has been reached.

We make these remarks only to emphasize that whatever can be said of it, the secret remains inviolable, guarded by its own essential incommunicability. It is in this sense only that the Sun, the Truth, in *JUB*, I.5.3, is said to 'repel' (*apasedhantī*) the would-be 'winner beyond the Sun'[12] (*CU*, II.10.5-6, *JUB*, I.6.1), who must 'break through' into the Inexhaustible (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.2, *tad evākṣaraṁ . . . viddhi*)[13] by his own powers and, as in our text *MU*, VI.34, 'by effort' (*prayatnena*). It is not a question of φθόνος ('jealousy') on the part of an Olympian deity or on the part of any human *guru*. Esoteric doctrines are not withheld from anyone soever lest he should understand; on the contrary, and although the words of scripture are inevitably 'enigmatic', the doctrine is communicated with all *possible* clarity, and it is for those who have ears to hear, to hear in fact (*ṚV*, X.71.6, *Mark*, 4:11-12). It is not for interested reasons that the words or other symbols by which the ultimate secret is adumbrated 'are not to be communicated unless to one who is at peace (*praśānta*) and has perfect devotion (*yasya . . . parā bhaktiḥ*), being, moreover, either one's own son or a disciple' (*Śvet. Up.*, VI.22-3)—and therefore fit for initiation (*dīkṣā*)—but, essentially, because any such communication would be useless in the case of an unqualified auditor, for 'what is the use of the texts to one who does not know Him' (*yas tan na veda kimṛcā kariṣyati, ṚV*, I.164.39 = *Śvet. Up.*, IV.8); and, accidentally, as a matter of 'convenience' because of 'those who can only approach the Word in sin' (*ta ete vācam abhipadya pāpayā, ṚV*, X.71.9).[14]

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[12] We cannot undertake here a detailed analysis of the stages of deification but may point out that the 'breaking through' (the sun into what lies beyond the Sun) is Eckhart's 'second death of the soul and is far more momentous than the first' (Evans ed., I, 275). The prolongation of the *brahmapatha* beyond the Sun, where neither Sun nor Moon nor Stars give light and the only guidance is that of the superhuman Lightning or immediate vision leading on to the *para brahman*, describable only by the *via remotionis* (*neti, neti*), implies a renunciation even of the Wayfarer's 'eternal prototype' (*svarūpa*) in the divine mind, and the last step (*paraṁ padam*), by which one mounts upon the very throne of Brahman (*Kauṣ. Up.*, I.5-7)—that is, 'knowing Brahman as very Brahman'—is the Wayfarer's last death, who thus as in *BU*, I.2.7, 'becoming Death, dies no more deaths, for Death does not die'. All this is implied by the superlative *pariṣṭādetasyaitasminnamṛte nidadhyāt*, 'should commit himself to that Immortality far beyond this (Sun)', *JUB*, I.6.1, and *param ādityāj jayati . . . paro hāsyādityajayāj jayo bhavati*, 'wins beyond the Sun, yea, conquers beyond the conquest of the Sun' (*CU*, II.10.5-6).

[13] In connection with the expression 'breaking through' (cf. *MU*, VI.30, *dvāraṁ bhitvā*), I take this opportunity to point out that Vedic *vedhas*, commonly rendered by 'wise', as if from *vid*, is far more probably 'penetrating', from *vyadh*, and tantamount to *vedhin* ('archer') in the sense of *Muṇḍ. Up.*, II.2.2, *tad evākṣaraṁ viddhi;* cf. also *BG*, XI.54, *śakyo hy ahaṁ viddhaḥ*. And if, indeed, *vedhas* and *viddhi* are also possible forms of *vid*, no antinomy is involved, inasmuch as it is precisely by gnosis (*jñāna, vidyā*) that the breaking through or hitting of the mark is effected.

The 'secret' of what is meant by 'dementation' (*amanībhāva*) being inaccessible to 'mere learning' (cf. *paṇḍitaṁ manyamānāḥ . . . mūḍhā*,[15] *Muṇḍ. Up.*, I.2.8; cf. *Īśā Up.*, 9), it is thus by definition inaccessible to 'scholarship' in the modern and philological sense of the word, and from this point of view it must be confessed that the greater part of our 'Vedic studies' amounts to nothing more than a 'wandering about in ignorance on the part of blind leaders of the blind' (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, I.2.8) and certainly not to such a 'comprehension' as is implied by the constantly repeated *ya evaṁ vidvān* of the texts, a comprehension which is either a matter of experience, or no matter. Learning, then, like other 'means' (*upāya*), may be dispositive 'either to bondage or to liberation', and that this is so is a proposition with which even some Western critics of modern educational aims are in hearty agreement.[16] The last end or 'value' depends, as usual, on the final cause; when learning becomes an end in itself, a science for the sake of science, then it amounts to no more than what was called by St. Bernard a 'vile curiosity' (*turpis curiositas*). But if the learning is acquired not for its own sake, but as a means to a further end, and thus becomes a 'sacrifice of knowledge . . . offered to Me' (*jñānayajñena . . . mad arpaṇam, BG*, IX.15, 27), it is conducive to the *summum bonum* envisaged by all scripture as man's last end.

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[14] Cf. *Muṇḍ. Up.*, III.2.10-11: 'The Brahma doctrine may be communicated to such as perform the sacrifice (*kriyāvantaḥ*), who are auditors (*śrotriyā*), who are men of faith (*śraddhayantaḥ*), who take their stand in "Brahman", and making an offering of themselves to the Only Prophet (Agni), bearers of coals of fire on their head. . . . But it is not for one to study who does not practice'. It may be remarked, incidentally, that rendered into purely Christian terms, *kriyāvantaḥ* would be 'regular celebrants of the Mass'.

[15] Primarily the Asuras, from whom the Devas are often represented as concealing their procedure, lest these 'mortals' should follow them, cf. Genesis 3:22, 'lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever'; and secondly, the 'profane', childish, opinionated and unripe multitude (*avidvānsaḥ, mūḍhaḥ, bālāḥ, nāstikāḥ, pṛthagjanāḥ, laukikāḥ*, etc.), cf. Mark, 4:11-12, 'Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God: but unto them that were without, all these things are done in parables: that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them'; Mark, 4:23, 'If any man have ears to hear, let him hear'; and Origen, *Contra Celsum* I.7, 'That there should be certain doctrines not made known to the multitude . . . is not a peculiarity of Christianity alone'.

To resume, it is inherently *impossible* to communicate the highest (anagogic, *pāramārthika*) Truth otherwise than parabolically by means of symbols (verbal, visual, mythical, ritual, dramatic, etc.) and equally *undesirable* to attempt to communicate the highest Truth to anyone or everyone, because the unqualified auditor must inevitably, if he thinks he understands, misunderstand; cf. *Kena Up.*, II.3b, 'It is not understood by those who "understand" It; but only by those who do not "understand" It.' The point of view is unwelcome to a democratic age of pathetic belief in the efficacy of indiscriminate 'education', yet even in such an age it is sufficiently evident to what an extent publicity (French, *vulgarisation*) involves a distortion of all but the most elementary *theoria*—the theory of relativity, for example, being really 'forbidden' to all those who cannot think in the technical terms of higher mathematics.

We have been led to a discussion of these matters in connection with such hard sayings as 'the mind must be arrested' (*mano niroddhavyam*) and 'dementation' (*amanībhāva*), partly by the occurrence of such expressions as 'ultimate secret' in the same context, and more particularly in order to explain just how it is that in spite of the prestige of modern scientific methods and in spite of their general adoption in Indian seats of learning, there remains an unknown and for various reasons largely inarticulate—but far from insignificant—body of opinion according to which, apart from the limited field of editorship and publication, the results obtained by modern Vedic scholarship have been fundamentally nil, precisely because in almost all these studies the heart of the matter has been evaded, either because the 'doctrine that escapes beneath the veil of the strange verses' (Dante, *Inferno,* IX.61), the 'picture that is not in the colours' (*Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* II.117-18), has exceeded the capacities of the student or translator or, what amounts to the same thing, has not interested him.

It is not without reason, then, that the whole Vedic (and likewise the Christian) tradition has insisted on the necessity of 'Faith' (*śraddhā*). We assume the Scholastic definition of *Fides* as a 'consent of the intellect to a credible proposition, of which no empirical proof is available'.[17] If one has not so much con*fidence* in the texts as to believe that behind the words lies more than can be told in words, if one is not convinced by the technical consistency of the verses that their 'authors' could not have spoken thus without themselves possessing a clear understanding and actual experience of what they were speaking *of*, if one does not so far *trust* the texts as to realize that they are not merely fashioned in the literary sense but are strictly speaking 'in-formed', how can one pretend to have grasped or aspire to grasp their true intention, Dante's *vera sentenzia*? As the Buddhist texts so often express it, the nominalist's preoccupation with the aesthetic surfaces and neglect of their content can only be compared to the case of the man who, when the moon is pointed out, sees nothing but the pointing finger; we refer to the condition which a modern European writer has so aptly diagnosed as an 'intellectual myopia'.

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[16] C.G. Jung has indeed attributed the 'failure' of Western Orientalism partly to pride and partly to a more or less conscious attitude of aloofness assumed by the scholar, precisely because 'a sympathetic understanding might permit contact with and alien spirit to become a serious experience' (Richard Wilhelm and C.G. Jung, *The Secret of the Golden Flower,* 2nd rev. ed., New York, 1962, p. 81). And indeed, there can be no real knowledge of anything from which one holds aloof and cannot love.

[17] This briefly resumes the Thomist definitions. It may be observed that the proposition *Ad fidem duo requiruntur, s. quod credibilia proponantur, et assensus* (*Sum. Theol.*, V.111.11 ad 1 and 22.6.1c) excludes the ridiculous interpretation *Credo quia incredibilis.* On the other hand, it may be remarked that the euhemeristic interpretations of metaphysical texts, suggested by most modern exegetes, are literally 'incredible'. The fact is that a majority of modern exegetes have approached their task from the standpoint of the anthropologist rather than that of the metaphysician; in which connection the story related by Eusebius and quoted by H.G. Rawlinson in 'India and

The terms of Scripture and Ritual are symbolic (*pratīkavat*); and merely to submit this self-evident proposition is to say that the symbol is not its own meaning but is significant *of* its referent.[18] Under these circumstances, would it not be a contradiction in terms for one who can say that 'such knowledge as is not empirical is meaningless to us' to claim to have understood the texts, however encyclopedic his knowledge *of* them might be? Must there not be recognized an element of perversity in one who can stigmatize the Brāhmaṇas as 'puerile, arid, and inane' and yet propose to study or translate such works?[19] Under such conditions, what other results could have been expected than have been actually attained? To take only one example: the whole doctrine of 'reincarnation' and the supposed 'history' of the doctrine

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Greece: A Note', *Indian Arts and Letters,* X (1936) is very pertinent: 'Aristoxenus the musician tells the following story about the Indians. One of these men met Socrates at Athens, and asked him what was the scope of his philosophy. 'An enquiry into human phenomena', replied Socrates. At this the Indian burst out laughing. 'How can a man enquire into human phenomena', he exclaimed, 'when he is ignorant of divine ones?''

[18] It will hardly be out of place to remind the philologist or anthropologist who undertakes to explain a myth or traditional text that it has long been the recognized method of exegesis to assume that at least four valid meanings are involved in any scriptural text, according to the level of reference considered; the possible levels being, respectively, the literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogic. If the four levels be reduced to two by treating the three last as collectively 'spiritual' meanings, the consequent 'literal and spiritual' correspond to Skr. *pratyakṣam* and *parokṣeṇa* or *adhyātman* and *adhidevatam*: the 'anagogic' or highest spiritual significance corresponding to Skr. *pāramārthika*. The student evidently, who deliberately restricts himself to the lowest and most obvious (naturalistic and historical) level of reference cannot expect to achieve a great exegetic success; he may, indeed, succeed in depicting the myth as he sees it 'objectively'—i.e. as something into which he cannot enter, but can only look *at*. But in thus describing a myth according to what is, strictly speaking, his 'accidental' knowledge of it, he is really discussing only its 'actual shape' and leaving altogether out of account its 'essential form'.

[19] Quotations in this and the preceding sentence are from the published works of two of the most distinguished Sanskritists.

have been so distorted by a literal interpretation of symbolic terms as to justify a designation of the doctrine thus presented as 'puerile', just as the results of the study of Indian mythology by statistical methods may fairly be described as 'arid and inane'.

We should not like it to be supposed that the foregoing remarks are directed against Western scholars as such or personally. The defects of modern Indian scholarship are of the same sort, and no less glaring. The recent adoption of the naturalistic and the nominalistic point of view by Indian scholars has led, for example, to such absurdities as the belief that the 'sky-faring vehicles' (*vimāna*, etc.) of the ancient texts were actually airplanes; we are merely pointing out that such absurdities are no greater than, but of the same sort as, those of Western scholars who have supposed that in the Vedic rescue of Bhujyu from the 'sea' there is no more to be seen than the vague reminiscence of the adventure of some man who, once upon a time, fell into the salt sea and was duly rescued, or those who argue that *ṚV*, V.46.1 represents no more than the case of the royal retainer who follows his leader no matter what befalls—not recognizing that verses of this kind, far from being anecdotal, are general equations or forms of which events as such, whether past or present, can only be regarded as Special cases. Our only purpose has been to show that to make of Vedic studies nothing more than 'an inquiry into human conduct' (to quote the phrase attributed to Socrates) presupposes a complete misunderstanding of the nature of the texts themselves; and in the present case, that those who propose to investigate such terms as *manas* from this all-too-human and exclusively humanistic point of view must necessarily fail to distinguish 'dementation' from 'insanity' and 'unknowing' from 'ignorance'. We maintain, accordingly, that it is an indispensable condition of true scholarship to 'believe in order to understand' (*crede ut intelligas*), and to 'understand in order to believe' (*intellige ut credas*), not, indeed, as distinct and consecutive acts of the will and of the intellect, but as the single activity of both. The time has surely come when we must not merely, as heretofore, consider the meanings of particular terms but also reconsider our whole method of approach to the problems involved. We venture to propound that it is precisely the divorce of intellect and will in the supposed interests of objectivity that primarily explains the relative infirmity of the modern approach.

List of Abbreviations and Short Titles

A	*The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttara-Nikāya)*, eds. F.L. Woodward and E.M. Hare, 5 vols., London, 1932-1939 (PTS).
AĀ	*Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ed. A.B. Keith, Oxford, 1909.
AB	(= *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*). *Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*, ed. A.B. Keith, Cambridge, Mass., 1920 (HOS XXV).
Abhidharmakośa	*L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, tr. Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, 6 vols., Paris, 1923-1931.
Abhinaya Darpaṇa	*The Mirror of Gesture: Being the Abhinaya Darpaṇa of Nandikeśvara*, ed. A.K. Coomaraswamy, with Gopala Kristnaya Duggirala, Cambridge, Mass., 1917.
Aeschylus, Fr.	In Nauck (see below).
Ait. Up.	(= *Aitareya Upaniṣad*). In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., rev., London, 1931.
Angelus Silesius	(Johann Scheffler) *Cherubinischer Wandersmann*, new ed., Munich, 1949. *The Cherubinic Wanderer*, selections tr. W.R. Trask, New York, 1953.
Anugītā	*The Bhagavadgītā, with the Sanatsujātīya, and the Anugītā*, ed. Kāshināth Trimbak Telang, Oxford, 1882 (SBE VIII).
Apuleius	*The Golden Ass*, tr. W. Adlington, revised by S. Gaselee (LCL).
Aquinas	1. *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, doctoris angelici, Opera omnia ad fidem optimarum editionum accurato recognita*, 25 vols., Parma, 1852-1872. 2. See also *Sum. Theol.* below.
Aristotle	1. *De anima*, tr. W.S. Hett (LCL). 2. *The Metaphysics*, tr. Hugh Tredennick (LCL). 3. *The Nichomachean Ethics*, tr. H. Rackham (LCL). 4. *The Physics*, tr. Francis M. Cornford (LCL). 5. *The Poetics*, tr. W. Hamilton Fyfe (LCL).
Arthaśāstra	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, ed. R. Shamasastry, 2nd ed., Mysore, 1923.
Āryabhaṭa	*Āryabhaṭīya*, tr. Walter Eugene Clark, Chicago, 1930.
'Aṭṭār, Farīdu'd-Dīn	1. Farid ud-Din Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*

	(Mantiq ut-Tair), tr. C.S. Nott from the French of Garçin de Tassy, London, 1954. 2. *Mantic Uttair, ou le langage des oiseaux*, tr. Garçin de Tassy, Paris, 1863. 3. *Salámán and Absál, . . . with a Bird's-Eye View of Faríd-Uddín Attar's Bird-Parliament*, by Edward Fitzgerald, Boston, 1899.
Atthasālinī	*The Expositor (Atthasālinī): Buddhaghoṣa's Commentary on the Dhammasaṇgani*, eds. P. Maung Tin and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 2 vols., London, 1920-1921 (PTS).
AV	1. *Atharva Veda*, eds. W.D. Whitney and C.R. Lanman, Cambridge, Mass., 1905 (HOS VII, VIII). 2. *The Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, ed. R.T.H. Griffith, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Benares, 1916-1917.
Avicenna	*Metaphysices compendium*, Rome, 1926.
Avencebrol	(Solomon Ibn Gabirol) *Fons Vitae*, see *Fountain of Life*, tr. Alfred B. Jacob, Philadelphia, 1954.
BAHA	*Bulletin de l'Office Internationale des Instituts d' Archéologie et d'Histoire d'Art.*
Baudhāyana Dh. Sū	*Das Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, ed. Eugen Hultzsch, Leipzig, 1922.
BD	*The Bṛhad Devatā of Śaunaka*, ed. A.A. Macdonell, Cambridge, Mass, 1994 (HOS VI).
BÉFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extréme-Orient* (Hanoi).
BG	*The Bhagavad Gītā*, ed. Swami Nikhilananda, New York, 1944.
Boethius	*The Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy*, eds. H.F. Stewart and E.K. Rand (LCL).
Bokhāri	Muhammad ibn-Ismā al-Bukhari. *Arabica and Islamica*, tr. V. Wayriffe, London, 1940.
BrSBh	(=*Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya*) *The Vedānta-Sūtras with the Commentary by Śaṅkarācārya*, ed. G. Thibaut, 2 vols., Oxford, 1890-1896 (SBE 34, 38).
BSOS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
BU	(=*Bṛahadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.
Chuang-tzu	*Chuang Tzu: Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer*, ed. H.A. Giles, London, 1889.
Cicero	1. *Academica*, tr. H. Rackham (LCL). 2. *Brutus*, tr. G.L. Hendrickson (LCL). 3. *De natura deorum*, tr. H. Rackham (LCL). 4. *De officiis*, tr. Walter Miller (LCL). 5. *Pro Publio Quinctio*, tr. John Henry Freese (LCL). 6. *Tusculan Disputations*, tr. J.E. King (LCL).
Claudian, *Stilicho*	*On Stilicho's Consulship*, tr. Maurice Platnauer, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1956.

Clement	1. *Miscellanies*, trs. F.J.A. Hart and J.B. Mayor, London, 1902. 2. *The Clementine Homilies*, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. XVII, Edinburgh, 1870.
Cloud of Unknowing	*A Book of Contemplation the Which is Called the Cloud of Unknowing in the Which a Soul is Oned with God*, anon., ed. E. Underhill, London, 1912.
Coptic Gnostic Treatise	*A Coptic Gnostic Treatise Contained in the Codex Brucianus*, ed. Charlotte A. Baynes, Cambridge, 1933.
CU	(= *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.
D	(= *Dīgha-Nikāya*) *Dialogues of the Buddha*, eds. T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 3 vols., London, 1899-1921 (PTS).
DA	(= *Dīgha-Nikāya Atthakathā*) *The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī: Buddhaghoṣa's Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya*, eds. T.W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter (vol. I), and W. Stede (vols. II and III), London, 1886-1932 (PTS).
Damascene	St. John of Damascus, See Migne, PG, vols. 94-96.
Dante	1. *Convito* (1529); facsimile edition, Rome, 1932. *Dante and his Convito: A Study with Translations*, W.M. Rossetti, London, 1910. 2. *Dantis Alighieri Epistolae: The Letters of Dante*, ed. P. Toynbee, Oxford, 1966. 3. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, tr. Charles Eliot Norton, 3 vols., Boston and New York, 1895-1897. (This is AKC's preferred edition, but he had a dictionary of Dante's Italian and may have done translations on his own in addition to using Norton; he also used the Temple Classics edition.)
Daśarūpa	*The Daśarūpa: a Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy*, tr. G.C.O. Haas, New York, 1912.
Dh	*The Dhammapada*, ed. S. Radhakrishnan, London, 1950.
DhA	(= *Dhammapada Atthakathā*) *Dhammapada Commentary*, ed. H.C. Norman, 4 vols., 1906-1914 (PTS).
Dionysius	1. *De coelesti hierarchia*, see *La Hiérarchie céleste*, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac, Paris, 1958 (*Sources chrétiennes* LVIII). 2. *De divinis nominibus* and *De mystica theologia*, see *The Divine Names* and *The Mystical Theology*, ed. C.E. Rolt, London, 1920. 3. Epistles, see *Saint Denys L'Aréopagite, Oeuvres*, ed. Mgr. Darboy, Paris, 1932.

Divyāvadāna	*Divyāvadāna,* eds. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886.
Dpv	*Dipavamsa,* ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879.
Epiphanius	*Epiphanius* (*Ancoratus und Panarion*), ed. K. Holl, Leipzig, 1915-1933.
Erigena	John Scotus Erigena. See Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 122.
Euripides	1. *Euripides,* tr. A.S. Way (LCL). 2. *Fragments* in Nauck.
Garbha Up.	(= *Garbha Upaniṣad*) In *Thirty Minor Upanishads,* tr. K. Nārāyaṇasvāmi, Madras, 1914.
Gāruḍa Purāṇa	1. *The Garuda Puranam,* tr. M.N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1908. 2. *The Gāruḍa Purāṇa,* trs. Ernest Wood and S.U. Subrahmanyam, Allahabad, 1911 (SBH IX).
GB	*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa,* eds. R. Mitra and H. Vidyabushana, Calcutta, 1872 (Sanskrit only).
Grassmann	H.G. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda,* Leipzig, 1873 (cf. also *Rig-veda; übersetzt und mit kritischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen,* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1876-1877).
Greek Anthology	*The Greek Anthology,* tr. W.R. Paton (LCL).
Harivaṃśa	*Harivamsha,* ed. M.N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1897 (prose English translation).
Haṁsa Up.	(=*Haṁsa Upaniṣad*) In *Thirty Minor Upanishads,* tr. K. Nārāyaṇasvāmi, Madras, 1914.
Heracleitus, Fr.	*Heracliti Ephesi Reliquiae,* ed. Ingram Bywater, Oxford, 1877 (see modern editions by G.S. Kirk and Philip Wheelwright; Coomaraswamy numbers Fragments according to Bywater).
Hermes	*Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus,* ed. W. Scott, 4 vols., 1924-1936.
Hesiod	*Theogony and Works and Days,* tr. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (LCL).
Hippocrates	*Works,* tr. W.H.S. Jones (LCL).
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*
Homer	*The Iliad* and *The Odyssey,* tr. A.T. Murray (LCL).
Homeric Hymns	*Homeric Hymns,* tr. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (LCL).
Horace	*Epistula ad Pisones* (=*Ars Poetica*), tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (LCL).
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series.
IPEK	*Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst.*
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta). 1 (1925)-39 (1963).
Iśā Up.	(=*Īśā, or Īśāvāsya, Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads,* ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.

Itiv	(=*Itivuttaka*) *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part II: Udāna: Verses of Uplift, and Itivuttaka: As It Was Said*, ed. F.L. Woodward, London, 1935 (PTS).
J	*The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, ed. E.B. Cowell, 6 vols., Cambridge, 1895-1907.
Jacob Boehme	1. *Signatura rerum*, see *The Signature of All Things, and Other Writings*, new ed., London, 1969 (includes *Of the Supersensual Life and The Way from Darkness to True Illumination*). 2. *Six Theosophic Points, and Other Writings*, ed. J.R. Earle, Ann Arbor, 1958. 3. *The Way to Christ*, new ed., London, 1964.
Jāmī	*Lawā'ih, A Treatise on Sufism*, eds. E.H. Whinfield and M.M. Kazvīnī, London, 1906.
JAOS	*Journal of American Oriental Society.*
JB	1. *The Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda*, eds. R. Vira and L. Chandra, Nagpur, 1954 (Sanskrit). 2. *Das Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, text and German translation by W. Caland, Amsterdam, 1919.
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.*
Jan van Ruysbroeck	*The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage; The Sparkling Stone; The Book of Supreme Truth*, tr. C.A. Wynschenk, ed. Evelyn Underhill, London, 1914.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JUB	(=*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*) *The Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, ed. H. Oertel, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XVI (1896), 79-260.
Kauṣ. Up.	(=*Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.
KB	*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa. Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*, ed. A.B. Keith, Cambridge, Mass., 1920 (HOS XXV).
Kena Up.	(=*Kena Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.
KhA	(=*Khuddakapāṭha*) *The Minor Readings, The First Book of the Minor Collection* (*Khuddakanikāya*), ed. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, London, 1960 (PTS).
Kindred Sayings	See *S.*
KSS	(= *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*) *Kathāsaritsāgara*, ed. C.H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880-1887; 2nd ed., 1924.
KU	1. (= *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.

	2. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, ed. Joseph N. Rawson, Oxford, 1934.
Lalita Vistara	*Lalita Vistara*, ed. S. Lefmann, 2 vols., Halle, 1902-1908.
Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra	*Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, ed. Bunyiu Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library.
Lucian	*De Syria Dea*, tr. A.M. Harmon (LCL).
M	(= *Majjhima-Nikāya*) *The Middle Length Sayings* (*Majjhima-Nikāya*), ed. I.B. Horner, 3 vols., London, 1954-1959 (PTS).
Mahavamsa	See *Mhv.*
Māṇḍ. Up.	(=*Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.
Mantiqu't-Tair	See 'Aṭṭar, Faridu'd-Dīn.
Mānasāra	*Architecture of Mānasāra*, tr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, London, 1933.
Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa	*Mañjuśrī: An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text*, ed. Ven. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Lahore, 1934.
Manu	(=*Mānava Dharmaśāstra*) *The Laws of Manu*, ed. G. Bühler, Oxford, 1886 (SBE XXV).
Marcus Aurelius	*Marcus Aurelius*, tr. C.R. Haines (LCL).
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa	*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ed. J. Woodroffe, London, 1913.
Mathnawī/Math	*The Mathnawí of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, 8 vols., Leiden and London, 1925-1940.
Mbh	1. *Mahābhārata. The Mahabharata of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa*, ed. P.C. Roy, Calcutta, 1893-1894. 2. *Mahābhārata*, ed. Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Poona, 1933-1959.
Meister Eckhart	1. *Meister Eckhart*, ed. F. Pfeiffer, 4th ed., Göttingen, 1924 (mediaeval German text). 2. *Meister Eckhart*, ed. C. de B. Evans, 2 vols., London, 1924-1931 (English).
MFA Bulletin	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston.
Mhv	*The Mahāvaṁsa, or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, ed. W. Geiger, London, 1908 (PTS).
Migne	Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus* 1. [*P.G.*] *Series Graeca, Paris*, 1857-1866, 161 vols. 2. [*P.L.*] *Series Latina, Paris*, 1844-1880, 221 vols.
Mil	(=*Milinda Pañho*) *The Questions of King Milinda*, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids, 2 vols., Oxford, 1890 (SBE XXXV, XXXVI).
Mīmāṁsā Nyāya Prakāśa	*The Mīmāṁsā Nyāya Prakāśa of Āpadeva*, ed. F. Edgerton, New Haven, 1929.
MU/MaiU	(=*Maitrī Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.

Muṇḍ. Up.	(=*Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.
Mv	(= *Mahāvagga*) *Vinaya Texts*, eds. T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, 2 vols., Oxford, 1881-1882 (SBE XIII, XVII).
Nārāyaṇa Up.	(= *Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*) In *Thirty Minor Upanishads*, ed. K.N. Aiyar, Madras, 1914.
Nāṭya Śāstra	*The Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata, ed. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Baroda, 1926 (Sanskrit).
Nauck	August Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1856.
NIA	*New Indian Antiquary*.
Nicholas of Cusa	(= Nicolaus Cusanus) 1. (*De visione Dei*) *The Vision of God*, ed. E.G. Salter, London, 1928. 2. *De filiatione Dei*, in *Schriften des Nikolaus von Cues*, Leipzig, 1936, vol. II.
Nirukta	*The Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta of Yāska*, ed. L. Sarup, Oxford, 1921.
Origen	*Writings of Origen*, tr. Frederick Cromble, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1869.
Ovid	1. *Fasti*, tr. Sir James George Frazer (LCL). 2. *Metamorphoses*, tr. Frank Justus Miller (LCL).
OZ	*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*.
Pañcadaśi	*Pañcadaśi, A Poem on Vedānta Philosophy*, ed. and tr. Arthur Venis, in *Pandit*, V-VIII (1883-1886).
Pañcatantra	*The Panchatantra Reconstructed*, ed. Franklin Edgerton, New Haven, 1924. American Oriental Series, III.
Pāṇini	*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, ed. S.C. Vasu, 8 vols., Allahabad, 1891-1898.
Parāśara	*The Parāśara Dharma Saṃhitā, or, Parāśara Smṛti*, ed. Pandit Vāman Śāstrī Islāmapurakar, 2 vols., Bombay, 1893-1906.
Pausanias	*Pausanias*, tr. W.H.S. Jones (LCL).
PB	*Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*.
PGS	*Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtras*, tr. H. Oldenberg, Oxford, 1886.
Philo	1. Complete works published in LCL; vols. I-X, ed. F.H. Colson; *Supplements* I, II, ed. R. Marcus. All works cited by full title with exception of: (a) *Aet.* (*On the Eternity of the World*, vol. IX); (b) *Congr.* (*On the Preliminary Studies*, vol. VI); (c) Deterius (*The Worse Attacks the Better*, vol. II); (d) *Heres.* (*Who is the Heir*, vol. IV); (e) Immut. (*On the Unchangeableness of God*, vol. III).

Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.*	Flavius Philostratus, *The Life and Times of Apollonius of Tyana*, tr. Charles P. Ellis, Stanford, 1923.
Pindar	*The Odes of Pindar*, tr. Richard Lattimore, Chicago, 1947.
Pistis Sophia	1. *Pistis Sophia, A Gnostic Miscellany*, ed. and tr. G.R.S. Mead, London, rev. ed., 1921; 1947. 2. *Pistis Sophia*, ed. J.H. Petermann, Berlin, 1851.
Plato	*The Collected Dialogues of Plato, including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, Princeton, 1961 (Bollingen Series LXXI).
Plotinus	*Plotinus, The Enneads*, tr. Stephen MacKenna. 3rd ed. rev. by B.S. Page, London, 1962.
Plutarch	1. *Moralia*, tr. Frank Cole Babbitt and others; includes *De genio Socratis* (LCL). 2. *Pericles*, in *Lives*, tr. Bernadotte Perrin (LCL).
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association.*
Praśna Up.	(= *Praśna Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.
Prema Sāgara	*Prema-Sāgara*, ed. and tr. Edward B. Eastwick, Westminster, 1897.
PTS	Pali Text Society Translation Series.
Pythagoras	*Golden Verses*, see *Les Vers d'or pythagoriciens*, ed. P.C. van der Horst, Leyden, 1932.
PugA	*Puggala-paññatti-atthakathā*, ed. G. Lansberg and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, London, 1914 (Pāli).
Pūrva Mīmāṁsā Sūtras	*The Pūrva Mīmāṁsā Sūtras* of Jaimini, ed. M. Ganganatha Jha, Allahabad, 1916 (SBH X).
Quintilian	*Institutio Oratoria*, tr. H.E. Butler (LCL).
Rāmāyaṇa	*The Rāmāyaṇa*, ed. M.N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1891-1894.
Rūmī, *Dīvān*	*Selected Poems from the Dīvanī Shamsi Tabrīz*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1898.
ṚV	*The Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, ed. R.T.H. Griffith, 2 vols., 4th ed., Benares, 1963.
S	*The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (*Saṁyutta-Nikāya*), ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids and F.L. Woodward, 5 vols., London, 1917-1930 (PTS).
ŚĀ	*Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, ed. A.B. Keith, London, 1908.
Sa'dī	(Muslih-al-Dīn) *The Bustān of Sadi*, ed. A.H. Edwards, London, 1911.
Ṣaḍva. Brāhmaṇa	(=*Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*) *Daivatabrāmhaṇa and Shadbingshabramhana of the Samaveda with the Commentary of Sayanacharya*, ed. Pandit J. Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 1881.
Sāhitya Darpaṇa	*The Mirror of Composition, A Treatise on Poetical Criticism, being an English Translation of the Sāhitya-Darpaṇa of Vishwanatha Kaviraja*, ed. J.R. Ballantyne

	and P.D. Mitra, Calcutta, 1875 (rpt., Benares, 1956).
Śakuntala	*Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* of Kalidāsa, ed. M.B. Emeneau, Berkeley, 1962.
Sanatsujātīya	*The Bhagavadgītā, with the Sanatsujātīya, and the Anugītā*, ed. K.T. Telang, Oxford, 1882 (SBE VIII).
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa	See *ŚB*.
Sāyaṇa	*Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā, with Sāyaṇa's Commentary*, ed. S. Pradhan, Calcutta, 1933.
ŚB	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, ed. J. Eggeling, 5 vols., Oxford, 1882-1900 (SBE XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV).
SBB	The Sacred Books of the Buddhists, London.
SBE	The Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.
SBH	The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad.
Scott	See Hermes.
Sextus Empiricus	*Sextus Empiricus*, tr. R.G. Bury (LCL).
Shams-i-Tabriz	See Rūmī, *Dīvān*.
Siddhāntamuktāvalī	1. *The Vedānta Siddhāntamuktāvalī of Prakāśananda*, tr. Arthur Venis, in *The Pandit*, Benares, 1890. 2. Tr. J.R. Ballantyne, Calcutta, 1851.
Sikandar Nāma	Nizam al-Dīn Abu Muhammad Niẓamī, *Sikandar Nāma e bara*, tr. H. Wilberforce, Clarke, London, 1881.
Śilparatna	*The Śilparatna* by Śrī Kumāra, ed. Mahāmahopādyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, Trivandrum, 1922-1929.
Sn	*The Sutta-Nipāta*, ed. V. Fausböll, Oxford, 1881 (SBE X).
SnA	*Sutta-Nipāta Atthakathā*, ed. H. Smith, 2 vols., London, 1916-1917 (PTS).
SP	*The Saddharma Puṇḍarīka, or the Lotus of the True Law*, ed. H. Kern, Oxford, 1909 (SBE XXI).
Śrī Sūkta	*The Purusha Sukta*, Aiyar, Madras, 1898.
St. Augustine	1. *The City of God against the Pagans*, tr. William M. Green (LCL). 2. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff, New York, 1886-1890, vols. I-VIII, *Collected Works of St. Augustine* (in English tr.).
St. Bernard	St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera omnia* in Migne, *Series latina*, vols. 182-5 (1854-1855).
St. Bonaventura	1. *The Works of Bonaventure, Cardinal, Seraphic Doctor, and Saint*, tr. José de Vinck, Paterson, N.J., 1966-; Vol. III, *Opuscula, Second Series*, 1966, includes 'On Retracing the Arts to Theology' (*De reductione artium ad theologiam*). 2. *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae S.R.E. Episcopi*

	Cardinalis opera omnia . . . , Florence, 1883-1902, 10 vols.; vols. I-IV, *Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* (abbreviated *I Sent.*, etc.).
St. Clement	See Clement.
St. Cyril of Jerusalem	*A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser. ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, New York, 1894, vol. VII.
St. Jerome	*S. Eusebii Hieronymi opera omnia*, in Migne, *Series Latina*, vols. 22-30.
St. John of the Cross	*The Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross, Doctor of the Church*, ed. and tr. E. Allison Peers, Weathampstead, 1974.
Sukhāvatī Vyūha	*Buddhist Texts from Japan*, ed. F. Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjic, Oxford, 1881 (*Anecdota oxoniensia, Aryan Series* I).
Śukranītisāra	*The Śukranīti of Śukrācārya*, ed. B.K. Sarkar, Allahabad, 1914 (SBH XII).
Sum Theol.	*The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas.* Literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. London 1913-1942, 22 vols. Also in Parma ed., 1864; see Aquinas.
Suparṇādhyāya	*Die Suparṇasage*, ed. J. Charpentier, Uppsala, 1922 (Sanskrit text, German translation, commentary).
Suśruta	*The Suśruta-Saṁhitā*, trs. Udoy Chand Dutt and Aughorechunder Chattopadhya, 3 fasc., Calcutta, 1883-1891.
Svātma-nirūpaṇa	*Select Works of Sri Sankaracharya*, tr. S. Venkataramanan, Madras, 1911 (includes *Svātma-nirūpaṇa*).
Śvet. Up.	(= *Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. R.E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.
TĀ	*The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka of the Black Yajur Veda* (*with the Commentary of Sāyaṇācārya*), ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1872 (Sanskrit).
Taittirīya Prātiśākhya	*The Taittirīya Prātiśākhya, with its Commentary, the Tribhāshyaratna*, ed. W.D. Whitney, JAOS, IX (1871), 1-469.
Tao Te Ching	Arthur Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, London, 1934.
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Therīgāthā/Theragāthā	1. *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, I. *Psalms of the Sisters*, II. *Psalms of the Brethren*, tr. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 4th ed., London, 1964 (PTS).

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Ud	(=*Udāna*) *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part II: Udāna: Verses of Uplift, and Itivuttaka: As It Was Said,* ed. F.L. Woodward, London, 1948 (PTS).
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Vikramorvaśī	*The Vikramorvasiya of Kalidasa,* tr. and ed. Charu Deva Shastri, Lahore, 1929.
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VS	*Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā: The White Yajur Veda,* ed. R.T.H. Griffith, 2nd ed., Benares, 1927.
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Xenophon	1. *Memorabilia,* tr. E.C. Marchant (LCL). 2. *Oeconomicus,* tr. E.C. Marchant (LCL).
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